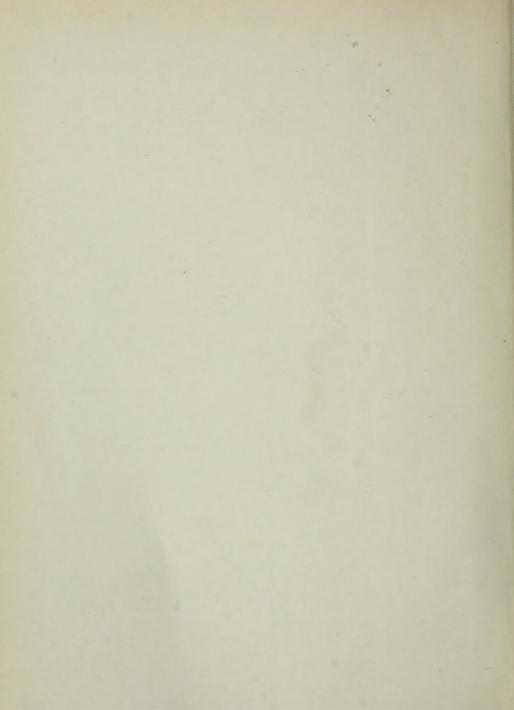


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# THE Vation

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VOLUME 158

JANUARY 1, 1944, to JUNE 24, 1944

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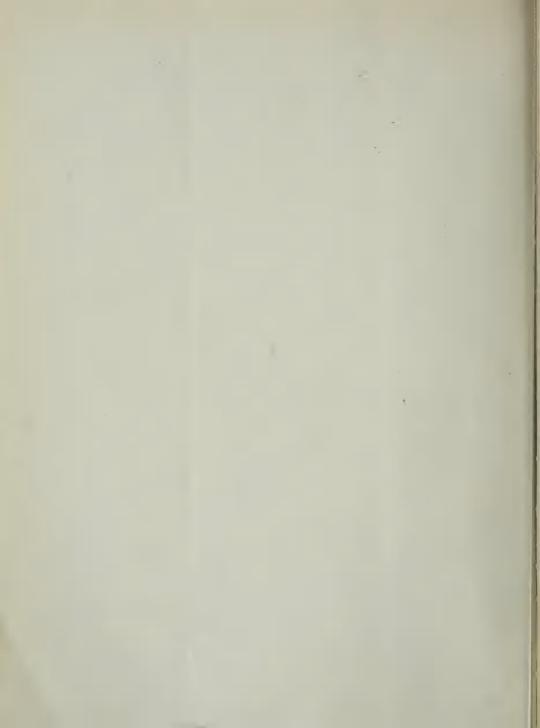
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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK SATURDAY · IANUARY 1, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act

# The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S CHRISTMAS BROADCAST proved rather meager fare. He had nothing to say about the domestic affairs of the nation, in regard to which his leadership is so badly needed; nor did he use the opportunity to report on the Cairo and Teheran conferences in a way that would have enlarged the people's understanding of the major issues of the war. The one real item of news he had to offer-the appointment of General Eisenhower to command the Allied invasion forces -was hardly a surprise, since authoritative sources had already indicated this choice. As the only alternative seems to have been General Marshall, who is doing an outstanding job as Chief of Staff, the selection will be generally approved. General Eisenhower has shown himself to be a first-rate organizer, a skilled coordinator of land, sea, and air forces, and a good diplomat. He has won many laurels for his tact and skill in welding a staff drawn from different nationalities and services into a good working team-never an easy task. But he has yet to prove himself a major strategist. In the Mediterranean he has shown a caution which at times has appeared excessive, particularly after the capture of Sicily and the fall of Mussolini. A more dashing policy at that moment would have involved greater immediate risks, but it might have paid dividends in lives and time. It is only fair to add that history may show that responsibility for this delay lies elsewhere. In any case, General Eisenhower is now being given an opportunity such as has fallen to few commanders, and we wish him and the men he leads all good fortune.

THE SESSION OF CONGRESS WHICH ENDED on December 21 with barely twenty Representatives on the floor of the House may claim the distinction of having done less at a time of great urgency than any other Congress in a decade. A year ago, when the Seventyeighth Congress convened, it faced seven main responsibilities. Preeminent among these was the necessity for raising sufficient additional revenue to absorb excess purchasing power, then estimated at more than forty billion dollars. Also of great importance were the tasks of combating rising prices, creating the machinery for an orderly post-war reconstruction, providing financial and educational assistance to service men as they are demobilized, establishing a mechanism to prevent eleven million service men from being disfranchised in the next election, revising our social-security laws as repeatedly urged by the President, and formulating the broad outlines of our post-war international policies. Only the last was accomplished, and that largely by a fluke. The Connally resolution on post-war organization was given some substance at the last moment as a result of the timely announcement of the Moscow agreements. Against this must be set not only the failure of Congress to make provision for the difficult transition from war to peace at home but its indefensible action in killing the one agency that had done constructive work in this direction—the National Resources Planning Board.

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THE MOST FLAGRANT DERELICTION OF DUTY on the part of Congress, however, has been its tendency to play politics on the inflation issue. Although few individual Congressmen will deny the necessity for the stabilization program, both houses have repeatedly vielded to the pressure of special interests and passed measures which, if they had become law, would have wrecked the entire anti-inflation program. Fortunately, many of these measures, like the anti-subsidy bill and the bills for increasing the pay of non-operating railway workers, the price of oil, and the price of corn, after passing in one house were held up in the other. And earlier in the session the President twice stepped in to avert disaster by vigorous use of his veto power. But if the difficulty of obtaining agreement between House and Senate saved Congress from many sins of commission, no such factor operated in connection with its sins of omission. Its failure to provide adequate tax revenues has already been seized upon as a justification for labor's demands for a wage scale above the Little Steel formula. Fortunately, as the session ended, there were signs that public opinion was making itself felt in Washington on the subsidies and soldier-vote issues. A three weeks' vacation certainly cannot do the Seventy-eighth Congress any harm; it is possible that a few talks with the folks back home may do it some good.

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EVENTS ARE MOVING FAST IN THE BALKANS. Last week we commented on the demand of the new Partisan government in Yugoslavia for Allied recognition. Since then it has gone farther. Tito has broadcast a bitter attack on King Peter's Cabinet and announced that the King himself will not be allowed to return to Yugoslavia until the people have had a chance to decide whether or not they want him. This latest move creates an even more embarrassing diplomatic problem for the Allied governments. Tito's Partisan army is too important a military factor to be ignored. Even now it is

containing as many German troops as are the British and American forces in Italy; and in preparing the way for an Allied invasion its operations are indispensable. Washington and London undoubtedly knew that eventually they would have to break with Mihailovich and the government in exile. But they had hoped they might employ the young King Peter to help bridge the diplomatic gap opened by the present situation. To graft Peter on the new political growth in Yugoslavia not only would serve to satisfy the ingrained British and American passion for legitimacy but would provide, it was hoped, a rallying point for forces in Yugoslavia still loyal to Mihailovich and the King. Now the Tito government has upset this hope. It cannot be suspected of having acted irresponsibly, especially since it is working in close cooperation with British, Russian, and American advisers. The repudiation of Peter was almost certainly a political necessity. At this stage in the struggle it is more important to represent the wishes of the Yugoslav people and keep their morale high than to spare Allied diplomats the consequences of their long-continued support of the government in exile.

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ANYONE WITH AN AVERAGE MEMORY WILL recall how solemnly the State Department defended the necessity of transporting Marcel Peyrouton from Argentina to North Africa shortly after the Allied invasion. As one of Hitler's most assiduous French collaborators, Peyrouton, to be sure, had established concentration camps for Frenchmen on French soil and introduced the Nürnberg code to the land of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but his presence was demanded, it was said, because he was a good administrator. Now the indispensable administrator is in jail, along with such other supposedly essential adjuncts of Allied liberation as Pierre Boisson, and the bottom has not dropped out of the administration ot French North Africa. On the contrary that administration is in an increasingly robust state. Unlike the French governments in the declining years of the Third Republic, it is not disposed, in the name of democracy, to nourish democracy's enemies until they are strong enough to destroy it. The so-called "purge committee," besides rounding up the Peyroutons, Boissons, and Flandins, is gathering data on members of the army, navy, and civil service who belonged to the various fascist legions that contributed so willingly to the collapse of the Republic. It is looking into the recent history of publishers who until the Allied invasion printed their newspapers in accordance with daily instructions from Dr. Goebbels. To perform this service it has been necessary to impound the books of all papers published before November, 1942, an action which has produced wails of anguish about the De Gaullists' violation of the freedom of the press. Perhaps the best answer to these loose charges is the fact that the administrative procedure involved in the process has been severely criticized in *Echo d'Alger*, whose editors have incurred no penalty as a result.

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THE McCORMICK THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL relations is that the interests of this country are endangered less by its enemies than by its friends and allies. So the Colonel is perfectly logical in advocating policies which seem bound to insure that we shall eventually have no friends left to worry about. "We should insist," he told the Detroit Athletic Club on December 15, "on retaining such of the islands as will secure our future safety from attack; we should retain air bases wherever we have built them . . . we should make such other arrangements as will provide for our security." This is a pretty tall order, with implications which the Colonel, unfortunately, failed to develop. We have built air bases all around the world. Is each of these to become an enclave of American territory, and if so, how will they be defended? Suppose, for instance, we "retain" an air base at Dakar. Are we then going to look to the French, who will not be exactly pleased at this invasion of their sovereignty, to guard it for us or are we to depend on our own strength? If the latter, we must take over more than a few square miles of North Africa, for an isolated air base would prove entirely indefensible. In fact, retaining all the air bases we have built for the purposes of carrying on this war would inevitably lead to the acquisition of most of Asia and Africa, not to mention such headaches as Northern Ireland, and would leave us permanently on a war footing if not permanently at war. Seeking security while rejecting internationalism, our isolationists are moving rapidly toward super-imperialism.

TRY TO IMAGINE A JEWISH POLICEMAN WHO not only hates Catholics indiscriminately but who attends meetings at which anti-Catholic campaigns are mapped out, who associates with shady characters under indictment for seditious activities, and who uses his garage as a storage vault for abusive anti-Catholic literature intended for popular distribution. Go on, then, and picture this arm of the law caught red-handed and brought up on departmental charges. Is there any doubt in your mind that he would—and should—be dropped from the force as fast as the shield could be stripped off his uniform? Now stop imagining and look at the case of Patrolman James L. Drew of the New York police. With a few legally irrelevant changes it parallels our hypothetical case—up to a point. Drew is not Jewish but on the contrary an avowed anti-Semite. He is a friend and associate of Joe McWilliams and other notorious rabble-rousers. On the testimony of Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands, he has contributed funds "to at least four organizations which, according to federal indictments, were engaged in seditious activities," and in his garage were found quantities of scurrilous anti-Semitic pamphlets. Here the parallel ends. Far from being unceremoniously booted from the force, Drew has been reinstated by Commissioner Valentine, with back pay. During part of the period of his suspension he was even permitted to continue policing a Brooklyn precinct with a preponderantly Jewish population. Both Mr. Herlands and Dean Ignatius M. Wilkinson, Corporation Counsel of New York, believe that Valentine acted in defiance of all the evidence. Mayor LaGuardia promises to look into the matter when he has a chance. He should not be allowed to forget it.

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THE STORY OF JOHN LONGO'S ARREST AND conviction as told elsewhere in this issue by McAlister Coleman is so preposterous that the average American is likely to think that some of the essential facts must have been omitted. Yet evidence from many sources, including the testimony of Governor Edison himself, indicates that Longo's sole crime is that of opposition to the Hague political machine. It cannot even be pretended that he has received a fair trial. The prosecutor, the judge, and even the jury that convicted him were under Hague's influence. And the Longo case is only one of six apparent miscarriages of justice which have been called to the attention of Attorney General Biddle by the City Affairs Committee of Jersey City, which is demanding a federal investigation of the infringement of constitutional rights by the Hague machine. Mr. Biddle's position is embarrassing, but we incline to agree with Mr. Coleman that a clear-cut response to civic duty in this instance would react favorably to the Administration in New Jersey as well as elsewhere. Meanwhile, every effort must be made to see that Longo receives the kind of trial every American is entitled to. Funds for his defense may be sent to the Reverend George G. Hollingshead, treasurer of the Jersey City Affairs Committee, Goodwill Industries, 574 Jersey Avenue, Jersey City.

# Come and Get It

A FTER months of groaning labor, Congress seems about to give birth to a bad joke—a tax bill not only completely inadequate for the fiscal needs of the nation but threatening to take more out of the Treasury than it adds to it. Although a Presidential veto of a tax bill is quite unprecedented, it is not surprising that such action is being urged in quarters close to the White House. The Treasury put before Congress plans to raise \$10½ billion in new revenue. The House, ignoring the possibilities of higher income levies, particularly in the over-\$3,000 brackets, scraped together some odds and endaged to the property of the property

of taxes estimated to yield a total of little over \$2 billion. Not content with this, the Senate Finance Committee has whittled further, and in addition has voted to freeze pay-roll taxes at the present rate of 1 per cent. Unless overridden, a Presidential veto would mean that social-security collections would automatically increase \$1.4 billion in the next year, making a net loss of under \$1 billion from failure to pass a tax bill.

But that is not the worst. Tacked on to the tax bill in its present form are a series of drastic amendments to the renegotiation law which will not only prevent the government from collecting refunds when contract prices prove out of line with costs but will probably involve the return of vast sums to contractors who have already agreed to scale down prices.

The renegotiation law was passed for the purpose of checking in this war the rampant profiteering experienced in the last. While it can hardly be said to have achieved this objective it has served at least to limit raids on the public purse. It is, moreover, an essential law because it is absolutely impossible to ascertain production costs in advance in a great many cases. When a new type of plane or tank is ordered, no one can say what will be the real unit cost of a batch of 5,000. This can only be ascertained as the production line gets into swing and the "bugs" are ironed out. Then various ways of reducing the labor cost per unit are likely to be discovered. Further, if the order is later increased, unit costs will be again reduced since the heavy expenses of preparing blueprints, special dies, etc., will be spread over a larger output.

Under the renegotiation law it has been the practice of government procurement officers to place contracts at prices which the manufacturer concerned believes will protect him fully. Then, when actual costs have been proved by experience, renegotiation begins, and if the final figure agreed upon is less than the original, a refund is made to the government. This process serves to prevent delays in placing contracts: the extent to which it also serves to protect the taxpayer is indicated by the fact that already over \$5 billion has been collected in refunds.

At the time the law was passed there was very little opposition, and many large war contractors have since warmly indorsed its principles and paid tribute to the way they have been applied. In his report to the stockholders for 1942, Frederick B. Rentschler, chairman of United Aircraft, declared: "The directors and officers wholeheartedly support the principle of renegotiation.... Price reductions, before excessive profits can accrue, tend to keep costs at a minimum. In this respect renegotiation is superior to a broad profit limitation, which reaches profits only after they accrue and affords no incentive to reduce costs."

Many corporations, however, when faced by the prospect of disgorging cash to the Treasury, decided that the

law was an unjust one. They objected that renegotiation did not take into account the necessity for providing post-war reserves out of profits, and they claimed that revision of contracts should be based on consideration not of gross profits but of profits after taxes. Actually profits, after taxes and renegotiated refunds, are proving ample in most cases to provide for post-war reserves unless business is preparing to hibernate like a bear and live on its accumulated fat through a prolonged winter of depression. Moreover, Congress has made generous provision for tax rebates in the event of post-war losses. As to the second claim, it means in effect that taxes on profits would be treated as cost and that the Treasury would pay out with one hand what it received in the other.

Congress, however, has been mightily impressed by these pleas, and the result is the inclusion in the current tax bill of a series of amendments which in the opinion of such conservative administrators as Under Secretary of War Patterson and Under Secretary of the Navy Forrestal (both government recruits from Wall Street) are calculated to emasculate the renegotiation law. Among the changes approved by the Senate Finance Committee is the retroactive exclusion from renegotiation of subcontracts for articles which do not become a component part of the final product consumed. The effect of this amendment would be the return of huge sums to manufacturers of machine tools and many other contractors. Another proposal is for the exemption from renegotiation of all "standard commercial articles." This introduces but does not define a term capable of widely differing interpretations. Is an army blanket, a ship, a Diesel motor, or a truck axle a "standard commercial article"? And in any case is no consideration to be given to the fact that a bulk government order for such articles can be filled at very much lower unit cost than the equivalent production made up of numerous relatively small orders for private customers?

Other amendments approved by the House or the Senate Finance Committee or both require renegotiators to take into account taxes and post-war reserves and permit 8.000 voluntary settlements already achieved to be appealed to the courts. It is no wonder that Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has declared that the renegotiation provisions of the tax bill "open the way to truly extortionate profits. I predict that if they are enacted into law they will come back to plague not only Congress but the war-goods manufacturers who get temporary gain from them."

The idea that this war, unlike the last, was to be fought on a non-profiteering basis has already gone down the drain. Corporate earnings after taxes in 1943 reached an all-time high. But if these proposals become law, the nation's substance will be piled in the hog trough and industry invited to gorge itself sick.

# Bolivia—and After

TWAS clear when the Ramirez regime in Argentina was first established that the Colonels would not be content with seeing their program victorious in Argentina alone. Every circumstance drove them to extend their influence beyond the national frontiers. On one hand they faced the growing dissatisfaction of the people, and on the other the difficult diplomatic situation engendered by their conflict with the United States. The only way they could compensate for their weak position was to bolster Argentine fascism with the support of the greatest possible number of Latin American countries.

The Bolivian coup d'état was written on the wall, and La Paz is not the only capital threatened by fascism. In his broad analysis of how fascism developed in Argentina, J. Alvarez del Vayo last week referred to a project, centering in and around Argentina, to create a strong military bloc of states, directed particularly against the United States. Even before the overthrow of the Peñeranda regime was reported, those who had followed affairs in Buenos Aires were familiar with the outline of the plan, which encompassed Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. Paraguay and Bolivia have been won over by Argentina, and Ramirez agents have shown tremendous activity in recent weeks in Chile and Peru.

No more conclusive proof can be offered that the tolerance of a single fascist state anywhere endangers every state everywhere. With Buenos Aires as the core of infection, fascism threatens to spread all along the Plate River and the Andes, penetrating even into Central America and Mexico. Though Mexico City is a long distance from Buenos Aires and La Paz, reports from there are far from reassuring. On the contrary, an eminent Mexican who occupies an official post and who only a year ago scoffed at stories in The Nation about the Sinarquist danger admitted the other day that in view of recent developments in South America the danger could no longer be minimized. Recently the Mexican Parliament discussed at great length the proportions which the Sinarquist agitation is assuming. Well organized, and constantly acquiring new financial means, the Sinarquistas have been working systematically and aggressively among the young men who are scheduled for induction into the army. The Bolivian coup d'état was acclaimed by the Sinarquistas without even an attempt to disguise their intention to profit by a good example.

This situation deserves the closest attention from the government and people of the United States. All our complacency about the progress which the cause of democracy and of the United Nations is making in Latin America has been fundamentally challenged; should things continue to move in the same direction, we may

find ourselves emerging victorious from the war only to see fascism triumphant in Latin America. And the triumph of fascism in the southern continent could not fail to find a reflection in the United States itself.

It may seem absurd that such a threat should develop at a moment when the Allied coalition is defeating the Axis powers on every front. But the explanation is simple. The growth of fascism in Latin America is the result of our insistence upon waging this war not as a war for democracy but as a purely military enterprise. It is the consequence of the absence of a united political policy from the direction of the war.

The democratic elements, the liberal forces, the working masses in Latin America have been confused and thwarted by our contradictory policy. It is true that the principal leaders of the coup d'état in Bolivia are the same people who obliged the government of Peneranda to declare a state of siege in 1941, "because the existence of plans and activities against public order and the legal powers in connivance with foreign political interests of totalitarian character has been proved." It is true that in certain respects the coup in Bolivia is the second act, this time successful, of a project conceived in 1941 in cooperation with Ernst Wendler, the German Minister in La Paz, and developed by Major Elias Pabón, the Bolivian military attache in Berlin. But it is no less true that these leaders were able to take advantage of the profound distrust which the mass of the Bolivian working class has come to feel toward the United States and toward the United Nations in general.

Not everyone behind the new Bolivian regime is a pro-Nazi, although the leadership may be. Many of the men who are involved in the coup or who supported it are moved by a belief that the war may end with a capitalist oligarchy dominating Latin America, supported and favored by Washington. German agents in Bolivia knew well what they were doing when they distributed throughout Latin America thousands of leaflets quoting the statement of the United States Minister in La Paz in favor of the Bolivian mine owners in their struggle against the Bolivian workers. It was too much to expect that when the junta led its troops into the streets of La Paz the other day to overthrow the Peñeranda government, the working masses of Bolivia would rush from their houses to oppose their new rulers and shout hosannas for the United Nations.

This is the situation to which the lack of a democratic political direction of the war has led. Washington may or may not decide to recognize the new Bolivian government, but as long as the United Nations have nothing better to offer Latin America than a policy of supporting oppressive dictatorships, of making no distinction between reactionaries and democrats, the plot conceived in Buenos Aires and now victorious in Bolivia will have success after success.

# Ickes and the Oil Men

BY I. F. STONE

O ONE has been more critical of dollar-a-year men than Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. He has boasted that in his Petroleum Administration for War there are no dollar-a-year men, that the men running the PAW, unlike those running the War Production Board, are regular government officials working at regular government salaries.

A few days ago a subcommittee of the House Naval Affairs Committee under the chairmanship of L. Mendel Rivers released a transcript of hearings on the petroleum situation. This transcript revealed (1) that at least three officials of the PAW are still being paid salaries by private companies, although they are also paid regular salaries by the government, and (2) that the PAW refused to give the House Naval Affairs Committee a list of other PAW officials receiving private pay. A similar request some time ago from a subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee met with a similar rebuff.

Ickes's deputy in charge of the Petroleum Administration for War is Ralph K. Davies. He testified that he was on leave of absence from his job as first vice-president of Standard Oil of California. When he was asked whether he was receiving a salary from that company, his answer was, "Not salary as such." But in answer to further questions Davies explained: "My salary with the government is \$10,000. My compensation from Standard Oil of California is \$47,500... which together represent my civilian salary of \$57,500."

Edwin D. Cumming is director of refining in the PAW. He testified that he was with the Shell Oil Company, American affiliate of Royal Dutch Shell, for twenty years, and explained his dual position thus:

Mr. Cumming: . . . I left Shell to come down here as director of refining.

Mr. Rivers: You are not now connected with Shell?

Mr. Cumming: No.

Mr. Rivers: What is your salary over here?

Mr. Cumming: \$8,000.

Mr. Rivers: You don't draw any salary from any other source now?

Mr. Cumming: I get a so-called termination pay from Shell.

Mr. Rivers: How much is that?

Mr. Cumming: That amounts to about \$18,000 a

Mr. Rivers: What is that, Mr. Cumming? Is that a kind of annuity?

Mr. Cumming: Yes. Shell, of course, was reluctant

to have me leave and wanted to be sure that I maintained some sort of connection with them during the war, and that I would return to them after the war, even though they were most anxious that I have nothing to do with them as long as I was in Washington.

Donald R. Knowlton, Director of Production for the PAW, testified to a similar position. He is a government official at \$8,000 a year but is "still on the pay roll of the Phillips Petroleum Company . . as compensation for past services rendered" at \$16,380 a year, because he is "what you might call loaned by the Phillips Petroleum Company."

Representative F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana, a member of the Rivers subcommittee, asked Knowlton to supply a list of PAW officials showing "whether or not they are still drawing compensation from their companies which loaned them here to Washington, as well as the compensation they are getting in Washington." This request was given a polite brush-off by Davies in a letter to Representative Rivers.

There is a federal statute, passed in 1918, which says:.

No government official or employee shall receive any salary in connection with his service as such from any source other than the government of the United States. . . . And no person, association, or corporation shall make any contribution to, or in any way supplement the salary of, any government official or employee for the services performed by him for the government.

The purpose of this law, as explained by an opinion of the Attorney General in 1922, "was that no government official or employee should serve two masters to the prejudice of his unbiased devotion to the interests of the United States." I think this pretty elementary. I think the people of this country at least have a right to know when a public official is also on a private pay roll, especially when he is engaged, as PAW officials are, in regulating the affairs of his own industry. I think that when men are on the public pay roll and a private pay roll at one and the same time it is hardly candid to draw a moral distinction between them and dollar-a-year men. The only difference is that we get their services more cheaply at the WPB than at the PAW. I frankly cannot understand how a public official with a record like that of Harold Ickes can justify his refusal to give the facts to a Congressional committee.

So many have been the inquiries about this matter that the PAW is giving out mimeographed copies of a letter sent by Attorney General Francis Biddle to the President January 1, 1944

on April 27, 1942. PAW represents this letter as authorization for the acceptance of private salaries by its officials. But I do not think the letter supports the interpretation given it. The letter is a reply to a request from the White House for an opinion "whether it is proper for an officer of the United States to engage in private business activities and be compensated for so doing." Davies in his letter to Rivers said his subordinates "devote their undivided effort" to the PAW. If this is true, the question put to Biddle does not cover them. PAW seems to rely on a sentence in the Biddle opinion which says that the statute quoted above "does not, however, prohibit payment for services rendered exclusively to private persons or organizations and which have no connection with the services rendered to the government." But this does not cover PAW officials, for Davies's excuse for the dual salaries was that "we can't get an organization to do this work at government salaries." In that case, the payments from the private companies do supplement government salaries for work done for the government—clearly a violation of the statute.

We need not be legalistic or babes in the wood. The

big companies from which the leading officials of PAW are drawn have never distinguished themselves by an over-punctilious sense of propriety in dealing with the government. If the Shell Oil Company was as anxious as Cumming said that he should "have nothing to do with them as long as [he] was in Washington," Shell Oil is a very unusual company. Most companies assign men to WPB, PAW, or other agencies because they want someone there to see that their interests are taken care of.

The Rivers subcommittee seemed to think the situation at PAW no different from at WPB. "The Petroleum Administration for War was criticized by nearly every witness," its report said, "for . . . favoritism to the big oil companies, whose employees predominantly man the Petroleum Administration for War." Surveying the activities of the PAW's all-powerful district committees, the subcommittee found "discrimination against the weaker independent members of the industry under the guise of furthering the war effort." This is exactly the kind of criticism that Ickes has aimed in the past at the WPB and the RFC.

# Labor's Fourteen Million Votes

BY ROBERT BENDINER

N JUNE 26 last any one of a hundred Congressmen might have been seen to sit back and rub his hands in solid satisfaction. Over the President's veto the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill had been made the law of the land; after ten years of overindulgence at the hands of New Deal "professors," labor, these statesmen thought, had been put in its place. They had voted—or so they believed—to arrest a trend, to check the political advances of the unions. In their astigmatic way the Congressmen did not see that what they had really done was to give labor a political awareness which may well cost some of them their jobs as representatives of the people. They had made a good many wage-earners suddenly understand that henceforth their security would depend not only on the success of a union's dickerings with an employer but equally on the attitude of Presidents, Representatives, and Senators.

The demonstration, however unintentional, was effective, and it quickly bore fruit. From the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and the Railroad Brotherhoods alike came hot words of protest—and some plain speaking about the 1944 elections. Trade-union leaders of every caliber and every faction were agreed at least that their casual trust in the self-perpetuation of labor's New Deal gains had been unwarranted, that their beauty nap in the elec-

tion campaigns of 1940 and 1942 had been bought at too high a price.

The awakening was all to the good, but political consciousness is not the same thing as political solidarity. In the first flush of disillusion and alarm, labor, like Leacock's knight, has leaped to the saddle and galloped off in all directions. Sections of the A. F. of L., pinning the Smith-Connally bill on the Southern Democrats and jealous of alleged favoritism toward the C. I. O., have soured on the Administration as a whole and are ready to give the nod to the first Republican who tosses them a kind word. This drift can be counted on to reach ground-swell proportions should Willkie be nominated. John L. Lewis, on the other hand, now detests Willkie even more than he does Roosevelt and is playing a waiting game in the hope that fate will make it unnecessary for him to choose between his two best hates. The political direction of the Railroad Brotherhoods will probably be decided by the government's handling of the current strike crisis. At the moment the Brotherhood leaders are resentful over what they regard as the favored treatment accorded to Lewis's miners, who were allowed to violate the Little Steel wage formula because they insisted. They are equally resentful over the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee, which for the sake of the war

effort would have them sacrifice a time-honored tradition of discriminating against Negroes. Victor Riesel, the New York Post's labor columnist, reports that some of them have taken to mumbling about "the President's

Harvard professors."



Sidney Hillman

On the side of the Administration, and geared for political action on a scale no major labor group has yet attempted in this country, are the unions of the C. I. O. Their story in the campaign of 1944 will be the story of a new agency and a fateful experiment in American labor politics-the C. I. O. Committee on Political Action, appointed

by Philip Murray and headed by Sidney Hillman. It should be said at the outset that the Political Action

Committee aspires to give direction not merely to the C. I. O. unions but to great sections of American labor beyond those boundaries and to farmer and independent liberal groups as well. It is a major bid for progressive unity on the political front-and on its banners may well rest the hopes of Franklin D. Roosevelt for his own reelection or for the election of his chosen successor.

#### NON-PARTISAN BUT-

Ostensibly the Political Action Committee is not bound to support Roosevelt or the Democratic Party, but its protestations on this score need not be taken seriously. It is true that at last November's convention of the C. I. O. President Murray was not prepared to tell the Democratic Party or any other party, " 'Here we are, meek and humble of spirit, prepared to give to you our bodies and our souls in a state of abject surrender." And he did in fact suggest that 1944 would be time enough to make selections for 1944. But Hillman, agreeing technically and with obvious reluctance, could not resist adding that if the election were only a few months away he would still raise his voice and "urge, for the sake of humanity, the nation, and labor, the nomination and reelection of Franklin Delano Roosevelt." Since Hillman was deliberately chosen as kingpin of the committee, it may be assumed that the "bodies and souls" involved will ultimately be delivered to the Democrats, if not "in a state of abject surrender," then perhaps in a state of mild protest-but in any event delivered.

Hillman explains the committee as a kind of spontaneous generation. Realistic C. I. O. leaders, he says, did not blink the fact that labor had taken a severe

drubbing at the polls in 1942. The same truth did not escape the Seventy-eighth Congress, and the Smith-Connally law, which among other choice provisions forbade unions to contribute to political parties, was merely the most blatant expression of a triumphant hostility that promised even direr things to come. Meeting in executive session, the C. I. O. high command voted on July 7 to sound out other labor and farmer groups on the chances of a common effort to arrest the trend. A committee was appointed under Hillman's chairmanship to explore and report back. The objective, Hillman told me, is "to provide a mechanism for organizing, ward by ward and precinct by precinct, the progressive forces of the country for the election campaign of 1944 and to make sure that the issues of that campaign will be real issues." The foremost of these is to be full employment after the war, and beyond that a foreign policy compatible with democracy at home. The punch behind the program, according to the blueprint, is to be the pooled voting strength of fourteen million trade unionists.

In view of labor's divided political sentiments it is no doubt wise of Hillman to emphasize issues rather than candidates or parties. Republicans as well as Democrats are eligible for the committee's support in Congressional and local fights. Nevertheless, only the most naive observer can doubt that the committee will in fact be a campaign instrument for the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party. In the first place, Hillman, in the course of his unity explorations, has called for a "National United Labor League" which would support candidates "who have demonstrated their consistent and unequivocal support of President Roosevelt on all major issues, domestic and foreign." Secondly, the Administration has already assigned some of its best talent to work with the committee. C. B. Baldwin, once administrator of the Farm Security Agency, has been lent out as Hillman's administrative assistant. Former Representative McKeough of Illinois, an ardent New Dealer, will act as regional director for Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. And Maury Maverick is being pressed to serve in the Southwest. All are expected to work closely with the White House. Finally, the committee is dead set against the one kind of action that would finish all Democratic hopes for a 1944 victory—recourse by labor or progressives to a national third party. Hillman himself is not impressed with the argument that with labor's support assured so early in the game, the President would be free to concentrate on conciliating the right. On the contrary, he argues, concessions are made only to power.

#### PROGRESS: ON PAPER AND OTHERWISE

Reporting back to the C. I. O. convention in November, Hillman recounted the achievements of his exploratory campaign. In ten regional conferences he had consulted with C. I. O. representatives from more than forty states, and had obtained unanimous and enthusiastic agreement, not to mention three-quarters of a million dollars. He had appealed to local officials of the A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods, and nowhere did he "find opposition from any section of the organized labor movement for some kind of cooperation on political action." In Philadelphia, in the state of New Jersey, and in many other places, he reported, "all of labor is organically united for political action." Unofficially he spoke of a \$5,000,000 "educational" fund in the making and expressed the hope that the Federation, the Brotherhoods, and the C. I. O. would hold a convention of their own prior to the Presidential conventions. Recommendations would be drawn up for inclusion in the platforms of the major parties and labor standards set up for candidates. The convention voted full approval, and its Committee on Political Action buckled down to work.

Since November the committee claims to have established organic unity, that is, single groups representing all major labor organizations, in the states of Vermont and Louisiana, and on a city-wide basis in Oakland, Cleveland, and St. Louis. A similar setup is said to be on the way in Minnesota, Arkansas, and Seattle. Parallel unity—separate groups working cooperatively for the same local candidates—is reported to obtain in Washington, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Committee officials even talk hopefully of primary drives in some of the most benighted strongholds of the South, with fights scheduled against "Cotton Ed" Smith in South Carolina, Dies in Texas, and possibly Rankin in Mississippi.

It should not belittle either the purposes or the prospects of the Political Action Committee to note in this picture the somewhat gaudy tints of the professional political artist. The C. I. O. unions, it may be taken for granted, will deliver, as promised, a solid bloc for the New Deal candidate—assuming there is a New Deal candidate and assuming the committee succeeds in getting out a full vote (in itself no mean objective in view of labor's sluggishness in the recent past). But it is doubtful whether the unity attained so far with the A. F. of L. or the Brotherhoods amounts to anything politically significant on a national scale. All too often "organic unity" is just another term for the inevitable collaboration of small progressive groups that have time after time worked together, plus an A. F. of L. local here and another there—the nucleus for a broad front perhaps but hardly a front in itself. Philadelphia's United Labor Committee, established a year ago, is already cracking under the strain. In the mayoralty campaign of last November the Communist-controlled affiliates not unnaturally refused to go along in support of William C. Bullitt and worked at cross-purposes with their organically united colleagues. Now the A. F. of L. Teamsters are reported to have withdrawn unofficially or to be on the verge of doing so.

In Minnesota, to put another claim to the test, the unity achieved is not so much a product of the Political Action Committee as it is the A. F. of L.'s contribution to a statewide effort for a united Democratic-Farmer Labor ticket. The C. I. O., comparatively weak in that state, is merely going along. On the Pacific Coast the committee has come to terms with the powerful Teamsters' machine of Dave Beck, but it should be remembered that at the top of the Teamsters is Dan Tobin, chairman of the labor committee of the Democratic Party. If this particular Federation union couldn't be counted on to cooperate, the prospects of a solid labor front would be too faint to be seen by the naked eye.

In the top reaches of the A. F. of L. there is nothing but coolness for the advances of the Political Action Committee. When Hillman told the convention that "not in a single place did [he] find opposition from any section of the organized labor movement," he was slyly forgetting at least one none too gentle rebuff. The executive council of the Federation, he had been told, rejected his proposals for joint action, preferring to follow its "old non-partisan policy without becoming entangled with committees of other organizations."

It is true that, given the autonomy of the Federation's affiliates, the council can speak only for itself, but the causes of its chilliness run deep into the fabric of the organization. Foremost, perhaps, is the jealousy of leaders, national and local. Hillman's prestige will rise or vanish with the success or failure of the New Deal next November. In the event of a victory he will be credited with having delivered labor's vote, and Federation leaders are not even faintly interested in contributing toward that end. Those among them who choose to back the Administration will want recognition for whatever votes they deliver. On the other hand, the possibility of a New Deal defeat is certain to lure some of them into the Republican camp, where in the event that their gamble proves sound they will be in all the better position because of the C. I. O.'s headlong commitment. Finally, Hillman's high-handed approach to the complex political situation in New York has violently alienated one of the largest and most powerful of the Federation's unions-David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers-and has probably sealed the doom of the American Labor Party.

#### NIGHTMARE IN NEW YORK

The incredible muddle in New York requires an article in its own right; its intricacies can only be suggested here. Logically the American Labor Party, undeviating in its support of the New Deal, should have been made the core around which the Political Action Committee built its unity structure in the state. Hillman agreed to treat it as such but laid down the conditions that it accept the affiliation of all unions desiring to join and that representatives of all unions be admitted to the ruling

council of the party. The theory was that the C. I. O. could hardly support an organization from which any of its constituent unions were barred, whatever the political complexion of their leaders. To accept the proposal, therefore, the A. L. P. would have to abandon its long and bitter struggle to keep Communists from attaining dominant positions in the party. Acting on the principle that Communists are entitled to their own party but not to others, the right-wing leaders of the A. L. P. will not yield. They are bitter at Hillman, who they fully believe has deliberately jockeyed them into an impossible position partly out of personal animosity toward Dubinsky.

Aside from certain legal objections to the Hillman proposal, the A. L. P. leaders insist that even if they wished to surrender, their party workers-the men and women who ring doorbells, speak on street corners, and in general carry the burden of campaigning-would abandon the party in droves rather than accept a united front with Communists after years of mutual castigation. The way would then be open for the Communists to sweep in and take over the ward machinery and the club houses, the heart of the party, regardless of how small a minority they might be in its top councils. Who else would be ready to step into the precincts? Certainly not Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The A. L. P. would have accepted an alternative proposal, its leaders told me, whereby the party, its own structure unaffected, would attach itself as a unit to a statewide political-action league organized for the 1944 campaign.

To all of which Hillman answers blandly that the left wing is fast taking over the party as it is, and that his scheme would at least prevent the Communists from controlling the state committee. The fact is that in making his proposal Sidney Hillman had nothing to lose. Should the New Deal come to grief in 1944, an A. L. P. revamped along the lines he suggests would probably disintegrate. Should a New Deal candidate win, Hillman would have made use of the party, and whether or not it became a Communist front afterward would not, I think, greatly concern him. It is my belief, therefore, that Alex Rose, George Counts, and David Dubinsky, the guiding spirits of the A. L. P., will flatly reject the Hillman proposal. Along with the district leaders they will shortly decide whether to abandon the party now or hold out in the hope of defeating the left-wingers—who in that event will be aided by Hillman's followers-in a bitterly contested April primary.

Whatever his intentions, Hillman has created, in the name of unity, a seething disunity in the most crucial of all the states. He may be able to make up for it in the other forty-seven, and, considering what is at stake, there should be no liberal so partisan as not to wish him well. If he fails and the New Deal is drowned in a flood of hostile ballots, it will be many a year before labor will again be recognized as a political force in the United

States. In that event the rivalries that now separate a Brotherhood locomotive engineer from a Federation teamster, or an I. L. G. dress cutter from a C. I. O. steel riveter, will seem like wretched stuff beside the headaches that will afflict them all in common—because government will continue to play a major role in their affairs, and an unsympathetic government can be a lot harder to bargain with than an unsympathetic employer.

# In the Wind

EW YEAR'S PREDICTION. Around City Hall in Jersey City the talk is that Republican Governor-Elect Walter Edge will appoint as Prosecutor of Hudson County, to take the place of Dan O'Regan, who tried John Longo, another of Hague's henchmen now on the bench.

ON NOVEMBER 20 THIS COLUMN reported the dismissal of Joseph Kaufman, liberal columnist on the Lynn, Massachusetts, Telegram-News. Almost immediately after sacking Kaufman, the Telegram-News dropped another column, McGlue's News-Vues, which had appeared on the same page. This had consisted of anti-New Deal, anti-Semitic, anti-Russian propaganda fashioned by one Charles S. McGlue, former associate of James M. Curley. The local Newspaper Guild, exercising its rights under a closed-shop contract, had served notice on the publisher that it would not accept McGlue into membership and that he could no longer continue to write for the paper.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD recently carried the names of seventy-four men who would shortly report for active duty in the armed forces. At the foot of the list was the name of Joseph E. Flemmings, followed by "Colored Inductee."

A TEMPLE CONGREGATION in Houston, Texas, recently passed a resolution barring from voting membership any Jew who practiced the dietary laws of orthodox Judaism, favored the perpetuation of Hebrew as a language, or belonged to any organization favoring Zionism. The congregation bears a Hebrew name, Beth Israel, which in English means "House of Israel."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A bomb exploded in a Norwegian printing shop where a German sympathizer was having a book printed. Fifteen innocent employees were slightly injured. The saboteurs sent each of them flowers. . . . In a raid on a large transformer station in Frederiksberg (Copenhagen) seven saboteurs disarmed the policemen on guard by emptying their revolvers and taking their ammunition. The ammunition, however, was returned to the policemen by post, according to promise.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Windeither clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# British Tories Look Ahead

BY MALLORY BROWNE

London, December 10

FOUR and a half years of total war have changed many things in England, including the Conservative Party itself. British Tories today are rallying in ever-greater numbers round a political program which would make the American New Deal—even the New Deal of the old days—look rather like diehard conservatism.

The Conservative Party has always considered itself the aggressive defender of tradition, but it has never denied that even tradition changes, and one can reasonably argue that the younger Conservatives have been quicker to grasp the political implications of the changes wrought by the war than their Labor opponents. Off the record the leaders of the Labor Party acknowledge that there has been a definite shift in the political outlook in the past few months—indeed, almost in the past few weeks. The political currents in England which until recently were flowing strongly leftward are no longer doing so, although it is too early to say that the main trend is now in the opposite direction.

One reason for Tory confidence, of course, is Winston Churchill himself. It is hard to beat the leader who can say, "I led you to victory in the war; follow me and win the peace." And Churchill is not only the head of the government; he is also the Conservative leader.

But there is another important reason for the British Conservatives' recovered prestige. It is their readiness to take a position as defenders of the new tradition, although the essence of this new tradition is not Conservatism at all but the social reform which Conservatism for so long resisted. With magnificent disregard of this fact the Conservatives are calling their new program "Forward—by the Right!" The slogan has been used as the title of a booklet issued recently by the Tory Reform Committee, which has caused a real stir in British politics.

What, then, is the Tory Reform Committee? It consists of a number of Conservative members of Parliament most of whom, though not all, belong to the group commonly referred to here as the "Young Tories." Originally formed in February, 1943, to encourage the government to take constructive action along the lines of the Beveridge plan for social security, the committee has since evolved into an organization with much more comprehensive objectives. When its members found that they were agreed as to the principles which they felt should govern the conduct of political affairs, they decided to produce a complete program of action.

In explaining why it issued its statement, the Tory Reform Committee makes a significant admission namely, that the ends which it seeks do not differ essentially from those of many of its Labor opponents:

The great material needs of human society are peace and an adequacy of the essentials of life for every human being. No political party can fail to reflect in its policy the overwhelming demand of the British people for those ends. There is some disposition today to think that this identity of ends destroys the significance of party politics. This is not so; the vital difference between parties has been . . . in the means by which these ends are to be achieved.

The reformers go still farther. They attack the right-wing diehard members of their own party in the following caustic sentence: "If there are still any Conservatives whose political ambition is to return to the conditions which existed between the wars, or who regard the party merely as a convenient organization for exposing the fallacies of socialism, they are today of small account."

Much of the sixteen-page pamphlet is, of course, mere election propaganda, designed to make Conservatism look as attractive as possible to people who are being wooed by the left as well as the right. But it contains some real contributions, of which perhaps the most important is an insistence on full employment.

The supreme test of parliamentary democracy will lie in its ability to reconcile planning for full employment with the liberty of the individual. . . . There is considerable agreement among economists that the demand for capital goods is the factor which determines the activity of trade, and this in turn depends upon the investment of savings. We therefore consider that the government must so influence or, if necessary, control the volume and timing of expenditure on capital goods as to insure an adequate demand for them at any time.

This emphasis on full employment acquires significance from signs that at least the younger Conservatives really mean it. During the debate on the King's speech at the opening of the new session of Parliament late in November, the Tory Reform Committee put down an amendment severely criticizing the government—which meant criticizing some of their own party leaders—because of the failure of the speech to include a practical program for giving effect to the government's rather vague assurances about full employment. Most Conservatives in Britain today realize that if they are to save the system of private profit, as they are determined to do,

they must prevent another serious slump and largescale, long-term unemployment. The value of the Tory Reform Committee's recommendations is that they crystallize this realization into a concrete policy.

Here are some of the committee's views on other outstanding issues:

Removing the causes of war:

The interdependence of nations is economic as well as political. Restraint against aggression will in the long run be ineffective unless it is accompanied by constructive steps to remove the causes of dispute. The joint machinery of war must be adapted to the needs of peace. Organizations of the nature of the Middle East Supply Center should be continued. The International Labor Office and the Hague Court . . . should be revived.

#### Cooperation with America, Russia, and China:

The welfare of the human race will depend in the immediate post-war period on mutual cooperation and understanding between the British Commonwealth, the United States of America, the U. S. S. R., and the Republic of China. The final structure of any world organization must clearly be founded on an even broader basis than cooperation of this type.

#### Social security:

Social Security [must be] guaranteed by adequate minimum wages and a system of social insurance on the lines proposed by Sir William Beveridge. Such security implies a corresponding obligation on the part of individuals who are capable of so doing to contribute by their labor to the national wealth and the establishment of a preventive and curative health service to insure that the maximum number can so contribute.

Private property and freedom:

The freedom to vote secured by our parliamentary institutions is not of itself enough. It must be buttressed by an increasing measure of economic independence in the individual. For this reason we regard private property as indispensable to political freedom and consider that a widespread distribution of private property should be the aim of parliamentary government.

The importance of this Tory reform program lies in the fact that in addition to being a parliamentary election platform it gives a pretty fair preview of what post-war England is going to be like. "Forward—by the Right!" represents, it is true, only the left-wing of British Conservatism and has not yet received the indorsement of the party as a whole, but public opinion, as it will emerge from this war, will be at least as far to the left as the Young Tory reformers. Mr. Churchill, the party leader, is much too keen a politician not to realize this, and it can be taken for granted that the party will eventually adopt a program which will say the same thing in slightly different words.

But will the Conservatives carry out such a program? The answer is that they will probably be forced to do so, first by the growing strength of the reform movement within their ranks, and secondly in order to combat the increased strength of the Labor and Liberal opposition.

It seems more and more likely, therefore, that whoever occupies the White House in Washington after the war will find over here in Whitehall a nominally Conservative government ready to go at least as far to the left, in both domestic and international affairs, as the Roosevelt Democrats of the New Deal days.

# John Longo and Frank Hague

BY MCALISTER COLEMAN

YEAR ago this month John Longo, twenty-nine-year-old crusader against the regime of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, was brought up short by this headline in the Jersey Journal, mouthpiece for the Boss: "Longo Denies Tampering with Election Books." From bitter experience in his ten-year war with the Hague machine he realized immediately that Hague's henchmen were once more on his trail and hurried to consult his friend and comrade-in-arms, J. Owen Grundy. "They're after us again," exclaimed Grundy when he had read the story; "we've got to make the fight all over."

The anonymous writer for the Journal had said that William E. Sewall, Hudson County Supervisor of Elections, an appointee of Governor Edison, charged Longo

with tampering with the permanent registration book of the 1941 Jersey primaries in order to change his registration from Republican to Democrat so that he could get a job from Edison. As Longo had seen no reporter from the Journal he had, of course, made no denial, nor did anyone around Sewall's office know about any charges. But there was evidently more to the piece than sheer malice. Its purpose must be to discredit Longo with the Governor and the headline-reading public and perhaps set in train some sort of court action.

Grundy busied himself with defensive plans as he had done so often in the past. From their days together in Lincoln High School he and Longo had been inseparable. It was Grundy who first interested the high-spirited, eloquent Italian youth in the strange ways of

politics in their shabby water-front town. Owen would take Johnny along on frequent visits to Journal Square cafeterias, where the youngsters would listen for hours to muted talk about Hague's latest shenanigans. Owen was a great hand at collecting the writings of the politically heterodox, and he showed Johnny autographed books by Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Norman Thomas, with all of whom he had corresponded. In this fashion Owen found escape from his meager home life with an invalid mother, behind their little delicatessen shop on a drab Jersey City street. He and Longo agreed that it was their duty to destroy Hague and Hagueism and that they would support any man or party—Socialist, Communist, Republican, Democratic—that would help them.

Longo had other than political motives for his deepseated detestation of the lean man in the City Hall. A devout Catholic, he was grieved to know that the evil reputation of the Catholic Mayor was hurting his church everywhere. He was shocked to see church dignitaries sitting on platforms behind the ranting Mayor, eagerly accepting his benefactions, openly campaigning for his reelection. Further, he resented the scornful attitude of the peat-bog élite of the City Hall toward the Italians of the town. "They think you are fit only for garbage collectors," he told his Italian American audiences.

In 1938, at the height of the C. I. O. civil-liberties campaign in Jersey City, Longo spoke against Hague over the radio—he was introduced as secretary of the Holy Name Society of his church, Our Lady of Sorrows—and the City Hall gang put him down for immediate punishment. Soon the brash youth was a prisoner in Hague's private Dachau—the unspeakable Secaucus Penitentiary. His crime? With magnificent irony he was convicted of election irregularities in Hudson County, conditions in which had just been described by a refreshingly honest election official in the following words:

We know it is futile to attempt to arrest anyone belonging to the Democratic organization in Hudson County on Election Day: the accuser usually finds himself in jail as the arrested party by the time he gets to the station house . . . the only way to have an honest election in Hudson County under present conditions is with the militia, and if the present conditions continue, it is futile and ridiculous for us to attempt to hold further elections in Hudson County.

From his cell Longo sent letters reaffirming his faith in his God and his mission, touchingly brave, naive letters which Grundy read aloud to sympathizers in the living-room behind the small shop, with curtains drawn against the spying of Hague's secret police. Grundy labored devotedly to free his friend, and it was largely through his one-man drive that Longo's sentence was shortened to seven months—seven months of physical and spiritual torture.

Alarming as were the implications of the Journal story, the two crusaders still felt that they were in a better position to defend themselves than they had been in 1938. There was an honest man in the Trenton State House, and a succession of deaths had enabled him to put anti-Hague men in the very citadels of Hudson County. To be sure, Governor Edison had time and again been let down shabbily by Washington. His suggestions for a candidate for a federal judgeship had recently been pointedly ignored by the President in favor of a Hague machine-tender. When Longo appeared before a Senate committee, headed by New Jersey's Senator Smathers, considering the qualifications of Hague's choice, the young man was mercilessly bullied. Smathers called him a "crackpot" and wanted to know why he was not in the army-a crippled foot had placed him in 4-F.

Longo's protest to Washington further enraged the City Hall gang, but nevertheless, with the Governor's backing, he was sworn in as deputy county clerk of Hudson County in the same courtroom from which he had been sent to Secaucus. Grundy had a post in the Superintendent of Elections office, and for a little space the position of the two fighters seemed secure.

But not for long. One day last April Grundy, in a state of sweating fear, burst into the Journal Square office of Raymond Chasan, lawyer for both men and for years their intimate friend, and said that he had been summoned to appear before the grand jury. He knew that it had to do with the story of Longo's changing the registration. Chasan tried to calm his excited client, urging him to repeat to the jury what Grundy had constantly asserted, namely, that he knew nothing of any such incident. Grundy returned in high fettle, rejoicing over what he took to be his victory in a verbal duel with Prosecutor Daniel O'Regan. However, in a few days the grand jury handed down indictments against both Grundy and Longo. When he heard the news, Grundy exclaimed, "This time they have indicted Longo and his Voltaire as well!"

Now an alarming change came over Grundy. The old crusading fire was quenched in him. He acted like a beaten man. He threw up his job with Sewall and was seen no more by the cafeteria philosophers. When visitors came to the little store he would call out to them, "They have struck me below the belt." He hinted at suicide. The gray men from the City Hall took to hanging around the Grundy store, and he was frequently seen in their company. In the court proceedings that followed he studiously avoided Longo, going around with the prosecutor's assistants, head hung low, "for all the world like van der Lubbe at the Reichstag-fire trial," said one observer.

On April 26, still apparently in a blind panic. Grundy went again to Chasan. Again the lawyer tried to reassure him, but Grundy turned on his heel and went out into

the Square, where he was joined by . Hague lieutenant. An hour later Chasan's telephone rang. "What do you say about your young idealists now?" asked the reporter at the other end of the wire. "I thought you'd like to know that Grundy has just crawled into Judge Brown's chambers and confessed that he changed Johnny Longo's registration from Republican to Democratic. He says he did it because Longo told him to. He says he'll testify to this effect when the trial comes up."

Chasan was incredulous, but the next day, before



Mayor Hague

Judge Thomas H. Brown in the Court of Common Pleas. Grundy pleaded guilty to altering the records of the 1941 primaries at John Longo's order.

Chasan wanted the help of a trial lawyer, but it is not easy to find a Jersey City lawyer who will buck the Hague machine. Finally Julius Lichenstein consented to tackle the un-

grateful job, asking only that he have time to study the case. Judge Brown, however, hurried the case to trial. Chasan and Lichenstein, on the ground that they were not ready for trial, refused to put in any defense for Longo. Grundy and five other employees in the office of the Superintendent of Elections swore to the altering of the registration book, Grundy testifying that he had made the change while Longo stood by, the others swearing that they had seen the two men poring over the book. The book itself was not produced; no physical evidence was brought into court. After brief deliberation a jury of seven women and five men found Longo guilty. "I feel as if I were in Berlin," exclaimed Longo as he was led away.

On June 2, 1943, Judge Brown sentenced Longo to a penitentiary term to run from eighteen months to three vears. A motion for a new trial was denied, and Longo was held under \$2,000 bail. Grundy, under custody of the prosecutor, was not sentenced, and has not been sentenced at this writing, though the law provides that sentence must be pronounced within forty-four days after trial.

Only the men in the prosecutor's office know where Grundy is today, and they are not telling, though Governor Edison sent state troopers armed with warrants for the missing man all over the state immediately after the trial. The Governor, who said that the trial should cause the judiciary of the state "to hang their heads in shame," wanted Grundy to testify in an investigation of Sewall's office which he had started. But no one answers the door bell at the Grundy place, and neighbors say they have seen neither Owen nor his mother since the trial; the supposition is that Grundy is being kept outside the state until Edison leaves office on January 18. The story goes that Grundy was told he would have to take a long prison "rap"-if he did not testify against Longo and was promised draft deferment if he would turn against his friend.

Digging into the records of the case, Chasan, who had just begun to fight, came upon an item revealing that the prosecutor had informed the jury that a handwriting expert had examined the supposedly altered entry. This expert, when he was finally found by Chasan, said he had demonstrated to O'Regan that an alteration had indeed been made in the square opposite Longo's name in the registration book. The letters "Rep" had been erased, but in their place whoever did the tampering had written "Rep" once more. Evidently someone had blundered. Why were not this expert and the book on which he worked brought into court? To ask that question is to indicate an ignorance of the ways of Hudson County justice: it is the business of a prosecutor to convict those upon whom Hague has laid his long finger. A demand for a certificate of reasonable doubt on this fresh evidence having been denied by Judge Brown, Chasan brought the matter before Chief Justice Brogan of the New Jersey Supreme Court, who granted the right of appeal to his court.

In the meantime the Jersey City mobsters had been giving Longo the lumps. When he was in jail in Secaucus he was not allowed to wear the orthopedic shoes built for his crippled foot. Remembering the sufferings which prison shoes had caused him, Longo went to the Postgraduate Hospital in New York City soon after his second trial for an operation on his foot. He was immediately arrested as "a fugitive from justice," and a Jersey City cop was stationed at his bedside. His bail was forfeited. After he was brought back to New Jersey he was imprisoned for three weeks until his distracted mother raised \$5,000 bail on the Longo store and home.

Grundy is not the only one who has deserted Longo in his hour of agony. The Communists, who at one time so completely surrounded him that he was identified with their cause by the Hague men, are content to deprecate mildly his persecution. When Longo came out of Secaucus, the comrades held a dinner in his honor at which Representative Vito Marcantonio, his lawyer at the time, spoke long and fulsomely. Today the Communist Party of New Jersey has no harsh words for Longo's persecutor. The unfortunate youth, they declare in a statement which is a masterpiece of euphemism. "has become the victim of a political feud between Mayor Frank Hague and Governor Charles A. Edison."

Very politely they call upon His Honor to release him, not only as a matter of simple justice but because "any other course will hamper, not advance, the cause of national unity."

Hagueism, say the Communists, is now really "a myth." To be sure, in the old days there were some dubious goings-on, but now everything has changed—like their line. They are frequently seen today in the company of Frank Eggers, Hague's nephew and heir apparent, who struts around Journal Square in the uniform of a reserve officer in the Coast Guard; it is said to have been upon the advice of the Communists that Eggers became the first prominent Jerseyite to indorse President Roosevelt for a fourth term. The Communists have suggested to Eggers that he explain to Uncle Frank, who is now basking in the Florida sunshine, that all is sweetness and light between the Hague machine and those whom the Mayor used to call "them goddam Commoonists."

Some decent elements in Jersey are still sticking to Longo. The state's textile workers (C. I. O.) have pledged support through their executive committee. The State Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.) at a recent convention passed a resolution denouncing what Chasan has called "the worst political frame-up in the history of Jersey." The Jersey City Affairs Committee, headed by the redoubtable James E. Pope, has been active in Longo's behalf, and over the river PM has done a yeoman's job on the case.

The Longo affair, with its Dostoevski coloring of cowardice and betrayal, and with its shining courage as well, is in danger of being submerged beneath larger national and international issues. It seems to some, however, to test all our liberal integrity. Some years ago, when Frank Murphy was Attorney General, a Civil Liberties Division was set up in the United States Department of Justice. Agents of the division came to Jersey City to investigate a mountain of charges against the Hague gang but departed after an ignominious failure to accomplish anything. Now Attorney General Biddle is being urged to investigate not only the Longo case but a number of others involving Hague. What will Biddle do about the evil activities of the vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the most corrupt character in our public life today? Will he continue the Administration's policy of appeasing Hague so as to keep New Jersey in the Democratic column? The futility of this craven attitude has already been shown. At the last gubernatorial election thousands of disillusioned liberals voted for a spavined Republican wheel-horse in preference to a labor candidate on the Democratic ticket who had received the Judas kiss of Hague. The Democrats have lost New Jersey by default and have nothing more to lose by stopping Hague. It is a strange situation when an appeal for simple justice has to be couched in such horse-trading terms.

### 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

RECENT VIENNA DISPATCH says that the various nationalities "appear unwilling to wait for the peace conference, thinking that what they are able to grab now they will be able to keep." If Mid-Europe is not to unscramble itself into a worse than Balkan chaos the Allies must act quickly, and must let it be clearly understood that the occupation of territory under orders of the Supreme Allied Council does not mean the ultimate determination of boundaries.

—December 7, 1918.

IT IS GRATIFYING TO KNOW that, up to the present moment, the necessarily limited operations of the Shake-speare Playhouse have met with substantial favor and support. In the present degenerate condition of the theater, which is largely abandoned to purely commercial, ephemeral, frivolous, or demoralizing entertainments, any movement calculated to foster in the rising generation a knowledge and appreciation of the great masterpieces of the literary drama is of the greatest public interest and importance.—December 14, 1918.

IN REPLY TO THE NOTE received from the French government on November 15, announcing that France would not recognize the government in Finland which was headed by a king chosen from a nation at war with France, the Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs has denied that the choice of a king was dictated by Germany. Prince Karl, according to the statement of the Minister, was offered the throne voluntarily with no nomination from Germany. "International law," the Minister concludes, "knows no stipulation which prevents neutral states from selecting a dynasty from a belligerent nation."—December 14, 1918.

THE LABOR UNIONS ARE APPARENTLY beginning a definite campaign to oust women from war-time positions, and the government, through the Labor Department and the War Labor Board, appears to be concurring. The secretary of the American Federation of Labor talks of the "problems of disposing of women in overalls and in uniform." "Woman's place is not on the street car," says W. D. Mahon, national president of the Carmen's Union.—December 21, 1918.

IT IS PLEASANT TO READ of the flattering reception which Mr. Wilson has met with in France, and of the favorable impression which his early public utterances have made. It would be an immense relief if the country might also know that the outlook was bright for a harmonious peace conference, and that the broad principles of justice which Mr. Wilson has repeatedly phrased would be frankly and unhesitatingly adhered to.—December 21, 1918.

EVERY FARMER KNOWS today the price at which he can sell his wheat next summer. This explains why he has planted the largest acreage ever devoted to winter wheat. Not so the industrial manager, however. He is confronted with the problems of a falling market and a high labor cost which will not come down until living costs have been reduced.—WILLIAM JUSTIS BOIES, December 28, 1918.

## "Liberated" Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

USSOLINI is the Nazi rubber stamp in "occupied" Italy. King Victor Emmanuel is the Anglo-Saxon rubber stamp in "liberated" Italy. "Victor Emmanuel," said the correspondent of the New York Times on October 12, "is the king, but the power behind his throne is the Allied Mission, and as things are shaping now, it is still going to be behind the throne when Victor Emmanuel is again king of Italy in Rome." In its turn the Allied Mission carries out orders coming from London and Washington through Algiers. The Algiers correspondent of the Times cabled on November 28 that "as long as the Allies will let him," the King will "cling to his throne," but that the last word "is after all more up to Washington and London than to the Allied authorities in Italy and here [Algiers]." If one keeps this basic fact in mind, one is in a position to understand the events which are taking shape in Italy.

In November, when he still hoped to arrange some compromise with the Committee of National Liberation in Naples, Badoglio made the following promise: "As far as I am concerned, once we reach Rome I shall be delighted to rid myself of my heavy burden." But the possibility of compromise was wrecked by the committee's stubborn demand that the King and his son should be removed. On December 5, therefore, Badoglio altered his plans. He told the United Press that he would resign only when "all Nazis are expelled from the last inch of Italian territory." A thousand years ago an astrologer promised the King of Egypt that he would teach a goat how to speak, but he gave himself ten years in which to do the job; during those ten years he was sure that the King or the goat or he himself would die. Pending the day when the Germans have been driven from the last inch of Italian territory, the Italian soldiers and officers who were forming volunteer units under Allied command were disbanded. The Italian war of liberation is to be fought under the King's shadow and not otherwise. The red, white, and green emblem of Italian nationhood has vanished; only the emblem of the royal house survives. The soldiers' uniform has "the cross of Savoy over the left breast pocket." "All vehicles are also marked with the cross of King Victor Emmanuel's house." This Badoglio and the Allied Mission have decreed.

On December 6, three months after the "unconditional surrender" of September 8, the first unit of Italian soldiers was used against the German lines. Most of them were massacred. As the New York Herald Tribune re-

ported, "that gallant, pathetic drive could have ended only in slaughter." The King needed some hundreds of dead to demonstrate his prestige. He got them. Until September 8, 1943, the Italians had to fight against the Allies for Hitler and Mussolini. Now they have to fight against the Germans for the King and Badoglio. They will never, it seems, be permitted to fight for an Italy belonging to themselves.

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On December 5 Badoglio announced that when military operations have been completed, the "entire nation" will not "decide" what shall be the ultimate solution of the constitutional problem but will merely "participate" in the solution. "The government would establish a constituent assembly of the two chambers which would express the people's feelings on the form of government they want." The "constituent assembly" would thus not be "elected by the people." It would be set up by the government and would consist of "two chambers"—that is, the Senate, whose present members, except for some decrepit bigwigs, were all appointed by the King on Mussolini's nomination and may be multiplied indefinitely at the King's discretion, and a lower house which Badoglio took care not to describe. On this, as on all points, the King and Badoglio-which means the powers in Algiers, London, and Washington that are behind the throne-will have the last word.

American and British authorities seem to be much concerned with the political opinions of the southern Italian peasantry. The New York Times Algiers correspondent told us on November 28 that "the southern Italian peasants, as against the more industrialized northern workers, are much more likely to be moved by appeals for King Victor Emmanuel than many people in the Allied world would like. And this feeling simply cannot be wholly ignored." If the southern Italian peasant should want to become the owner of the land he cultivates with the sweat of his brow, his desire might disturb the peace of mind of the Duke of Wellington, who owns a large estate at Bronte in Sicily and is a high official in the AMG there; in such an instance the feeling of the peasant would be ignored. Nor are the feelings of the workers of northern and central Italy, who are known not to want to have anything to do with royalty, to be considered. The only feeling which is to be taken into account is the alleged sentiment of the southern Italian peasants for the King-although how that sentiment has

been tested we are not told. This punctilious regard for the "untrammeled sovereignty" of the southern Italian peasantry is moving in the highest degree.

On December 5 Badoglio also warned the Italians that until the Germans are driven out, "politics must take a back seat." He fully agrees with Colonel E. E. Hume, American military governor of the Naples area, who told the members of the Committee of National Liberation that "political rivalries must not interfere with the Italian war effort." "No politics, no politics," repeats General Alexander, the British head of the AMG. What to these men mean by "politics" and "political rivalries"?

A new party has been created in "liberated" Italy, a so-called "Blue Party," which supports the royal house and consists of "aristocrats and highly placed army and navy officers." The genesis of this movement is interesting. In 1911 a Nationalist Party was formed in Italy. It was monarchist, militarist, aristocratic, anti-parliamentarian, protectionist, and it favored an alliance between state and church. It was the party of the general staff of the army and navy and of big business. From 1920 to 1922 it favored the Fascist movement, though it remained apart from it. The Fascists wore black shirts; the Nationalists blue shirts. In 1923 the two parties merged. Mussolini's domestic and foreign policy from 1923 on was little more than the original Nationalist program. Now that the Fascist Party has been discredited by all kinds of disaster, the old Nationalist Party, renamed the Blue Party, has been revived under the wings of the AMG.

If we are to believe people in Naples, police and soldiers act as agents of the movement. The *Times* reported on November 29:

Much of the poster-erecting is being done by carabinieti, sometimes in civilian clothes, at the orders of the military. . . . A Communist leader saw a youth putting up signs and remonstrated with him. Immediately four men came up—one in a soldier's uniform—and threatened to beat him if he did not go away immediately, the Communist said.

These activities do not seem to be regarded as "political rivalries" interfering with the war effort; nor do the exploits of army and navy officers who smash the presses of newspapers which refuse to "fall into line," or the threats of other well-meaning persons to beat and kill known anti-Fascists and to burn their houses.

The only people who play "politics" and indulge in "political rivalries" likely to interfere with the war effort are those who do not swallow whole the policies of Badoglio and the AMG. This is why, on December 11, a meeting of students of the University of Naples was broken up by the police. "Rocks were tossed at the police, who fired over the heads of about 300 students. . . . Armed guards have been stationed around the univer-

sity." The AMG made an investigation and announced that it "may take action against Adolfo Omodeo, rector of the university, who has ignored three summons by public-security officers of AMG who intended to warn him against political activity at the university." The Associated Press, which gave this information, added that the students had called another meeting for Saturday, December 18, but that police officials said the meeting would be broken up "in an even more vigorous manner, if it [were] held without authorization." It is not difficult to believe that "the police are under the direction of two Fascist-appointed officials who have not been removed by the Allies."

Small wonder that the Italians, as the Associated Press reported in another dispatch, are persuaded that Fascism is being reinstated in southern Italy.

Italians place part of the blame for current trends in Italy upon the occupying authorities. Many say that the British are determined to save the House of Savoy for dynastic reasons and that the Americans favor the continuance of a sort of fascism for the present as a bulwark against communism. Italian democrats also hold that the lack of civil liberties under the occupation is preventing the natural development of a representative government because there are no public assemblies or newspapers in which respective groups can reach the public with their ideas.

The students' meeting did not take place on December 18, but "at the last moment" permission was granted for a mass-meeting on December 19. Five thousand people demanded the immediate abdication of the King. "The tone of the meeting was anti-monarchist in the strict sense. The majority did not want even a regency," the Times reported on December 20. The AMG judged that the handling of that political rally was "tactless." As a consequence, according to the Herald Tribune of December 23, the AMG refused to permit a meeting of delegates of committees of National Liberation from the whole of "liberated" Italy.

Fortunately the "power behind the throne" is endowed with a magnificent sense of humor. The latest news is to the effect that Sicily, Sardinia, and a large section of the mainland will be placed under the King's men, but the administration will be intrusted to "men of good faith with Allied sympathies." Moreover, the Allied Mission will "be instructed to follow the Moscow declaration regarding Italy, in which the Allies said Fascism must be destroyed and Italians given the opportunity to set up a democratic system with freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of assembly."

However, on December 19 the Associated Press reported from Algiers that according to Colonel Hume "the AMG's task in Italy is not to squash Fascism but to defeat Germany." The Moscow conference was being playful when it announced that "Fascism and all its evil

influences and configurations shall be utterly destroyed." The AMG's task in Italy is not only to defeat Germany. It is to preserve as much Fascism as possible in Italy.

[This is the third of a series of articles by Dr. Salvemini on current Italian political developments.]

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IN war time, when millions of men are mobilized, few children are born. The Nazis don't like that. They aspire not only to more living space for their people but to more people for their living space. A propaganda campaign to raise the birth rate is under way, and in the Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte for November Dr. Elisabeth Acterberg-von Puch gives instructions to the propagandists. Above all, women are to be warned against the "false friends and foolish relatives" who advise them not to become pregnant during the war. They must be made to realize that "bringing up war-time children ranks among the most important tasks in the total war effort," and that it is the duty of every German woman "to present children to the nation unreservedly and unconditionally, for the sole reason that children are needed." A certain reluctance seems to be shown by some men, especially men on leave from the front. "I simply cannot understand two people," says the Frau Doktor, "who are unwilling to have more children because the husband may not survive. Precisely for that reason a woman with sound feelings should want to have as many children by him as possible." She goes on to point out the many benefits received by expectant mothers. They are given an additional clothing card and larger food rations, and in cases of a "second or third war-time pregnancy usually get the food rations allowed to invalids, which very few persons can obtain."

It cannot be ascertained whether propaganda of this kind is filling German nurseries, those anterooms to barracks. In any case that is the Germans' affair. Unfortunately, other people are affected by a project which the S. S. and the Gestapo have inaugurated in Norway.

This is one of the most repulsive schemes that the Nazi race maniacs ever thought up. An organization with the romantic name of "Well of Life" has been created to deal with the children born of German soldiers and Norwegian women. Its methods have been described by the author of the plan, the notorious Gestapo general and S. S. leader Wilhelm Rediess, in a confidential memorandum entitled "Sword and Cradle: The S. S. Works for a Greater Germany." Excerpts from this "inhuman document" were published by the Stockholm Dagens Nybeter on December 12.

The General finds German-Norwegian children "racially" very satisfactory and wishes to further their procreation. "German soldiers," he says, "should beget as many children as possible with Norwegian mothers, irrespective of marriage." The task of the "Well of Life" is to steal the children from the Norwegian mothers and acquire them for Germany.

As the first step in the procedure, a soldier is seldom allowed to marry a girl whom he has made pregnant. It has become apparent, says the General, that most Norwegians correspond to the "Germanic-Viking ideal" only physically. Spiritually they betray "Anglo-Saxon or parlor Bolshevik" traits. That is no proper alliance for a German soldier. "A German soldier's right to marry a Norwegian girl depends not only on her Nordic appearance but even more on her own and her family's political views."

The children, however, once they have been separated from their mothers and relatives, are desirable booty. The "Well of Life," therefore, takes control of the expectant mothers. Every Norwegian woman in whom a seed of the precious German stock is sprouting is sent to a "home" and kept there until her child is born. Then she is put out. And now the last act unfolds. Is she allowed to take her baby with her? Does it belong to her? No, indeed. Since she is unmarried and since the child has German blood in its veins, it belongs to her only if it is officially awarded to her. The court of appeal is nominally the Norwegian Department of Justice, but actually the department must consult the Well of Life. "Consequently the decision is entirely in German hands." And in most cases it is negative. Most Norwegian mothers are not sufficiently "reliable" to be allowed to bring up scions of the valuable German stock. What is done, then, with the children? On this point the General is somewhat obscure. "The best solution for the child," he declares, "would be to have it brought up in Germany by a German family." At present there seems to be no fixed rule about this. Most of the children are apparently still in the homes from which their mothers have been dismissed.

The memorandum emphasizes that "the German soldier must be spared all mental worries." For that reason he is not only relieved of all expense but guaranteed the strictest secrecy. The Well of Life has an iron rule that no one in Germany shall ever hear that a German soldier has had a child in Norway—not his family, nor his peace-time employer, nor any civilian official.

The net profit of the whole proceedings, according to the General's figures, has been about 2,000 Nordic babies in two years. That is a mere nothing compared with the German population and birth rate. Even a Nazi should see that such a piddling reward makes it scarcely worth while for the nation to incur the odium of this baby stealing, with its revolting mock legality and rabbit-breeding psychology. In all matters connected with race mythology, however, Nazis are completely crazy.

## BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Guides to America South

THE NEW WORLD GUIDES TO THE LATIN AMERI-CAN REPUBLICS. Sponsored by the Office of the United States Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Earl Parker Hanson, Editor-in-chief. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. Two Volumes. \$2.50 each.

T IS now going on 450 years since the discovery of America, and we have not yet had a good guidebook to the oldest and most historic parts of the hemisphere. Baedeker and Muirhead tried their hand at the United States as long ago as 1893, and later added "Excursions to Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Alaska"; but the New World was problem outside their experience, a problem not of mere research but of discovery-extracting secrets from a wilderness and memories from the Chamber of Commerce. T. Philip Terry, appreciating the Baedeker format, produced a "Guide to Mexico" which in everything but historical accuracy was excellent in 1909, though now it is so out of touch with reality as to be silly. The Touring Club Italiano, grappling with "Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay" was rather more successful than Baedeker, though it too presented an America blemished by vast empty spaces. On the whole, the most useful attempt has been the sober, restricted, but dependable British "South American Handbook," which, besides such advice as that "consistent with moderation in the quantity of their baggage, lady passengers are well advised to take new and becoming clothes," has given us annually for twenty years the important facts about transportation, hotels, banks, government, and living conditions in the principal cities. Meanwhile North American travel in Mexico has resulted in a group of motorists' and tourists' guides which emphasize the life and culture of the living country, such a those of Anita Brenner and Frances Toor, Anything like the thoroughness, the breadth, and the dependability of the European Baedeker, however, has been quite unknown.

When, therefore, the Office of the United States Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs announced a pair of guidebooks to the other American republics, it was good news. We hoped for real travelers' guides, the kind made to be carried in the pocket, crammed with the information one wants at every street corner of a city like Lima. But if it should be melibrary-table guide—like the WPA "Washington, City and Capital"—one would hardly complain, for there is no such reference book for any part of Latin America.

What we have been given is two respectable volumes with no general index. To any connoisseur of guidebooks this in itself is inconceivable: the index is the heart of a guidebook, almost more valuable than the text; it is the logical outline of the merely geographical material of the text. But in the "New World Guides" one cannot find even the different countries except by flipping through the pages. Apparently the general index was sacrificed to a plan of binding up the different countries separately, so that each country is paged individually. As a result, though there is a brief index to

each country, there is no way of finding out, for instance, in which country Santiago del Estero is located.

Nor can you find out from any general map. This guidebook furnishes one map for each country, regardless of size, and a plan of one or two cities-or merely their central section—in each country. The only maps of the whole territory are the end-papers, pitifully inadequate, and in the case of South America, hardly visible. There are no regional mapsto show the Valley of Mexico, for instance, or how Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine fit together. It is rather striking to compare this with the thirty-three maps and forty-eight plans of the 1909 Baedeker, Furthermore, the maps of the countries themselves are as simplified as fourth-grade geography charts, and a good deal less interesting, showing only the outline of the country, a few cities, the main railways, and the most imposing paved roads. Elevation, which gives the whole meaning to South American geography, is not indicated at all. When you get down to looking for a certain monastery on the outskirts of Guatemala City, you realize that you might as well chuck the book out the window and ask the chambermaid.

In fact, the editors advise something of the kind. If addresses are lacking, the "taxi service," they assure you, "is usually excellent, and the general rule is that a taxi driver can take the visitor to any point much more easily if the point is merely named." An essay on maps urges the traveler to "provide himself with the best available maps of the countries visited," and a half-page on the "Travel Agent" disposes of all other problems. But does one buy a guide-book in order to be advised to take a taxi or consult a travel agency? The fact that new roads are being built does not really seem a valid reason for not indicating those that exist; it means rather that a guidebook must be thought of as a serial publication, constantly revised. Unless it includes current information, a guide is not worth its weight in travel.

These are not meant as carping criticisms but to indicate what we can expect of a guidebook. Certainly it ought to give accurately the facts which will answer a traveler's questions about a place, arranged so that they can be found easily. The editors of this publication had aimed higher, promising to present the republics "as nations, rather than as collections of sights and points of interest"; but I am not sure that the traveler or the reader gains by trying to see the nation without seeing its street corners, country roads, historic ruins, Chamber of Deputies, and federal penitentiary. As far as finding the information goes, I could not discover in half an hour's search where the national government of Ecuador is housed; I did finally find a paragraph describing its organization (under History), but there was no subtitle to attract the eye, nor was it listed in the index for Ecuador. Under these circumstances it is hard to see or deal with Ecuador as a nation. The basic difficulty lies, perhaps, in a lack of sympathy for the character of a guidebook, which should supply the material for understanding a country rather than itself undertake to explain it.

This misconception seems particularly unhappy since in the United States in the past decade we have worked out an exciting formula for the American guidebook. There seems no reason why the concept, the method, and the experience of the WPA regional guides should not be adapted to Latin America. In other republics, as here, it is the evanescent and forgotten evidences of the past, the still uncatalogued traditions, the deserts that remember explorers and pioneers, the creative present, which cries out to be recorded. Such a task cannot be done by so few people sitting at their desks so far from the places concerned. Isn't it another case where we might have let the Latin Americans themselves contribute? The Office of the Coordinator seems to have missed a signal opportunity for cooperative effort among the Americas. And we still need some good guidebooks to Latin America.

ELIZABETH WILDER

#### Vansittart's Obsession

LESSONS OF MY LIFE. By the Right Honorable Lord Vansittart. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

MONG the many problems waiting for a solution in our unhappy epoch, the question why Lord Vansittart has become our modern Cato, crying that Carthage must be destroyed, is perhaps not the most important. If, however, you are intrigued by the question, you have a chance of finding a tolerably plausible answer for it in Vansittart's most recent book, an autobiographical and truly self-revealing elaboration of his one theme.

Vansittart, you may remember, was permanent Under Secretary of the British Foreign Office during most of the inter-war period. During those years he was forced to watch the stupidities of the policy of appeasement at close range. His position was so high that he knew the most intimate secrets of the international game, but not high enough for him to be able to change the course of the fateful diplomacy by a hair's breadth. He possesses a kind of simple honesty which reacted strongly against the duplicities of diplomats; and he has certain narrow-range gifts of political realism which enabled him to understand and to discount the pacifist illusions on the left and the confusion created on the right by class interest. His political realism has the narrow range of a high-class civil servant who has never achieved a truly statesmanlike perspective of the European or world scene.

He saw with growing horror the rise of German Nazism, the blindness of European statesmen to its true meaning, and its consequent impunity while it prepared for its work of destruction in the full sight of the world. All this filled him with a sense of impotent rage. When he was finally able to speak freely, he had become the slave of an obsession. He himself confesses: "All my life political expression has been barred to me. After forty years of silence, broken only by rejected memoranda, I find the lawn of language thrown open. None must therefore blame a young sexagenarian alarge if he sometimes kicks up his heels on being turned out to grass." His obsession is the belief that no one has fully fathomed the depths of iniquity in the German character.

The obsession is so engrossing that it does not even permit him to state a full program of international policy for dealing with Germany. He believes that there are "four prerequisites" for peace-"the defeat, demilitarization, occupation, and reeducation of Germany." But he does not spend a page of his volume to explain what this program would mean in detail. We do gather that demilitarization also involves deindustrialization; but he has no suggestion as to how this is to be brought about. Nor does he seem aware of any pedagogical difficulties in the task of forcible reeducation. He has some appreciation of the static corruption of Europe, particularly of France, which was the foil of the dynamic corruption of Nazism. He believes, for instance, that Laval was in the pay of both Italy and Germany as early as 1935 and adduces some evidence for his belief. Some of his best pages are devoted to a description of this unsavory character; but he does not bother to explore the full implications of the authority of Laval and men of his kind in France during the years between wars.

The pacifist illusions of the left which contributed to the rise of Hitlerism and the fateful concurrence between this kind of idealism and the even more ignoble stupidities of the right are dealt with caustically in passing; and Vansittart has a great fear that neither right nor left has been cured of political blindness. But he never rises to an analysis of the cause of these stupidities either in our culture or in our political history. He has no perspective which would allow him to view the total anarchy of European civilization-or world civilization for that matter-and to discuss the German problem from that point of view. Even if Germany were the congenital gangster which it is according to his thesis, and even if every distinction between German and Nazi were as illegitimate as he thinks, it would still be important to contrive a strong international policy to hold such a gangster in check and to guarantee his impotence.

There is no suggestion in Vansittart's thought that there are any inherent difficulties in the achievement of such international action. One would imagine that nothing but a guileless underestimate of German villainy caused the failure of the post-Versailles years; and that a new and more universal certainty about the abysmal depths of evil in German character would be sufficient to produce a wise statesmanship and an adequate foreign policy after this war. It is necessary merely to mention one of our immediate problems to gauge the limits of Vansittart's thought—the problem of the relations of Russia to the Western world. If Russia and the Western nations do not find a solid basis for post-war cooperation it is quite possible that the military and predatory tradition of Germany will not be broken and that all Vansittart's dire forebodings may be fulfilled. But not a single facet of the vexing problem of Anglo-Russian relations is illumined by Vansittart's obsession, and no issue is brought nearer solution by his myopic view of German character.

One records these obvious defects with the more regret because Vansittart periodically reveals capacities for political understanding which might have served our generation well if they had not been engulfed in his obsession.

It is neither possible nor profitable to follow all of Vansittart's biased estimates of German character, politics, and culture. The tragedy of Germany's political and moral failure is so great that it has certainly not yet been fully fathomed. But Vansittart's indictments have the quality of angry barking rather than of a considered effort to measure the full meaning of this failure.

His analysis of German culture brings his whole method to a height of absurdity. For some reason which he does not explain he can find only three names in the history of German culture which merit respect—Kant, Goethe, and Beethoven. He robs the Germans of credit for the latter by calling him van Beethoven and glories in the fact that both Kant and Goethe criticized their fellow-countrymen. All the rest seem to be involved in the same mass of perdition. As a pious Catholic he does not rate the French enlightenment very high, but he is certain that its deficiencies were derived from German thought. He explains the anti-Christian character of Nazism thus: "Luther and Bismarck assailed the Catholic church; now all churches are assailed."

The real fact is that in dealing with cultural problems the author is completely out of his depth and becomes even more absurd than in his discussion of political history. Vansittart is something of a poet, and his text is studded with literary allusions from many sources. Sometimes they are apt and sometimes they are banal. It may be significant of something or other that he feels it necessary to bring a maliciously accurate description of Laval to a close with the quotation:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

#### St. Paul and the New Faith

THE APOSTLE. By Sholem Asch. Translated by Maurice Samuel. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.

N HIS brief moving epilogue to the present book the Lauthor thanks the Creator for the strength given him to "withstand all temptations and overcome all obstacles, those of my own making and those made by others," a strength enabling him to complete the two monumental novels "The Nazarene" and "The Apostle," together covering more than fifteen hundred crowded pages and dealing with one of the most gratifying if most difficult topics of literature—the genesis of Christianity. To what sort of "temptations" and "obstacles" does the author refer? In order to guess what he means by these vague allusions, one has to remember that Asch is a Yiddish writer, reared in the traditions of orthodox Jewry. Small wonder, then, that a profound change of mind had to precede his nostalgic literary rediscovery of Jesus and Paul, and that he could safely expect his unique magnum opus to be received as a "stumbling-block" by certain sections of Jewry and as a "foolishness" by certain Christians, to use the words applied by Paul to his own teaching of the new faith.

Were the books to appear in Germany, the so-called Deutsche Christen would resent strongly the author's "Judaization" of Jesus, who they assert was an "Aryan." Since they cannot very well bestow the privilege of "Aryan" descent upon the Pharisee Saul, whose story is less shrouded in mysteries than that of his master, they reject him as "Rabbi Saul," who had falsified the Aryan doctrines of Jews. For the Nazi hotspurs, of course, the whole of Christianity is just a "Jewish swindle." In the democratic world many Chris-

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BANGANGANA KANDAN

tians consider the Yiddish poet's work a step toward their ultimate goal—the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Orthodox Jewry, therefore, finds itself in a difficult position, facing as it does Asch's endeavors to restore the founders of Christianity to the Hebrew race.

Beyond the orthodox and the Christ-seeking wing of Jewry stands Professor Joseph Klausner of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who, first in "Jesus of Nazareth" and lately in "From Jesus to Paul," sought to clarify the scene and point out the affinities of, as well as the differences between, Judaism and Christianity. To judge by Klausner's book, Asch seems to be justified when he portrays Jesusor Yeshua, as he calls him, by the Hebrew name-as an orthodox Jew who, while he considered himself to be the Messiah and expected to bring redemption to Israel, "never intended to found a new religion and spread it among the Gentiles." But the present novel, purporting to be a historical novel and not the product of unlimited imagination, somewhat distorts the real portrait of the propagandist and systematizer of Christianity. Asch emphasizes too strongly the Jewishness of Paul. Actually, this man from Asia Minor, this Roman citizen, whose soul from the beginning was torn between Pharisaism and Hellenism, was at most a denationalized Jew, and he was, to quote Klausner, the "real founder of Christianity as a new religion and a new church after it had been in existence for some time as I Jewish sect and Israelite congregation"; thus, for instance, it hardly makes sense to let Paul, the proclaimer of the idea of the Trinity, die with "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one"—the Jewish confession of faith—on his lips.

The fact that these aberrations struck this reviewer and that he could not overlook them as merely the expression of licentia poetica indicates that Asch's work has, in a way, much in common with a religious tract, even though in a more superficial sense it is written along the lines of a novel. Obviously the tendency to set forth "the merit of Israel, whom Thou hast elected to bring the light of the faith to the nations of the world, for Thy glory and out of Thy love of mankind" hampered the artist Asch, who does not here live up to his great reputation as a creator of lifelike characters. The book contains magnificent pageants of the ancient world, striking vistas of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, and Rome, minute descriptions of Jewish religious life and of the glamour and sickness of the decadent Gentile society. Yet the author fails to make us grasp the enigmatic soul of the epileptic tentmaker who started as a persecutor of the Christians and ended as one who brought the tidings of the Messiah to the Gentiles. While a few figures are well portrayed, most personages walk through the book like marionettes rather than like human beings of flesh and blood. There are a few unforgettable scenes, like the stoning of Reb Istephan (St. Stephen) or Paul's dispute with Seneca, where the author proves himself in full possession of his dramatic talents, but in general the book reminds us of a precious old Gobelin showing scenes in striking color but with the figures stiff and the vistas lacking perspective

Everything is fully, too fully, described. There is little of the humor, of the subtle implications, that carry the reader through Thomas Mann's lengthy Biblical novels. The frequent hair-splitting theological discussions prove the author's

erudition but make hard reading. As a lofty message to Christians and Jews, stressing the high ideals of brotherhood and exhibiting the spiritual ties that bind the Christian to the Jew, "The Apostle" is of extreme value. But as a work of art it is inferior to "The Nazarene," and both novels appear somewhat anemic when compared with the author's brilliant and genuine characterization of Jewish life in "Three Cities."

### Jefferson as Philosopher

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, By Adrienne Koch. Columbia University Press. \$2.50.

FROM any point of view this small volume with its simple and alluring title is published by the University Press as a Columbia Study in American Culture, but it is unsatisfactory as a scholarly treatment of its theme. It is also an unexpectedly slim and attractive book which does not resemble a thesis, but it fails to live up to its enticing exterior and intellectual promise.

The author, I have no doubt, has taken great pains in her search through the mass of Jefferson's letters and papers; she has read the right secondary works. But she has neither organized the results of her inquiry nor developed a communicative interest in them. Much of her book is a paraphrase of what we are about to read in Jefferson's own words or a repetition of what we already know from the same source. She understands what her author says and tells us that this or that feature of his thought is very important; yet lacking as is every chapter in both conception and construction, nothing is salient, and nearly all portions remain on the same level of unillumined fact.

As she recognizes in her preface, her thesis that Jefferson had a genuine philosophical mind has to be established in the teeth of the contrary opinion now prevalent. Professor Chinard of Princeton is the chief upholder of this opinion, based on a lifelong study of Jefferson's writings. One may incline to agree with Miss Koch and disagree with Mr. Chinard, and yet be forced to admit that a Galahad setting out to vanquish the champion of the old order must have better weapons than purity of heart. Miss Koch, I think, found enough to defend her side but spoiled it by her use. On one point only she exhibits the necessary powers of exposition and argument, and that is on the question of Jefferson's materialism. Bolstered up by Picavet's great study of the "Idéologues," as well as by Jefferson's own words, she sets in its true critical light the nature of the Jeffersonian attempt to combine theism and materialism. Her pages 94 to 104 are very good and constitute a model neglected in the rest of the book.

Considered as a restatement for the general reader—since much of the book is not an addition to but a rehandling of known facts—the work fails even more conspicuously. Given her theme, what can justify making the reader go through ninety pages, comprising nine chapters, before he reaches a tenth entitled Jefferson's Philosophical Beliefs? Then, the discussion of the French system of ideology is in a perpetual cart-before-the-horse relation to Jefferson, the writer being unable to keep apart chronological and topical treatments

even in a single paragraph. How excuse, moreover, the utterly inadequate and pointless chapter on Education, three pages long? One would suppose that Jefferson's views on the subject were casual or insignificant, but one is told the opposite, and bits crop up in a dozen alien contexts throughout the book.

The fact that scarcely any of the chapter headings corresponds to the substance presented, or really subdivides it on a rational plan, argues inadequate guidance on the part of the writer's academic advisers. This hypothesis is confirmed by the recurrent lack of precision in the use of English words and the excessive number of misprints in proper names, Latin quotations, and French accents. Assuming the lack of such supervision as every beginner is entitled to, the author of this book should not be too downcast by the shortcomings of her first publication. We all have initial fumbles to deplore, which we can retrieve only by learning from those who object—unfortunately, in public.

JACQUES BARZUN

#### Film Notes

ADAME CURIE" enlists an unusual amount of competence, patience, and commercialized sincerity in the production, which rather saddens than angers or pleases me, of the screen equivalent to Harpers' Prize "literature": safe, smooth, respectable, an epitome of all that the bourgeois likes what he calls his art to be. One could use it as a model of all that is most to be regretted in Hollywood at this stage, and I had thought I might. I suggest, instead, that you look up, in a recent issue of Life, two photographs: one of Pierre Curie and his brother and their parents, the other of Walter Pidgeon and three colleagues, representing them. Between them, those two pictures will tell you more than enough.

"Higher and Higher," which introduces Frank Sinatra to the screen, is one for the museums; nor is that just a crack. Sinatra adds to his more famous advantages that of being, obviously, a decent enough sort; he also has weird fleeting resemblances to Lincoln, which I think may help out in the audience subconscious. (Heaven help us all if Booth had missed and Lincoln had a larynx!) Through most of the film Sinatra is just a sort of male Mary Pickford, a mock-shy, poised young man huskily husking Occidental and very mortal corn. At the end, thanks to a stroke of simple genius on the part of the director, Tim Whelan, he stands without visible support among clouds, in an effect which could be described only in the unmailable terms of an erotic dream, and swells from a pinpoint to a giant. Higher and higher indeed. The Messiah Himself will have to sweat to work out a better return engagement.

"Destiny, Tokyo" combines a good deal of fairly exciting submarine warfare with at least as much human interest, which I found neither very human nor at all interesting. Warner does a lot of this sort of thing and of "socially conscious" work and is, I believe, more to be respected than any other American studio so far as maturity of intention is concerned. But even in that respect there is all the sky from knee-high left to grow in. And the cinematic achievement, as a rule, is just about what you get from any other studio.

JAMES AGEE

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1-1-44

MERICAN ART, like American literature, seems to be in retreat at the moment. This year's Whitney Annual (at the Whitney Museum of American Art until January 4) is more disheartening than ever. It hardly matters that some of the work shown was executed several years ago; the dominant note is of 1943. There is evident a general softening up, a relaxation into the appealing and the meretricious, and a fatigue that is particularly visible in the abstract section. The impulse to the exploration of form, some people say, is exhausted. The collective showing abstract art makes at the Whitney, its pursuit of safe effects, might tempt one to believe this if it were not that the other varieties of art present, for all their advantages of quicker surface pleasure, are even less interesting and hopeful. Just as naturalism at the time of the Bellinis in Venice was the only tendency which promised a future to painting, in spite of the wonderful sideshows staged by Carpaccio and Crivelli, so abstract art today is the only stream that flows toward an ocean. It is the only mode by which painters and sculptors can still master new experience; it furnishes the only profoundly original contemporary art; and the three best things at the Whitney are a piece of cast-iron and bronze sculpture by David Smith which obliterates almost everything else in the sculpture court, a pencil and crayon drawing by Arshile Gorky, and a Marin water color-the first two entirely abstract, the third abstract in feeling. These works, along with the limited successes that are a seascape by Feininger in oil, a snow landscape of Martyl's, also in oil, and Minna Harkavy's cast stone figure, help redeem the mediocrities, brilliant, spurious, and otherwise, which surround them. As usual, everybody shows a high level of competence, everybody is learned in the excellences of the past, but a community of excitement and ambition and a real richness of culture are missing.

The show of "Romantic Painting in America" now at the Museum of Modern Art (until February 6) harmonizes beautifully with last year's "American Realists and Magic Realists" exhibited at the same place. One sings alto to the other's bass, but the tune is the same. Both are phases of that campaign against modern art which began ambiguously among the surrealists twenty years ago, affirmed itself in the neo-romanticism of

Christian Bérard, Tchelitchew, and the Bermans, and is now beginning to celebrate a triumph, such as it is, in New York and California during a period in which dry bones are being reclad withflesh, corpses resuscitated, and illusions revived by our failing nerves in every field of endeavor. It is the fag end of a boring, very great, and violent war. The superficial, true, and damning interpretations of these phenomena will all be made. But the most searching interpretations will also furnish apologies for them. Dali, who was really the baptizing John of the neo-baroque and the neo-romantic-Chirico being its unconscious Isaiah-felt that modern art isolated him from society, to which he wanted and wants very much to belong, and whose attention he needs no less than its money. The neo-romantics, surrealists, and others who took their cue from him and returned to the academic may have been impelled by the same motives-certainly their painting is the first "modern" art to have become a social success on the spot-but underneath, I feel, was also a yearning to put their art into a more explicit relation with the rest of their lives than postcubist painting and sculpture seem to allow. Cubism, or abstract art, gives the artist no room to express his immediate feelings about sex, for instance. They must first be transposed. It is impatience with the thought and feeling involved in the transposition of the aesthetic to and from the rest of experience that leads the Museum of Modern Art, or James Thrall Soby, to exclude the possibility that post-cubist art can be as "romantic" as anything else. The question is whether one is really interested in making "romanticism" actual and not merely a ribbon to decorate nostalgia for the academic. I think we all have that nostalgia more or less, but it should not obscure a truth which does not ask too much patience and reflection to feel and discover: namely, that Picasso, Miró, Braque, Arp, Lipchitz, Brancusi, the "inhuman" Mondrian, and the "intellectual" Gris have given the "romantic" as well as the "classical" aspects of contemporary life their most intrinsic expression in visual art.

The latest "romantic" revival in paintings—paralleled by a curiously similar revival among the younger poets in England and mew interest there in Pre-Raphaelism and the literary aspects of painting in general—stands historical romanticism on its head. For it does not revolt against authority and constraints, but tries to establish mew version of

security and order. The "imagination" it favors seems conservative and constant as against the "reason" it opposes, which is restless, disturbing, ever locked in struggles with the problematical, "Reason" leads to convictions, activity, politics, adventure: "imagination" to sentiment, pleasure, and certainties. The new "romanticism" gives up experiment and the assimilation of new experience in the hope of bringing art back to society, which has itself been "romantic" for quite . while in its hunger for immediate emotion and familiar forms. A nostalgia is felt for a harmony which can be found only in the past-and which the very technical achievements of past art seem to assure.

Hence the inevitable charm which, for example, the nineteenth-century American landscapes at the "Romantic" exhibition have for us. Their singleness of view, their obvious but self-contained emotion make them more enjoyable at first glance than the contemporary pictures, which, despite greater force in many instances, seem fragments by comparison, organized on only one level.

The new "romantics" and the neoromantics, American and otherwise, look to the past for qualities of sentiment and for formal schemes by which to assure the unity and effect of their paintings. They borrow certain innovations of pre-cubist modern art-free brushwork, high color keys-only to subordinate them to the methods and moods of mannerist, baroque, German and French romantic painting. The result is art of a decadent flavor. Only the relinquishing of the effort to conquer new experience makes possible these seductive harmonies of paint and sentiment. Here are the limited objectives of a safe world, where we all understand each other because we have agreed to banish disturbing questions or are no longer capable of recognizing them; a wistful art that confirms our reluctance to take risks. (Such refusal of new impressions and influences is a characteristic moment of every decadence. Though one keeps on looking for new sensations, they must all be of the same order.) There are thrills, of coursebut never upsetting ones. It is art that has the shock of the fashionable: it creates unconventional effects by conventional means. The diabetic colors are sex: the careful handling is anal, represents money and the unwillingness to spend it on anything but pleasure. Sex and money are the two indisputable and perhaps the only exciting facts we have left. Yet this painting is not altogether

to be despised; for it has inherent interest as phenomena, and in some cases its creators are extremely gifted. (See Walter Stuempfig's show at Durlacher Brothers.) And I say they know what they are doing. They have renounced the adventures and gambles of modern art. They want to be loved in a hurry. And they are. They sell well.

It should be added that relatively few of the contemporary American "romantics" at the Museum of Modern Art's show belong to the above manifestation. The "fantasists" Graves and Fett are akin to Klee or Masson; while such painters as Mattson, De Martini, Weber, Blanch, Bohrod, Karfiol, Evergood, and Palmer go back to French painting before cubism and recapitulate it in American terms, sometimes calling on the aid of Ryder or expressionism. Each has made a contribution, usually in landscape. It would be wrong to sneer at them because they lack power or are not quite up to date either as experimenters or "romantics." The fault most of them share is a narrowness of intention that compels them to repeat themselves after a certain point, and with repetition they degenerate woefully, woefully, into sweet effects. (A case in point is Bohrod's late show at the Associated American Artists.) The main reason I can see for Mr. Soby's insistence on their "romanticism" is that they never got too closely involved with anything later than fauvism or German expressionism. Weber and Evergood are perhaps the only exceptions.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

### MUSIC

HE opening concert of the Budapest Quartet's series at the Y. M. H. A. began with Haydn's Quartet Opus 76 No. 2; and with the repetition of the first phrase there was already an unexpected change of phraselength and contour which was only the first little joke in the game that Haydn proceeded to play with the mind of his listener throughout the movement. The subtle surprises continued in the second movement; and their subtlety left one unprepared for the bomb which Haydn exploded in the third movement minuet: a canon, with the violins leading and the viola and cello following, making one laugh at first with the boldness of the procedure and then with the startling audacities of some of the details of the progression, and getting to be hilariously funny by the end.

Then came Mozart's great C major Ouintet K.515, with new surprises and audacities. One may think one has heard all the wonders Mozart could achieve; and then one hears something else which is, one thinks rightly, the most extraordinary thing in music one has ever heard. After the second-act finale of "Figaro" there is still the fourth-act finale (to say nothing of all that intervenes); at the end of this finale there is still the sublimity of the Contessa, perdono! passage. And so even after all the unique marvels of the instrumental works-of, for example, the slow movement of the Concerto K.467—one is unprepared for the boldness and power of the opening of the first movement of the C major Quintet, the tensions that are built up at the end of the exposition; nor do these prepare one for the things that happen in the second movement minuet: the somber strangeness of the opening statement, of the harmonic progressions and instrumental coloring in the first part of the trio after the flowing violin melody; the violently wrenching intensities of the middle part of the trio. And these things do not make one laugh; they leave one shaken.

The Budapest Quartet's performances of those two works also caused one to marvel all over again at what one had marveled at so many times before-the integrated progression of the four strands of sound that were inflected with such unerring plastic sense and expressive insight. There were occasions, more frequent in the Quintet, whenhappening to be very tired-I wondered whether I had really heard . blemish in intonation or tone or had merely imagined I heard it. But unblemished perfection, when it arrived in the performance of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 1 that ended the concert, created no doubts, and convinced me that I really heard those blemishes in the performances of works which the Budapest Quartet plays less and rehearses less than Opus 59 No. 1. The first movement of Beethoven's work, incidentally, was swift-moving and fiery in this performance, and as convincing as the reflective, lyrical first movement of the Roth Quartet performance.

Young Leonard Bernstein's performance of Bloch's "Three Jewish Poems" with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony had beauty of sound, fluidity and plastic coherence, effectiveness as a statement of the music; and these certainly took ability to produce with a

modern score in the hour and a quarter of rehearsal that I was told he had had. But just how able Bernstein is as a conductor and musician we will know only when we have heard him conduct Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other music of the standard repertory, and with a less disciplined orchestra than the Philharmonic.

The New York Philharmonic is now a disciplined, fine-sounding orchestra; that much Rodzinski has achieved. But a disciplined. fine-sounding orchestra doesn't exist for itself; and the conductor's job isn't merely to get it to play with discipline and fine sound. The orchestra exists as an instrument for the performance of music; and the conducductor's job is to use it to provide us with effective statements in living sound of the great classics and other interesting works of the past, the important achievements of the present. Actually, Rodzinski's programs have offered few of the great classics or other interesting works of the past, and even less music of any importance of the present; and some of the programs have been as badly selected and combined as any I have ever encountered: John Alden Carpenter's "The Anxious Bugler," Saint-Saëns's Symphony in C minor, Liszt's Piano Concerto in E flat, Gershwin's "American in Paris"; or Berezowsky's "Soldier on the Town," Glière's Symphony "Ilya Murometz," Rachmaninov's Piano Concerto No. 3; or Noskowski's Symphonic Poem "Step," Tansman's Symphony No. 5, Szymanowski's Symphonie Concertante for piano and orchestra, Chopin's Concerto in F minor. One might say it is just as well that Rodzinski hasn't played Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, since he doesn't play this music effectively; but that would amount to saying he is incapable of fulfilling one of the primary obligations of orchestra and conductor to the public. Nor is there enough modern music that he plays well to enable him to fulfill other obligations. I have heard good performances from him of Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé," Sibelius's Fifth Symphony, the Fifth Symphony and other works of Shostakovitch, but a poor performance of Debussy's "La Mer" on the records issued a year ago; and at the concert I attended recently the performance of Mahler's Second Symphony had cool on-the-surface quality and sheen suitable for Ravel-which was like performance of "Othello" in the style of a Lonsdale comedy.

B. H. HAGGIN

### Letters to the Editors

#### A Good Job

Dear Sirs: Accept my congratulations on publishing the workman-like job of Thomas R. Amlie as a supplement to The Nation for November 27. "Lost: One Trillion Dollars" is one of the most constructive and stirring things I have encountered in a long time. It is a real challenge to the American people. Both you and Amlie deserve unstinted commendation for your enterprise in making this fine piece of work available to your readers. It should be sent to every Congressman, and, more important, it should be read by every labor official in the country, for there are still far too many of us in the labor movement whose economics follow the line of the National Association of Manu-AL SESSIONS facturers.

News Editor, Olympic Press Oakland, Cal., December 6

#### Overlooked

Dear Sirs: I was surprised to see that Mr. Amlie, in your supplement dealing with the post-war program for full employment, paid so little attention to the recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board. The board recommended genuine equality of educational opportunity for all, so that not merely would educational facilities be expanded but no one would be forced by economic pressure to lose the chance to take as full advantage of educational opportunities as his ability warranted. This important step Mr. Amlie overlooked entirely.

The board recommended a guaranty by the federal government of decent jobs at full pay for everyone able and willing to work for whom private enterprise failed to provide a job. It laid down the outlines of a number of projects, both construction and service projects, by which this policy could be put into practice. The idea of a government guaranty of useful jobs for all is one that can readily be made into an effective slogan, for it is a more personalized program than full employment, though it adds up to the same thing in the end.

Finally, the social-security program of the National Resources Planning Board, which has been largely embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, is

not mentioned by Mr. Amlie, nor is the bill itself. Instead, Mr. Amlie proposes \$25 a week for the unemployed. There are other interferences with income than unemployment, such as sickness, old age, and disability. Also any flat sum is bound to be unjust because it fails to take into account the needs of dependents. Hence, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board seem to be definitely superior to Mr. Amlie's idea of \$25 a week for the unemployed. But even if they were not better, I suggest that progressives have an obligation to try to rally concentrated support for concrete proposals already in the political arena, especially when, like the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, they have the support of both the main branches of organized labor, rather, than to toss out some other proposals for social security.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
New York, December 10

#### A Charlestonian Objects

Dear Sirs: The outburst about Charleston contributed by Enid Ewing to The Nation of November 20 raises a number of questions for its impetuous author to consider.

As a Charlestonian and a volunteer war worker, I am constrained to believe that Enid Ewing did not make a very thorough investigation before she voiced her strictures. Has she the slightest knowledge of building conditions under the present priority restrictions? Does she know that "despite the admonitions of furning Washington bureaucrats that Charleston fall in line" it has frequently been in the subsidiary offices of those "furning bureaucrats" that many needed projects have been indefinitely pigeonholed?

Then I should like to know in how many other war-swollen towns the author has lived? Has she any experience of prices and conditions in other such places? Having for some months now been a traveling army wife, I have experienced all those things of which Enid Ewing complains. I have climbed four flights of stairs to my one room, for which I paid \$66 a month. In a small town I have been offered—and have refused for financial reasons—that apartment longed for by all army wives,

two rooms and kitchen, tenants to supply all heat, water, linen, etc. Rent \$120 a month. As I walked from that apartment I passed spacious houses which I later learned were lived in by one or two people. I have stood in line to get high-priced food in deplorably greasy restaurants, and I have not had the energy to stand in line long enough to get into one of the three movies which afforded the sole amusement in the small town. I have watched my Southern dollars "hoisted on an ancient pulley line" to a Boston cashier, but that Boston shop is hardly to be expected to instal a new system-which it probably couldn't buy anyway-just because war workers are spending freely. It never struck me as contra mundum for the Boston Athenaeum to continue its rule of hereditary membership after I came to town. The Boston Athenaeum went right on with the customs which have persisted through many wars, and I was perfectly happy in the Public Library. Charming Bostonians invited me to their homes, and there I tried to remember the rules of courtesy, which I learned in Charleston-that even though we might disagree on innumerable topics it can be very unpleasant if a guest is pugnaciously controversial with his host.

All of this is axiomatic and needs no argument to be accepted by the experienced and thoughtful. It would seem a waste of effort to remonstrate with the Enid Ewings, who are to be found wherever the going is a bit tough, save that their impatient gripings tend to arouse sectional resentments and tensions when of all times we should exercise forbearance.

HARRIET P. SIMONS Somewhere in New England, November 25

#### Foch and the Armistice

Dear Sirs: Joseph Bornstein said in his review of my book, "The Invasion of Germany," (The Nation, October 30), that Marshal Foch "strongly objected to the invasion of Germany, and he explained his point of view with the famous words, reported by Colonel House: 'No man has a right to cause another drop of blood to be shed.' "He thinks that he thus refutes my statement that Foch was against the Armistice as

it was finally concluded. Mr. Bornstein evidently feels that to quote a somewhat bombastic sentence makes historical research unnecessary. He evidently is not aware that Colonel House was somewhat partial in his accounts of the Armistice negotiations and the peace negotiations.

Since Mr. Bornstein believes I should study better books, I might suggest in turn that he read the memoirs of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson on this point. It might also prove advantageous to study the works of the late Karl Friedrich Nowack, a renowned European historian and one of the accepted authorities on Versailles, on Foch's feelings on the Armistice. And it might also prove fruitful to Mr. Bornstein to read what Alfred Vagts, perhaps the outstanding authority in this country, wrote on page 263 of "The History of Militarism": "When the Germans finally proposed an armistice, the majority of the commanding generals, Haig excepted, declared in favor of fighting on until peace could be dictated on German soil; that was said to be 'so conforming with strategy and the experience of past wars.' . . . Only when hard pressed by the civilian politicians did Foch admit that there was no reason to fight on for harsher armistice conditions. . . ."

Still another important writer on military affairs, Valeriu Marcu, who recently passed away in this country, wrote in his book "Men and Forces of Our Times" ("Männer und Mächte der Gegenwart") on Foch's attitude toward the Armistice: "Nothing can ever have seemed so inopportune to the Marshal of France as the German request for an armistice." And how could it be so if Marshal Foch really desired that not another drop of blood be shed?

CURT REISS

New York, December 8

#### What Foch Said

Dear Sirs: Mr. Riess wrote in his book that Marshal Foch did not want to grant Germany the armistice of 1918. He asserted: "Foch was outvoted. The British, the Americans, and even Foch's own government thought that he was a megalomaniac. . . . No one listened to Foch."

The negotiations about the Armistice of 1918 have been described by men who took part in them. I will not again refer to Colonel House, President Wilson's delegate, whom Mr. Reiss calls "partial." Yet the fact that the conditions of the armistice were fully in consonance with the proposals of Marshal

Foch is also confirmed by witnesses like General Pershing and Lloyd George. (Pershing, "My Experiences in the World War," page 363; Lloyd George, "War Memoirs," Vol. VI, page 3275). Ciemenceau's former assistant, André Tardieu, gave a documentary report of the armistice negotiations in his famous book "The Truth About the Treaty"; he quotes there especially the statements and declarations of Marshal Foch (pages 67, ff). There is finally one of the most important witnesses—Foch himself ("The Memoirs of Marshal Foch," American edition published by Doubleday, Doran and Company in 1931). Foch devoted two long chapters of his "Memoirs" (pages 450-96) to a day-by-day account of the armistice negotiations. He reveals the full text of his original propositions, his protests against any aggravation of the conditions, his statements made in the meetings with Colonel House, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau. In his conclusions Foch explicitly declares that the conditions of the armistice were fully satisfying from his point of view and continues: "It must not be imagined that the signing of the armistice was premature on our part, or that we might have derived advantage by delaying it . . . until such time as the German defeat had been finally sealed by a military defeat equivalent to new Sedan" ("Memoirs," page 490).

Karl Friedrich Nowack was not "a renowned European historian" but a German author who wrote a popular book against Versailles, thus helping the German nationalistic propaganda. Alfred Vagts certainly does not claim to have written the history of the armistice negotiations. The sentence of Valeriu Marcu's which Mr. Riess quotes applies to the strategic plans Foch had prepared before he knew that the Germans would ask for an armistice.

My review was published five weeks before Mr. Riess wrote his letter. He had plenty of time to search for material that would justify his statement. I can hardly believe that he overlooked all the well-known standard works about the armistice any employee of the Public Library could have recommended to him. However, Mr. Riess, who prefers the "authority" of Herr Nowack to the "partial" Colonel House, may also think that the books of General Pershing, Lloyd George, André Tardieu, and Foch himself are not reliable sources. I am sorry for his readers.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

New York, December 20

### No Quarter

ON RUSSIA'S FIGHTING LINES by KONSTANTIN SIMONOV

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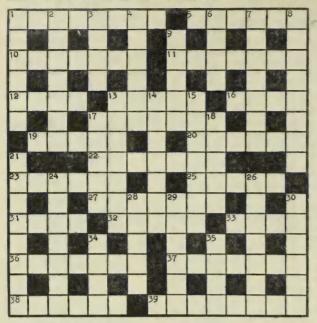
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### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 45 by JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

1 The lower he goes the less likely he is to go flat

Liver's out of order

10 Murmur at the tattoo for not being exciting 11 You find such eloquence in a Whig or

a Torv

12 Oh, dear! A girl has lost a foot

- 13 He is here today and gone tomorrow 16 One William who was glad to miss
- his son 17 Little Edward and his debts become tiresome
- 19 Old tyrant who set a mark for new tyrants to shoot at
- 20 Fish on ice
- 22 Put the case again as the others dined

23 Sheer imbecility

- 25 Fifty-two pronouns in five letters
- without proper punctuation 27 It would not encourage the floored pugilist if he were to first half the second half
- 31 Nineteenth century French novelist of the "naturalist" school
- 32 Wood nymph, not an advertisement
- for Prohibition
- 33 A large slice of this earth 36 Al leaves Australia for a country in Europe
- 37 One of course was necessary when this famous London prison was pulled down
- 38 Fences with the edge in the middle 39 Are you making good this?

#### DOWN

- 1 Decapitate
- 2 A swindle starts a state of excitement.
- Politicians doubtless feel that one good one deserves another

- 4 Founder of Babel, and a big shot in his day
- A play, but not of the athletic kind "So over -----, or over civil, That every man with him was God or Devil" (Dryden) A king's man (an economic variety
- has been found to exist here!)
- Wild West show characterized by much horse-play
- 13 Result of excessive weeping—or of seeing red, perhaps (hyphen, 3 and 4)
- 14 A short English queen collaborates with an anti-New Dealer with successful results!
  - Whispered like the stirring leaves
- Use this discreetly during a black-out Form of wool that is mostly hide
- 21 One cannot be supine about one's ablutions in this (two words, 4 and 4) Treated badly (hyphen, 3 and 4)
- 26 She-goat (anag.) "Days of absence, sad and dreary, Clothed in sorrow's dark - - - - "
- (Rousseau)
- Worker who appears to hold the whip hand
- 30 Unsinkable ships of the desert
- 34 As steel
- 35 Is this a small portion of the Tree of Knowledge?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 44 SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 44
ACROSS.—I DECATER; 5 TORNADO; 9
FRIGATE; 10 NOTICED; 11 LAG; 13
APIECE; 15 ARCHIE; 16 EXPRES; 17
SAGR; 19 ELMS; 20 RED INDIAN; 21
TOLLE; 23 DANE; 26 UNCUENT; 28
SPRING; 29 SEALED; 30 ASS; 32 GAMBUTS; 33 PRO RATA; 34 TIRADES; 35
NESTLES.

NESTLES.
DOWN:-1 DEFEATS: 2 CELLING; 3
TRANCE: 4 REEL; 5 TANG; 6 ROTORS:
7 ALCOHOL: 8 ODDNESS: 12 AERONALTS: 14 EXUDING: 15 ASSIGNS: 18
PRE: 19 BED; 21 INSIGNT: 25 UNKIND;
21 ALL HAHL: 25 ENDBARS: 25 UNKIND;
27 TENORS; 30 ASPS; 31 SPAN.

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AMERICA'S LRADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JANUARY 8, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 56 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N.Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

### The Shape of Things

THE PRESENCE IN THE NEW BOLIVIAN government of two or three democratic officials and its various pronouncements in favor of pan-American unity have been taken in some quarters as hopeful signs that the latest Latin American putsch was not primarily a rightist affair. We believe such hopes are ill-founded. No Bolivian regime can survive long without the recognition of the United States, and almost any concession will be made to win it. But promises and even executive decrees will be worthless as long as the real power lies in the hands of the fascists and Nazi sympathizers who staged the recent revolt and make up the majority in the Paz Estenssoro regime. As we pointed out last week, the chief inspiration for the coup was in Argentina's pro-Axis government, which is doing all it can, directly and through Phalangist and other Axis agencies, to further the spread of fascism in Latin America. There is only one force strong enough to offset the influence of Argentina—the United States. But to counter the pro-Axis maneuvers of the Ramirez dictatorship, our State Department would have to adopt, belatedly, the policy we have steadily urged upon it: it would have to cooperate as actively with liberal and left elements in Latin America as the Axis has done with the reactionaries. This means a sharp reversal of traditional practices. In Bolivia, for example, we should have to support the very elements which we alienated and outraged a year ago by our Minister's intervention in behalf of the mine owners. It is hard to believe that Mr. Hull and his advisers will suddenly develop the courage and imagination to engage in effective political warfare in Latin America. They prefer to leave that sort of vulgar business to the Nazis.

\*

THE BRITISH HOME FLEET HAD LONG BEEN waiting for the opportunity that arrived "in the halflight of the Arctic dawn" the day after Christmas, and it was no mere chance that led to its triumph. Many previous efforts had been made to lure the Scharnhorst into action, but the wary German commander had refused to be tempted out of his safe Norwegian anchorage. This time he fell for the bait-a juicy convoy bound for northern Russia, seemingly guarded only by a cruiser escort of inferior hitting power to the 26,000-ton German battleship. The Scharnhorst made contact confidently, but for all that they were outgunned, the British cruisers nipped at her heels so successfully that eventually she turned and ran for her base, with the British in pursuit. Meanwhile the big and fast battleship—the Duke of York-which had been steaming through the fog some distance behind the convoy changed course and neatly intercepted the Scharnhorst. That was the end of the last heavy German warship that remained in action and of a serious threat that had kept many British fighting ships on monotonous guard duty in the North Sea. The good news was followed in a few days by reports of another engagement in the Bay of Biscay, in which at least three Nazi destroyers and a blockade-running freighter were sent to the bottom. Both these victories have an important bearing on the coming invasion of the Continent, for they diminish the Nazi power to interfere with either transatlantic convoys or cross-Channel traffic. The German surface fleet has long had only a nuisance value, and it is now no more than a minor nuisance.

GENERAL EISENHOWER—A CAUTIOUS MAN has promised victory in Europe in 1944 provided everyone at the front and behind it does his or her duty. The New York Daily News has demurred on the ground that this is too much to expect. Perhaps Publisher Patterson's conscience is troubling him, for certainly his own chief contribution to victory has been the sowing of doubt and dissent. He has, for instance, supported Senator Wheeler's statistical approach to strategy. The Senator has heard gossip that the proportion of Americans to Britons in the invasion forces will be three to one and has registered a loud protest. Naturally the exact ratio is military secret, but we would remind the Senator and his journalistic supporters that British losses in this war are several times ours; that even in fighting Japan British casualties have almost certainly outnumbered ours; that while we have regarded Salerno as a wholly American victory we now learn that the initial landing on that bloody beach was made by two British divisions and one American. Lay down that adding-machine, Senator! It is such calculations as yours that help to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

THE MAGAZINE ESQUIRE HAS BEEN DENIED second-class mailing privileges by an order of Postmaster General Frank C. Walker which appears to us completely indefensible. After prolonged hearings on the question of whether or not some of the matter published by the magazine was obscene, a three-man Post Office trial board recommended by a majority that the privilege be not revoked. Thereupon Mr. Walker, apparently determined to "get" Esquire, took action on the ground that it failed to meet the requirements of being "originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts, or

some special industry." Now it is arguable that the second-class mailing privilege, which is in effect a subsidy, has been over-extended, but the words of the statute should not suddenly be strictly applied to one publication while others which fail far more egregiously to satisfy the definition quoted above are undisturbed. If mailing rights are to be denied to Esquire on these grounds, how can they be justified for the dozens of "pulps" and "comics" which now enjoy them? This ruling by the Postmaster General is censorship of the most arbitrary kind, and we hope that the whole press will back Esquire strongly in challenging it in the federal courts.

IN AN ARTICLE CALLED THE G-STRING Conspiracy by its Washington editor, The Nation drew attention on July 26, 1941, to the particularly unfair and ludicrous character of the indictments obtained by the Department of Justice against a group of Trotskyite labor men in Minneapolis. These men have since been acquitted of seditious conspiracy, a charge involving acts rather than opinions, but have been convicted under the Smith Alien and Sedition Law of 1940, which makes the mere utterance of revolutionary doctrines a crime. The Department of Justice contended and the lower courts agreed that it was unnecessary to prove that these utterances constituted any "clear and present danger." In doing so they set aside the doctrine developed by Holmes and Brandeis to put sharp limits on prosecutions for opinion in time of war. The shocking thing about this case is that the utterance occurred before Pearl Harbor, and conviction was obtained under our first peace-time sedition law since 1798. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has twice refused to grant a review of the Minneapolis convictions, with the result that the "clear-and-present-danger" doctrine, long applied by state courts as settled law in civil-liberties cases, is in danger of going into the discard. With the backing of the Civil Liberties Union, a new petition for a hearing has been made.

×

WE HOPE THAT ATTORNEY GENERAL BIDDLE will use the "hardship-cases" provision of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 to suspend the deportation order against Raissa Irene Browder, wife of the Communist leader, Earl Browder. Mrs. Browder entered the country from Canada illegally in 1933. Late in 1939 her husband applied for an immigration visa permitting her to go to Canada and reenter legally. This was denied by the well-known Visa Division of the State Department. The petition was followed within a few months by the issuance of a warrant for her arrest and deportation. This came shortly after proceedings had been begun against Browder, then running for President on the Communist ticket. The Browder prosecution was political, based on the most fine-spun of technicalities in the

field of passport law. Mrs. Browder's case bore all the earmarks of political persecution of a particularly vindictive kind. Action by Biddle would wipe the slate clean. Mrs. Browder is married to an American and has three American children. Under the 1940 act the Attorney General is authorized in such cases to suspend deportation action and permit the wife, husband, or parent of Americans to begin naturalization proceedings. It is true that under the law Congress may object within thirty days of any such act of clemency. But this is a risk that Biddle should take.

ART YOUNG WOULD BE AMUSED IF HE COULD read the comments of the "capitalist press" on his personality, his art, and his politics. He was a lovable soul and a good artist, so the line goes, in spite of his "heterodox" opinions-heterodox being a euphemism for Socialist. We should not go so far as to say that Art was a lovable man and a fine artist because he was a Socialist, but we do protest that his personality, his politics, and his art were all of a piece. All flowed from the central spring of integrity, intelligence, and love which never failed and which was kept sweet by his gusto for life and a sense of humor as deep as it was broad. And the clean simple line characterized them all. Many of Art Young's wonderful drawings appeared in The Nation. Next week we shall reproduce some of them, as well as a comment on Art Young as an artist, a humorist, and that rara avis a permanent Socialist.

A NEW OUTBREAK OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN certain parts of New York City, notabl; the Washington Heights section and areas in lower Brooklyn, is revealed in a report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and affidavits collected by local newspapers. The evidence shows not only widespread desecration of Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues but numerous assaults on Jewish children by gangs of boys from ten to fifteen years of age. In a few instances Jewish adults have been attacked by older boys. The police have chosen to minimize the incidents, dismissing them as minor manifestations of the current wave of juvenile delinquency. This is not an adequate explanation. Offenses of all sorts by young people are on the increase, but the nature of these attacks indicates that they represent a definite tendency. Behind them one can clearly see the anti-Semitism of certain well-organized fascist groups known to be strongly intrenched in the particular districts where the trouble arose. The uprooting of this dangerous un-American attitude is a long-range job which the schools, churches, and civic agencies of all types must resolutely shoulder. Meanwhile the responsibility for checking these outrages rests squarely upon the police. The past association of many policemen with the Christian Front and similar organizations and the recent whitewashing of Patrolman James L. Drew suggest that one reason these anti-Semitic outbreaks have not been stopped is the indifference of many members of the police force. The situation is serious enough to call for a thorough investigation of the police department's efforts, or lack of efforts, to check the attacks on Jewish children, and for a reinvestigation of the Drew case to find what pressures were brought to bear to allow that notorious anti-Semite to remain on the force.

### What Labor Must Remember

HE growing crisis in the ranks of labor has as yet caused far more excitement in the headlines than disruption in industry. November, 1943, was a comparatively bad month, with twice as many workers on strike and twice as many man-days lost as in November, 1941, just before Pearl Harbor. But even so, idleness due to strikes amounted to little more than one-third of 1 per cent of available working time, and 87 per cent of the idleness was due to the coal strike. The surrender to John L. Lewis in that strike made it very difficult for Philip Murray any longer to hold the steel workers in line; their wages have many industrial and traditional links with those of the miners. The steel strike was nipped in its beginnings by a promise to make any wage rise retroactive, and the Administration seems to be striving, by revision of the official cost-of-living index, both to give the steel workers an increase and to keep the Little Steel formula in effect.

The manner in which the railroads were "taken over" by the government will not tend to lessen the dissatisfaction of railroad workers. They feel that they have a raise coming to them from roads earning the greatest profits in their history. But while the British railroads under government war-time control are limited to average pre-war earnings, "governmental control" here is little more than a semantic gesture to end a strike. Railroad officials have merely been put into uniform, and the Presidential order taking over the roads provides that the private companies shall otherwise carry on as usual.

We cannot help feeling that part of the blame for the threatened railroad strike rests on the failure of War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes and the managements to put into effect the President's promise of last May to give the workers in the forty-eight-hour week railroad industry the overtime privileges enjoyed by other workers under the forty-hour law. And we think the non-operating unions, which include some of the lowest-paid workers in American industry, are right in insisting that arbitration of their overtime demands

should leave untouched the recent four-to-ten-cents-anhour increase given them by Economic Stabilization Director Vinson.

The press, which is generally anti-labor, and some anti-labor officials have seized upon the unrest in labor's ranks to mobilize public opinion against the trade-union movement. Editors who looked on in indifference or approval at the succession of steps by which big business slowed up the war effort bring out their tallest headlines for the strikes. We wonder who was the "high Washington authority" who declared that the threatened railroad strike and the threatened steel strike had prolonged the war six months. This was both mendacious and malicious. The explanation given by this high authority, whoever he was, was far-fetched and incapable of proof. He said news of the threatened strikes would prolong the war by keeping Hungary, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Rumania in the conflict. That is dangerous nonsense. Such statements and recent scare headlines about the use of troops to man the roads embitter railroad labor, which was pledged not to strike against the government and had no intention of doing so.

However unfair the attacks upon it, labor needs more than ever to retain a sense of perspective. Labor's grievances are genuine enough: huge war profits, rising prices, the dilatory procedures of the War Labor Board, the tricky conduct of some members of the Administration, the greedy lobbies against subsidies and price control in Congress, the President's failure to take the offensive against them in his effort to hold down the cost of living. But labor must also consider the superhuman difficulties under which the President operates, and the fact that the line on profits, taxes, and living costs has been held better in this war than in the last. It must remember that a general revision of wages upward will only put "a baloney dollar" in workers' pay envelopes.

We ask members of labor unions to consider long and seriously the effect on the armed forces of current labor alarums. We ask them to remember that many soldiers are working and fighting under such conditions as can hardly be envisaged by any of us at home, and to remember always that they are fighting a movement designed utterly to crush and enslave labor. We ask trade unionists to imagine the reactions of men in New Guinea or Italy who hear of strikes at home, to consider the hostile attitude toward labor with which many will return from the front, to recall the role such animosity on the part of war veterans played in the rise of fascism abroad. We ask them to lift themselves for a moment above their grievances, their long-standing wage disputes and irritations, and consider whether there is involved anything as important as the good-will of the soldier and the respect of the public. On these may depend the security of the labor movement after the war and of free government with it. Every worker owes it to himself to think of these things, and to think, too, of his obligation to his country and to his comrades in uniform at the start of what will certainly be the bloodiest year of the war.

### Wages and Living Costs

LTHOUGH the mine strike and some of the rail demands were settled, technically at least, within the limits of the Little Steel formula, any increase in steel wages will almost certainly require some adjustment in the formula which has governed wages for the past eighteen months. From the point of view of simple justice it would seem that a revision of the formula is long overdue. Since the beginning of 1941 wage rates have been permitted to rise a maximum of 15 per cent, while the cost of living has gone up 231/2 per cent. When Congress passed the law authorizing the control of wages in October, 1942, it specifically set the level of September 15 of that year as the level at which both wages and prices were to be stabilized. Yet the cost of living has risen an additional 5 per cent since then, and although some reduction has been achieved in the past seven months through the use of subsidies, the opposition of Congress to the rollback makes it highly unlikely that the Administration will be able to live up to its stated promise to push the general price level back to the September 15, 1942, mark.

From a humanitarian or economic point of view, strong case can be made out for a revision of the Little Steel formula which would permit wage rates to rise proportionately to living costs. This would, of course, largely satisfy labor and thus minimize the danger of further destructive strikes like those which threatened during Christmas week. But any such drastic tampering with the Little Steel formula at this time would be dynamite politically. In the eyes of most Congressmen—and of the public at large—the Little Steel formula is irretrievably linked with the entire stabilization program. If labor succeeds in breaking the formula, Congress would probably react by passing the ban on subsidies over a Presidential veto and yielding to farm and business pressure for increased prices all along the line. It need hardly be pointed out that labor would be one of the chief victims of any such collapse of the stabilization program. Once the cycle of inflation really got under way, there would be little possibility that wages would keep pace with the spiraling cost of living.

As long as there is a fighting chance of saving the subsidy program and preventing Congress from going all out for inflation, it is to labor's interest not to upset the apple cart by forcing a showdown on the Little Steel formula. That does not necessarily mean that the formula cannot or should not be subject to adjustment to provide for future rises in the cost of living. At the moment living costs are less than they were seven or eight months ago. But if the Administration is beaten in its present efforts to hold the line in such matters as subsidies, farm prices, and the price of crude oil, there should be some automatic provision for adjusting wages to meet the resultant increase in living costs. Some such arrangement as the Canadian plan whereby wages could be automatically revised every three months in accordance with changes in the cost-of-living index would be far preferable to the present rigid prescription, which apparently can only be adjusted under pressure of a threatened strike.

### A Dangerous Year

IT IS not often that we find ourselves agreeing with Herr Goebbels, but in characterizing 1944 as "a dangerous year" the Reich Propaganda Minister seems to us to have used le mot juste. Probably his domestic audience considered him guilty of understatement, and in any case it hardly needed to be reminded of the perilous situation of Germany. With Berlin "half in ruins" and air raids growing weightier month by month, with the Russians advancing inexorably in the east, with American men and materials piling up impressively in the west, the Germans know full well that they are no longer fighting in the hope of victory, whatever Goebbels may say, but only with the desperate desire of staving off total defeat.

But for the United Nations also 1944 is "a dangerous year," though in a rather different sense. Our danger is not military defeat but failure, through over-caution, through divided counsel, to grasp victory. In 1943 we passed from the defensive to the offensive but only on a limited scale. Now in 1944 we have to go all out: the men are trained, the weapons manufactured, the ammunition accumulated. And the day for the coordinated attack on the Nazi fortress which was promised at Teheran is approaching.

Where and at what hour new breaches will be made in the walls of that fortress we do not know. The appointment of General Eisenhower to lead an attack from "other points of the compass" and the transfer of some of his ablest American and British subordinates from the Mediterranean point clearly enough to an invasion in the west. But the fact that as outstanding an officer as General Sir Harold Alexander has been placed in command of Allied forces in Italy suggests that that front will not be allowed to become static. And the appointment of General Sir Henry Wilson, with his experience of the Balkans, as supreme commander in the Mediterranean may presage the creation of a new front, or rather

the reinforcement of a front where the Yugoslav Partisans have already driven a wedge into Hitler's lines.

It is in Britain, however, that the main invasion forces are being assembled, and the decisive battles outside Russia are likely to take place near the English Channel. The establishment of the first bridgeheads will be a gigantic and costly undertaking. Meticulous planning will be needed to gather the troops and their supplies at the embarkation ports and to collect the huge armada required to convoy them across. At this stage we must expect desperate efforts by the Luftwaffe to disorganize the expedition before it is well launched, for we can hardly hope that such a massive concentration of forces can be kept a secret from the enemy. This is the moment for which Göring has been hoarding his bombers. Yet we can feel confident that their challenge will be met, thanks to Allied superiority in the air, both by attacks on the German air bases and by defensive measures at the threatened points. With Air Marshal Leigh-Mallory, who had much to do with the defense of Britain during the blitz, in charge of the joint tactical air forces, the air protection of the Anglo-American expedition will be in good hands.

Eut the Luftwaffe is only the first obstacle to be overcome before firm bridgeheads are achieved. The Germans have had several years in which to fortify the coast of Western Europe and develop techniques of defensive warfare, and we can be sure that they will not be driven out by even the most devastating preliminary air and sea bombardments. Air cooperation will be of vital importance, but before our men can establish a firm foothold on the Continent there will be much bloody hand-tohand fighting, and casualties are likely to be extremely heavy.

We should be doubly thankful, therefore, that the Red Army has been doing such a wonderful job in wearing down German strength. In a desperate attempt to retake Kiev, Hitler threw in an important part of his reserves. The Russians met this counter-offensive and crushed it with such heavy losses to the enemy that the German command is encountering increasing difficulty in bolstering the weak points in its lines. With strong Russian drives developing in at least three sectors, these weak spots are becoming dangerously numerous.

There is every reason to hope that the Russians will be able to keep driving forward during the winter months so that by the time the western invasion is launched Hitler will be scraping the bottom of his reserve barrel and forced to strip one front to support the other. Thus once a bridgehead on the Continent can be established and consolidated, the chances of an early collapse of Germany will be bright. The risks are great; the prospects of reward greater. But we cannot afford mistakes in timing. Among the greatest dangers for us in 1044 is delay in carrying out our military obligations.

## What F. D. R. Forgot

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 30 NE omission from the President's list of New Deal accomplishments seems to have escaped the attention of the press. This was the passage of the Wagner Act. The omission is symptomatic. With steel and railroad strikes threatening, the President may have thought it impolitic to boast of the part his Administration played in the organization of American labor and in guaranteeing the right of collective bargaining. I do not think the omission was accidental; if it was accidental, it was the kind of lapse of memory Freud explained for us. I am inclined to think it was deliberate, since the list of New Deal accomplishments and the Bunyanish parable about "Dr. New Deal" and "Dr. Win-the-War" were carefully prepared—though the President, like the artist that he is, gave them an air of improvisation.

Another accomplishment the President did not mention was the TVA, though he might easily have boasted of the great part it has played in war production. Perhaps the lambasting that Henry Wallace has taken for his reference to TVA's on the Danube helps to explain this omission. The President's list was prepared to evoke the shadow of the Hoover débâcle. "Dr. New Deal," the President said, had established a sound banking system, saved homes and farms from foreclosure, and rescued agriculture from disaster. These accomplishments, which led his list, represent a good middleclass reform program; minimum wages and maximum hours were put down near the bottom. Mr. Roosevelt wanted a list that was difficult to assail politically. That he succeeded is indicated by the New York Times's admission that "by and large it cannot be disputed that the 'New Deal' introduced into American life a very considerable number of reforms which were long overdue." Once this is admitted, Mr. Roosevelt's opponents can only quarrel with him over details, and that, in the midst of a world war, hardly makes for an effective campaign.

The Wall Street Journal, surveying the prospects for 1944, reported succinctly if lugubriously, "Statistics Favor a G. O. P. Victory but Democrats Still Have Roosevelt." The President is off to a brilliant start. His New Deal press conference, taken in connection with the conference of the preceding Tuesday, was as deft a piece of political footwork as anything in his career. He knows that the attention of electorates, like that of children, flags easily and needs new phrases and faces. "Win the

War" is new and is also the obvious slogan for 1944; F. D. R. has preempted it. The offhand way in which the change of slogans was announced was seized upon by the opposition as a confession of past error. The President, by defending an unassailable record and indicating—though very cautiously—that there may be more of the same after the war, has put himself in a position his opponents must envy. He can run in 1944 as a non-partisan Win-the-War President without losing his franchise as a New Dealer. It will take more than MacArthur's profile to beat that one.

The range of possibilities for a President is never a wide one; constitutional and political necessities impose narrow limits on the leadership he can exert. Mr. Roosevelt is now, as always, just a wee bit to left of center, a little ahead of majority opinion today as he was a little behind it in the greatest days of the New Deal. The New Deal has been a strange and changing thing since the beginning. Aside from this vague phrase, reminiscent of Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal, Wilson's New Freedom, and poker, Mr. Roosevelt's chief difference from Mr. Hoover in the 1932 campaign was on public power, and the first steps he took in office were as vigorously deflationary as anything Mr. Hoover might have suggested.

In the curious combination of elements behind Mr. Roosevelt were a section of big business which wanted relaxation of the anti-trust laws, farmers who wanted something like tariff protection for themselves, retail business men who understood the need for government spending. An older, more sophisticated, less vigorous capitalist class than ours might have used the NRA to move toward a form of corporate state, and would have understood the function of social demagogy in making it palatable. They took Mr. Roosevelt's rhetoric more seriously than it deserved, and by the violence of their attack tended in some degree to translate more of it into reality than was intended.

The demagogy of Section 7-a in the old NRA was taken seriously by the workers, and their organization both pushed Mr. Roosevelt toward the left and made most of his reforms politically possible. This is what makes his omission of the Wagner Act from the list of his accomplishments indicative. Like the guaranty of bank deposits, the Wagner Act was one of those reforms Mr. Roosevelt sponsored most unwillingly; I hope Senator Wagner will some day write his memoirs and tell the whole story. Yet without the wave of unionization

which forced passage of the Wagner Act and was in turn strengthened by it, Mr. Roosevelt's reelection in 1936 would hardly have been possible. The working class provided the firm base of the New Deal, gave it vitality and direction. The dissatisfaction of the middle class and of middle-class farmers provided the other essential element in the victorious coalition. When the fear of foreclosure passed, and fear of labor took its place after the Little Steel strike, the old coalition was broken, and with it passed the earlier vitality and idealism of the New Deal.

This is as good a time as any to take realistic stock of what the New Deal accomplished. In the field of social and economic reform Mr. Roosevelt enabled us to catch up with the England of Lloyd George and the Germany of Bismarck's Monarchical Socialism. Social insurance will not end the ups and downs of the business cycle, though it may moderate their impact. In the field of spending Mr. Roosevelt could never bring himself really to prime the pump vigorously enough for permanent revival. The 1938 "recession" indicated that his second term might have ended in another serious slump if the preparations for war had not provided a new method of spending palatable to the upper classes, which have profited so largely by it. This is not said to disparage Mr. Roosevelt or to deny the wisdom of his war preparations; his policies were determined by the stage of our national development, by public opinion, by international necessities. But it will help us to guide ourselves in the post-war period if we clearly recognize that in the last analysis it was only war that saved the second Roosevelt Administration and world capitalism from a new depression.

The New Deal approach isn't good enough to meet our post-war needs, and it is time that liberals began to think in fresh terms. No economy can go on forever paying men to rake leaves or build mausoleums, and I'm afraid the Rooseveltians would do little more than provide new WPA's in the post-war depression. Another depression is what we're headed for so long as the President leaves plans for reconversion to the big-business crowd. They are already thinking in terms of restoring a profitable scarcity and shutting down new capacity. Post-war New Deals, post-war stabilization measures must take steps from which Mr. Roosevelt has always held back, perhaps because he would have been forced back had he taken them. Only by vigorous government intervention to maintain a high level of output, only by the employment of the jobless in productive enterprise, only by boldly putting idle men at idle machines can reality be given to that new, glamorous, and socially explosive slogan of Full Employment. I am afraid that this is a goal only a new movement and a new leadership will be able to achieve, and then only after a period of reaction.

### 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

E ARE ENTERING A NEW YEAR fraught with enormous possibilities of good and evil for the people of the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that the very fate of our democratic institutions still hangs in the balance. Some of the great things that have been accomplished by the NRA under the New Deal . . . may not be permanent; many of them will be wiped out if the liberal Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is succeeded by a reactionary one . . . and yet somehow or other I feel that certain things have been accomplished that will be of lasting value, that ideas have been set afloat in the land which can never be returned to the source from which they came, or be wholly forgotten.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, January 3, 1934.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BIRTH-CONTROL conference ever held in Washington will open on January 15, under the auspices of Margaret Sanger's National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control. A number of topic relevant to the general subject of contraception will be discussed by eminent physicians, ministers, and experts in education and sociology.—January 10, 1934.

IN HIS SPEECH at the Woodrow Wilson dinner President Roosevelt paid eloquent tribute to the desire of the peoples of the world for peace. Governments make war, he said; peoples fight wars against their will. He asked for an agreement among nations to eliminate offensive weapons and a declaration that "no nation will permit any of its armed forces to cross its own borders into the territory of another nation."—January 17, 1934.

IN THE HITLER-DOLLFUSS FIGHT for supremacy in Austria, the Austrian Premier unquestionably scored a victory in the last engagement. The arrest of an attaché of the German embassy at a secret meeting of Austrian Nazis proves that Berlin is directing and paying for the movement to overthrow the Dollfuss government. Documents confiscated on this occasion show that the National Socialists are planning not only the overthrow of the present regime but an Austrian revolution.—January 24, 1934.

PERHAPS NOTHING SEEMS more out of fashion than a book that was read by everyone ten years ago; in one sense it seems more ancient than a Victorian novel and infinitely more outmoded than a hearty survivor from the eighteenth century. So much for such best sellers as "Black Oxen," which is now superseded by "The Good Earth" and "Anthony Adverse."—HORACE GREGORY, January 31, 1934.

THEATER CALENDAR FOR 1934: "Ah, Wilderness!"; "As Thousands Cheer"; "Champagne Sec"; "Her Master's Voice"; "Let 'em Eat Cake"; "Mary of Scotland"; "Men in White"; "Peace on Earth"; "She Loves Me Not"; "Sailor Beware"; "The Green Bay Tree"; "The Pursuit of Happiness"; "The School for Husbands"; "Tobacco Road."—

January 31, 1934.

### Moscow and Austria

BY ADOLF STURMTHAL

TOT having been admitted into the inner secrets of the Moscow conference, one finds it difficult to understand why one of the five statements of the three powers was especially addressed to Austria. The civil war in Yugoslavia between the forces of Tito and those of Mihailovich, the internal conflicts in Greece, the intricate problems of the French liberation movement failed to find mention in the Moscow decisions, but little Austria was singled out for what was in fact an appeal to revolt. Some commentators found the reason in impending military operations, which would soon bring Austria into the center of action; but it is hard to see how this could be done without the previous conquest of Greece or Yugoslavia, whose problems would thus have taken precedence over those of Austria. Another explanation was that the reestablishment of Austria's independence was one issue on which all parties at the conference agreed, while other problems were still subjects of negotiation. Possibly the statement on Austria was part of the settlement of the wider German issue, whose principles are said to have been established at Moscow. Publication of the plan for Germany itself is alleged to have been deferred for reasons of political strategy, whereas the Austrian part was ready for imme-

In any case, the three great powers are now committed to the reestablishment of an independent Austria at the end of the war. Although not clearly phrased, the statement seems to imply that Austria will be permanently separated from Germany, regardless of whether the Austrians want it that way or not. The Allies have thus reaffirmed the policy of Versailles with regard to the Anschluss. The reasons are probably the same now as then: German might would be increased by the addition of six million Austrians; the Anschluss would give to Germany an advantageous strategic position and make correspondingly difficult the position of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Italy; Austria's natural resources and its war industries, most of which have been established in the last few years, would increase the German war potential.

No one can know for certain whether a majority of the Austrian people, after Germany's defeat, would wish to remain incorporated in Greater Germany. But it is perhaps useful to recall that the German defeat in 1918 did not prevent 90 per cent of the Austrians from demanding the Anschluss. The reason was not only the desire for national unification—a democratic aim ever

since the revolution of 1848—but also the fact that no one could see a practicable alternative which would allow a progressive democratic development and reasonable living standards in Austria. Indeed, the Anschluss was part and parcel of democratic and progressive thinking up to Hitler's victory in 1933. Independence was the slogan of the reactionary and monarchist factions. For them an independent Austria was merely the first step toward the reconstitution of the old Hapsburg empire. Very few Austrians in 1918 sincerely believed that Austria, left permanently to its own devices, could offer decent living conditions to its six million inhabitants. The idea of an Austro-Bavarian federation, which has found feeble support in England and elsewhere, belongs to the general plan of a clerical-inspired conservative bloc separating the Soviet Union from Western

Whether nationalist emotions in Austria will have survived six or seven years of Nazi rule is an open question, but the economic problem of 1918 is bound to reemerge with a vengeance. It was a question then how Austrian industry could exist when it had a market of only six million instead of fifty million people. Now Austria's industrial development as fostered by Nazi Germany, is much greater than it ever was before. The triangle Linz-Vienna-Graz has become one of the big industrial centers of Europe. Using the natural resources of the Alpine provinces-iron ore, magnesium, and hydroelectric power-the industries of Upper and Lower Austria and Vienna, and the transportation facilities of the Danube and its plain, the Nazis have made it the greatest relatively bomb-proof (so far) industrial district in Greater Germany, equal if not superior to that of Upper Silesia. The destruction of the Ruhr by Allied bombing has increased the relative European significance of the Austrian triangle. In addition, Viennese trade, banking, and insurance have been immensely expanded by the Nazis, who have made them-of course under Berlin's control—the agents of the German war economy in the Danube Valley and the Balkans.

Much of this reorganization and expansion will no doubt collapse with Hitlerism, and would in any case have been discarded at the end of the war. A large part, however, could be converted for use in peace time. If Austria is cut off from the German market, poor as it will be after the defeat, and compelled again to fall back upon its small domestic outlet, a long-term depression is inevitable. And because of the present unparalleled expansion

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of Austrian industry the decline is likely to be even more lasting and severe than that which after 1918 made the country the pauper of Central Europe and gradually undermined the newly established democratic system.

It will be just and natural for the Allies to refuse to recognize the legality of Hitler's annexation of Austria and reestablish Austria's freedom. But it will be neither fair nor good politics to let it go at that. It is true that against the background of Nazi tyranny the years before the brown wave engulfed the country and before the Dollfuss dictatorship will be remembered by many Austrians as a Golden Age. But it does not require too strenuous an exercise of memory to recall the prolonged mass unemployment, the misery and hopelessness, of the thirties, and few have forgotten that this economic and social crisis was Hitler's strongest ally, demoralizing the masses and arousing the fear of a social revolution. The Allies will deprive themselves of a powerful weapon of political warfare if they offer nothing better to Austria -and to the whole of Central Europe for that matterthan the prospect of a return to the very conditions which gave rise to Hitlerism.

I can see only two alternatives for post-war Austria: Anschluss with a democratic German regime or economic cooperation with Southeastern Europe, Both solutions would meet tremendous difficulties. Both have as their starting-point the new security system which the Soviet Union is about to set up in Eastern Europe.

The mutual-assistance pact between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia is apparently designed to create a Moscow-sponsored safety zone from the Baltic to the Aegean, drawing into its orbit Poland and most if not all of the Balkan nations. Such a development would tend to eliminate many of the arguments that can reasonably be advanced against the Anschluss. A strong Slav confederation backed by the Soviet army-after Germany's defeat the most powerful land army on earth-need not be afraid of the addition of six million Austrians to a disarmed Germany. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that in the past a large majority of the Austrian population was under the leadership of Social Democratic or Catholic parties, both essentially pacific and hostile to pan-Germanism. Included in Germany, these groups would increase internal resistance to the rebirth of German militarism. Indeed, they would form a rallyingpoint for the democratic forces of the greater Reich.

I wonder, however, whether the victors of this war will realize the peace potential of the Anschluss, and



BETWEEN HELL AND BLAZES

even if they do whether popular passion would permit them to carry it out. Nor am I certain that the Austrians themselves, after six years of Nazi occupation, will be able to make a neat distinction between oppression by Nazi Germany and absorption by a different German regime. Even if they were given the full right of selfdetermination, they might very well prefer to separate from the Reich, particularly if separation did not mean isolation.

Economic cooperation between Austria and Southeastern Europe might be the alternative. Such a plan runs into several difficulties. Southeastern Europe suffers from a surplus agricultural population, and a progressive industrialization seems to offer the only outlet for its people, as long as large-scale emigration remains impossible. If this area embarks upon an industrialization program, it will want to exclude foreign consumer goods as soon as it can produce them, but it will need large imports of capital goods. Indeed, so great will be the demand that wide opportunities will be opened not only for Austrian industry but for Czech and other industries as well. Without such outside help Southeastern Europe would be compelled to adopt the pattern of Soviet industrialization-a frightful reduction of already low living standards to obtain the necessary capital and a political system which allows such a violent

Only if foreign capital goods are imported on longterm credit can Southeastern Europe gradually build up its own industries and then use its excess agricultural production for the amortization of its foreign debt, Unfortunately neither Austria nor Czechoslovakia will be able to sell capital goods against long-term credits. They will therefore need international assistance. To give it would be a wise investment for the United Nations, both politically and economically. Two of the basic weaknesses of Europe, the surplus agricultural population of Southeastern Europe and the over-industrialization of Austria and Czechoslovakia, could in this way be turned into assets for the reconstruction of the Continent.

Such an economic union between Austria and Southeastern Europe might, but need not, take the form of a federation. The Soviet Union has in the past looked askance at plans for a Danubian federation, fearing that they might mean a renewal of the old policy of forming a cordon sanitaire. This fear was again expressed in an article entitled The Fate of Austria appearing in the November issue of War and the Working Classes. The U. S. S. R. is categorically opposed to any federation which does not include the Soviet Union. And Izvestia at the same time insisted that any federation plans must be developed in the countries themselves, without pressure from outside, particularly from unrepresentative governments in exile. Central European liberals, on the other hand, have suspected, not always without reason,

that the federation idea was a first step toward reconstitution of the Hapsburg empire. The Russo-Czech pact has, I believe, eliminated many of the grounds for these fears. Backed by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is in a position to enter an absolute veto against all Hapsburg dreams in Central Europe, and it is obvious that close economic cooperation between Austria and Soviet-led Southeastern Europe will not be a combination of the sort Moscow opposes. Moreover, the pact will make it impossible for any anti-Soviet regime to be established in Austria itself. Indeed, Austria might well become the point at which Anglo-American and Soviet influence meet in cooperation. Anglo-American capital, making use of Viennese experience in dealing with the Balkan nations, could be funneled through Austria into Southeastern Europe for the benefit of all. There is no Austrian government in exile, and as far as I can see, none that would be representative can come into being until Austria is liberated. This, however, should not prevent friends of a strong and democratic Austria from laying now the foundations for a stable order in the heart of Europe.

## Memorial to the Great Big Beautiful Self-Sacrificing Advertisers

BY SERGEANT FREDERICK EBRIGHT

Look, we don't give a hoot if Zippo-Fasteners have gone to war

(millions of us, by some strange coincidence, have done the same thing);

and it isn't likely to break our hearts if we can't buy one today

or tomorrow or whenever it was we were going to buy a Zippo, or whatever for—

we believe Life will somehow go on.

And it doesn't matter too terribly much to us in the front lines

if Old Cask whiskey is rationed: not to us for whom it has been

rationed so thinly that we haven't seen a label in eleven months.

Cease worrying us with your nobility: yours is no national disaster:

your apologies are beginning to wear thin.

If your magazine is late—
If you can't reserve a lower berth—
If you can't purchase Durafilm—
If your long-distance call is held up—

So what! Cease the (advt.) threnody: nobody's going to die because of this.

War in itself is a vulgarity; it should not be an excuse for advertisers

to parade their enormous sacrifice behind a thin screen of bond pleas,

of shallow regrets, of four-color-process hypocrisy. We can stand only so much

of a hard-luck story; then we begin to wonder about your sincerity.

Isn't the government paying you for your product? Okay, then—pipe down!

We're being paid too for our blood and our legs and our eyes and our arms,

and we're not making a full-page song-and dance about it.

The pattern is all too familiar: bright shells burst on the page;

tanks rear and planes crash (the artist's conception of war)

in the midst of well-ordered disaster. Not so much blood and filth,

of course, as to offend good taste—oh, the immaculate conception of war—

and then the sob-line about no cigarette lighters today, no bath scales,

no aluminum lids for your poor, poor desolate cleansing

some day somebody will fracture an arm thus publicly waving a flag.

The woman in Saginaw who reads the telegram of regret

from the government, for her only son-

and the lad on the cruiser who's just seen his pal blown to hell in a loud flash—

they too feel the impact of war, but they can't put their grief

in a \$5,000 lithograph and ask you to cry with them.

There is a dignity in silence.

### Houses on the Belt

BY FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR.

PREFABRICATION of houses will be the key to the greatest building boom this country has ever known. As the basis of a vast new industry, it will not only fill an important social need but enable the country to attain full employment after the war and a new level of industrial activity. The prefabrication of houses is no longer hypothetical. Much valuable experience has been gained in providing housing for war workers, and several of the largest corporations in America have definitely stated that after the peace they will go in for mass production of low-cost homes.

Many ingredients of a housing boom are already present. Some authorities estimate that to meet post-war requirements 2,000,000 dwellings will have to be built annually over a period of ten years. S. Morris Livingston, construction expert of the Department of Commerce, believes that, given full employment, the demand may be so great by 1945 that for several years a billion dollars' worth of construction will be needed.

Should an effective demand for anything like 2,000,000 houses a year develop, it is doubtful whether conventional builders could meet the challenge. The chances are that building costs would rise sharply and cut off a proportionate amount of the demand. This has always happened in the past, and in consequence there has never been any great replacement of private homes. If the greatest possible post-war building boom is to ma-

terialize, at least 4,000,000 non-farm homes with a rental value of less than \$20 a month must be replaced. And to these should be added another 2,000,000 farm homes unfit for human needs.

To meet the challenge, past experience must be reversed. Building costs must be lowered, counter to the mounting demand. This can best be achieved, in the opinion of a growing number of architects and industrialists, by the extensive prefabrication of houses. At least fifty companies, some of them large organizations such as the Kaiser interests, Glen Martin, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, and the American Radiator Company, are planning to enter the field after the war. A number of these have laid out assembly lines and constructed units, confident that they can tap mass markets and bring low-cost houses to millions. A representative of the Goodyear Company told me that his firm expected to develop a business comparable to that of "some fair-sized automobile companies."

The chief argument in favor of prefabrication is that it brings mass-production methods into full play in house construction. The change is as revolutionary as the shift from the small-town carriage shops of the eighteenth century to the great automobile factories of today. The reduction in costs will be immense. Houses are built in sections at a factory and assembled on the building site. Walls, roofs, and floors are made in easily

portable panels. Bathrooms, kitchens, heating systems, and rooms are prefabricated as units and made of standardized parts—just as are automobile engines, chassis, and bodies. Everything possible is done on the assembly line.

With houses as with other mass-produced merchandise, the lower the cost the more will be sold—provided the value is good. S. Morris Livingston has estimated that only one-third of the population, even with maximum employment, can pay more than \$5,000 for a home. Another third can pay between \$3,000 and \$5,000, while the bottom third must get n house for less than \$3,000. He also states that in the five years prior to the war more than half of the new houses cost more than \$5,000 and about 40 per cent cost between \$3,000 and \$5,000. Thus the poorest third of our population got very few new dwellings during this period. The lower two thirds will provide the great mass markets of the future.

War-time experience, coupled with the estimates of manufacturers and architects, indicates that many kinds of prefabricated houses can be supplied for between \$1,500 and \$3,000, exclusive of land. These prices would be for three- or four-room dwellings suitable for a family of four. They should enable all but the poorest of our people to have decent homes.

In addition to the potential demand, there are other factors which will stimulate prefabrication. Chief among them is the wide range of new building materials developed just before and during the war. Many of these lend themselves to prefabrication through their strength and lightness. Plywood, glued together with powerful plastics, has the strength of some metals and is far more versatile than raw wood. Laminated plastics, using textiles or paper as a base, likewise achieve strength and versatility; they have a bright future in the fabrication of interior fixtures and possibly of wall panels. Light metals such as aluminum and magnesium, of which great supplies will be available at low prices, will find a place in the new homes. Windows can be made of transparent plastics of the type used in the noses and gun turrets of bombing planes. One company has designed model kitchen in which practically all fixtures and utensils are of glass. There also is a growing array of fabricated wall boards and roofing materials.

Competition among these materials should keep prices reasonably low. And the selection of specialized materials, each to be used only where it is best fitted, should result in better buildings. Some of the products, because they are different from anything used before, will permit desirable changes in design and construction. Unbreakable glass will make large windows more practical than heretofore. The great strength and low heat conductivity of other substances will make possible thinner, and therefore less expensive, walls.

Certain important groups are openly opposed to prefabrication, largely for selfish reasons. They object, for example, that all homes will look alike. This argument overlooks the obvious fact that the cheap craft-built houses in mill villages and the brick or brownstomhouses of our city blocks also look very much alike. Yet these dwellings are normally sold and rented without difficulty—often for prices far above their real worth.

Not all prefabricated houses, however, will be identical. Each manufacturer will presumably offer several models, perhaps changing them every so often, and of any particular model a great number of variations will be possible. Exteriors will be individualized by the number and arrangement of the rooms, interiors by the coloring used and by household furnishings. In Kaiser's Vanport City in the state of Washington, where some 20,000 shipbuilders are housed in almost identical units, variety has been obtained by grouping and landscaping.

Another objection one hears is that prefabricated houses have an exotic appearance. But the weird shapes of some of them, ranging from igloos to sausages, are not inherent in the method of fabrication; rather, they are symptomatic of the revolution through which the building industry is passing. The advanced architects are attempting to break free of tradition, to reduce waste, to obtain a maximum of functionalism. They are working with new materials and concepts. It is not strange that in some cases what appears to be good engineering practice should lose contact with aesthetics. For example, Buckminster Fuller has designed a round metal unit that looks like a brooder house. Two of these units are placed side by side, with connecting door, to make a home for four people. It is easily manufactured and easily set up. Its interior comfort, the cheapness with which it can be heated or cooled, its strength and durability are no doubt sound arguments in its favor. None the less, to me at least, it is not an object of beauty. But prefabricated houses need not be so extreme. Many of the designs do not differ greatly from conventional small dwellings.

No strong case can be made, however, against a general change in the appearance of the homes of the future. The first automobiles were built to look like horseless carriages, but the engineers soon found that a radically different "carriage" was required for the efficient operation of a gasoline engine. The public easily became accustomed to modern automobile design. Similarly a revolutionary change in house design may find rapid acceptance. Just because the new houses are different does not mean that they have no aesthetic value.

With the technicalities of prefabrication well mastered, the major difficulty appears to be distribution. The most efficient means of transportation and merchandising must be devised. Perhaps delivery can be by huge trailer trucks, like those which today carry three or four automobiles. For long hauls railway flat cars may be used.

The merchandising will probably be handled by local dealers who will be a sort of cross between an automobile dealer and a building supply-and-construction com-

pany.

Many builders and contractors believe that they are the ones who will lose most from widespread prefabrication. Instead of opposing the change they would do well to investigate the possibilities of dealing in readymade houses. As the salesmen of the new homes, they would have the work of erecting them and would be called on to make the repairs that will be needed inevitably. Most homes costing more than \$5,000 will continue to be more or less craft-built, though on all levels of construction there will be a sharp movement toward prefabrication of such units as bathrooms, kitchens, playrooms, and heating systems. Since houses costing more than \$5,000 have represented more than half of all construction in the recent past, the local contractor can expect to maintain a very substantial portion of his old business, to which he can add the new and probably lucrative occupation of dealing in prefabricated dwellings.

While the case for prefabrication is excellent, both economically and socially, several abuses are possible. The pre-war practice of the automobile manufacturers of changing models every year to induce people to buy new cars may be tried with houses. Bought on the instalment plan, they will seem almost as cheap as cars. Each year new designs may be advertised, and home owners may be encouraged to buy a new house, or a new kitchen or bedroom or living-room, on "easy terms." It may even occur to the less scrupulous that sales can be stimulated by making houses that will last only a few years.

Such practices could doom prefabrication and any extended building boom. A person buying a house must be reasonably certain that it will last, if not for a lifetime, at least for a long span of years, say long enough to raise a family. And since a prefabricated house can easily be enlarged by the addition of new prefabricated rooms, there is no reason for abandoning the original unit. It should be strong and durable—the basis for future growth. Nothing could be socially more unsettling than to have the nation living in three- or four-year houses. Prefabrication would degenerate into a racket.

But if these pitfalls can be avoided, prefabrication will usher in a new era in housing. "Shanty towns" will be replaced with communities of attractive homes costing from \$1,500 up. If transportation keeps pace with the building revolution, slum clearance and decentralization will be vastly facilitated. Social planners have been working in this direction for years. Today important groups in industry realize that mass production of low-cost housing can provide a big "lift" to the postwar economy.

### In the Wind

INVITED TO ATTEND a mass-meeting for Vice-President Wallace some months ago, Mayor Kelly of Chicago begged off in some embarrassment, explaining feebly that he would be at his summer home. On his return he discovered that without benefit of the party machine Wallace enthusiasts had filled Chicago Stadium to overflowing. Ever since, he has been offering city appointments to individuals who arranged the meeting.

HAMILTON FISH recently appeared before the executive board of the American Legion in a hopeful effort to have the board rescind the Legion's official condemnation of his conduct. Louis Johnson, former national commander, got wind of the appeal, and when Fish appeared he was confounded by the mass of material presented to show how he had extended the use of his franking privilege to subversive individuals. The board refused to rescind its condemnation.

NOTE OF HOPE: Marion Drew, astrology editor for the New York Daily News, offers her followers the following prediction: "During 1944 this smiling planet (Jupiter) will enter the sign of Virgo, and after the month of July there will be a change in the setup of these steady winners. Some new names will appear, such as Crown Prince Humbert of Italy, King Peter of Yugoslavia, Herr Hitler, Marshal Pétain, and Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. All these men have been having a hard time of it lately, because they have felt Uranus and Saturn primarily, but they will get a new lease upon recalcitrant people and personal affairs late in the summer, and will benefit thereby."

THE INTERIOR MINISTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA announced a ban on the July 5 issue of *Life*, showing pictures of the Detroit riots, three months after the magazine was received and distributed.

SCRAMBLED METAPHOR OF THE WEEK: If the victorious Allies, warns former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, try to put "a fence around Japan and let her stew in her own juice, they will be creating a festering sore." Or Suykuyaki.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A fight in a Vienna street car between Nazis and anti-Nazis assumed such proportions that traffic was halted in one section of the city and was not resumed until the following day. . . . At Narvik, Norway, four of the city's most enthusiastic young Nazis, including the son of the National Socialist mayor, were arrested recently for the theft of a large quantity of tobacco and cigarettes.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

### Who Will Rule France?

BY JULES MOCH

[Jules Moch, whose third article we publish below, recently arrived in Algiers to take his place in the French Consultative Assembly. Although partial comments concerning the subject with which Mr. Moch deals have appeared in the American press, this article is the first direct and authorized statement by a leading French politician who is playing an active part in the building of the new France.]

In PREVIOUS articles I have described the birth and growth of the resistance movement in France, its present strength among all classes of the people, and the coordination of the various underground organizations that has been achieved. Within France they are united in the Central Council of Resistance, and at Algiers they are represented in the Consultative Assembly. All recognize General de Gaulle as their leader. I come now to the question of how France, with eighty-nine of its departments administered by a pseudo-government under the enemy's orders and with four, together with the empire, excepting Indo-China, under the Algiers committee, can reestablish a regular government and constitutional order after its liberation.

The French people realize with bitterness that their country today has an international standing lower than that of the least of the Allied governments, that the man who personifies its aspirations does not enjoy abroad the authority which he exercises in France, and that the man who symbolizes the enemy is still recognized as Chief of State by some neutral governments. But they hold resolutely to certain principles with which I think my foreign readers are in full agreement:

- 1. The defeat of the Axis is only a matter of time. Whether Nazism goes down under the blows of the Red Army or as the result of an Anglo-American invasion, whether its fall is brought about by a revolution at home, by a sudden collapse of German morale, or by a general uprising of all the oppressed peoples, one point is indisputable: Nazism will disappear; the Germans will evacuate France.
- 2. Nowhere will the Vichy regime last an hour after the departure of the last German. Corsica confirms this. The men of Vichy will be swept out or will give up their offices of their own accord. The mayors named by Pétain, his prefects, and his ministers will seek safety in flight or as in Corsica pretend to a change of heart which will deceive no one. Sooner or later all vestiges of the

enemy occupation and the "new order" will simultaneously disappear. No Frenchman questions that—not even the servants of Vichy.

3. France will of course be unable to get along without a government, but it could not, even temporarily, consent to a foreign military administration. In the battle areas and along the lines of communication the Allied Command must be allowed the widest powers—France recognized this in all the accords freely signed with its allies in 1914 and in 1939-but these powers will not extend to the administration of regions removed from the front, and certainly not to any control over the national government. No such control will be set up, first, because France is a sovereign state, secondly, because the Allied military authorities will dispose of neither the necessary effectives nor the necessary competence, and, finally, because such a course of action would do immeasurable harm to cordial relations between the allies and prevent the attainment of a just and lasting peace.

Local government will present no serious difficulties. In some places it will be reestablished as it existed before Vichy, in response to popular demand. In others the resistance forces will have already selected their men.

As for regional government, a de facto authority will have to administer each section as it is liberated. Both the enemies and the allies of France have been haunted by the fear that the Communists might seize power in Paris, the Socialists in Lille, non-political or Gaullist groups in a third city, and so on, while Pétain and Laval held fast at Vichy. Nothing like that will happen. The French are united; the unity achieved in the resistance movement is the proof. A single government will rule all France. And from the start it will receive such unanimous support as was never accorded to its predecessors. The rule of the victorious resistance will be uncontested.

The head of the central government can be none other than General de Gaulle. No other political or military leader enjoys the same prestige and authority. De Gaulle is not only necessary; he is the only possible choice.

Some may ask how I, a parliamentary republican, a Socialist who after the meticulous examination of his conscience permitted by prison life has renounced none of his former political convictions, can thus consent to raise one man to power. I can do so because I am thinking only of France. If De Gaulle was ever ambitious for personal power, the unanimous resolve of the French to

rebuild their country in freedom has shown him the futility of such aspirations. Moreover, he has stated his position unequivocally. He has said that he will restore the ballot to the French people and that they shall choose their own government. We can trust both De Gaulle and the people. The man will keep his promise; the country, if the need arises, will insist on it.

We must view the problem realistically. When liberation comes, France must have a government. It must have a French government. The only man capable of preserving the existing unity among the resistance forces is De Gaulle. In the beginning, therefore, he must shoulder the burden of governing France.

The government of liberated France, if it is to reflect the country's wishes, will consist of men of the resistance movements, men representing all the political parties within the resistance. The changes in the personnel of the National Committee of Liberation which took place early in November point in this direction.

Like the Algiers committee this government will proclaim itself to be merely provisional. It will have no constitutional basis, and its task and its mandate will be essentially temporary. It would have a constitutional basis only if it were confirmed by the old Parliament or designated by a new constituent assembly. But any action taken by the Parliament of July, 1940, to lend its sanction to the new government would simply discredit that government in public opinion. With the exception of the eighty who opposed Pétain and a few others who joined the struggle against the invader later, the deputies and senators of the old Parliament disqualified themselves when they granted unlimited powers to the Marshal and in so doing struck down the republic which they were elected to defend. To save their skins they would probably vote for De Gaulle with enthusiasm, but public opinion would be so disgusted by the spectacle that no profit would accrue to the government. The Vichy assembly is forever dishonored.

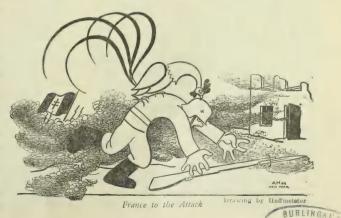
It would be worse than a mistake to resuscitate it.

Nor could the government be designated by a constituent assembly. A constituent assembly is chosen in general elections, and before any elections can be held there must be a central government to issue the call for them. Moreover, these elections could not in any case be held immediately. For the past three years France—and this is a fact its friends should not forget—has been divided into many parts and has suffered many kinds of martyrdom. The forbidden zone (Nord, Pas de Calais, etc.) has been attached to the military command in Belgium. Alsace

and Lorraine have been annexed to Germany, and their citizens have been incorporated directly into the German army. The coastal area and the industrial centers of the occupied zone have undergone frequent aerial bombing and have been partially evacuated. The zone left unoccupied by the armistice was overrun by the Germans in November, 1942, and some departments in the south were under Italian rule from November, 1942, to September, 1943. Two million prisoners and forced laborers have been held in Germany. Some three or four hundred thousand Jews have been subjected to inhuman brutalities. Three departments in Algeria were liberated from Vichy by the Anglo-American landing without having been occupied previously by the enemy. The department of Corsica was liberated in September, 1943, by French troops and native patriots after ten months of Italian-German occupation. Finally there have been the Free French of London, those of the Leclerc and Larminat Corps, and the personnel of the Free French naval and air forces.

Amid such confusion and ruin how could France possibly proceed to hold elections immediately after the liberation? How, for example, could the French prisoners be expected to vote intelligently after such a long period of isolation from French thought? But if the elections should not be called too early, neither can they be too long delayed without engendering other evils. The pre-election period should not be measured in days nor yet in years, but rather in months.

French sovereignty emanates from the nation; this is a fundamental principle of the Revolution. Any definitive and permanent French government must be set up by the people through the exercise of their right of universal suffrage. As we have seen, this right cannot be exercised until a certain period of time has elapsed, and therefore the first government of liberated France will be necessarily temporary and provisional.



However, It transition Cabinet will be obliged to make decisions whose effects will be felt far beyond the present. For many of the problems confronting it there will be no precedents in French history. In another article I will discuss these problems and the circumspection with which they must be approached.

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

POR more than a year the German regime made no prophecies about the war. In fact, it took great pains to avoid any definite promise of success in any specified operation. The unfortunate sequence to the announcement that Stalingrad was sure to fall—"you can depend on that"—was an effective deterrent. Of late, however, this hard-and-fast rule has been broken, and the Propaganda Ministry has been pouring out predictions about two coming military events.

One is the great Allied invasion. There is no attempt to deny that it is coming. On the contrary, Goebbels told the chiefs of the propaganda bureaus on December 14 that the Allies "have no other course than to make a desperate attempt at an invasion." But "we welcome it," he said, for "inevitably it will end, like Dunkirk and Dieppe, in a tremendous loss of life for them." The invading armies will be driven back into the sea; on this point the Goebbels propaganda has taken a firm stand.

The other definite prediction concerns Germany's secret weapon. Practically every day one of the top men of the regime finds some occasion to speak of the imminent use of this new weapon and to assert that it will mark the "turning-point of the air war." The government has pledged this so positively that a good observer like the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss Bund is of the opinion that the battle in which its promises are put to the test will have a decisive effect on morale. "The air offensive against England," he wrote on December 15, "will be the touchstone of German hopes. The people expect it to bring the cessation of British air attacks. If the prophesied 'turning-point' fails to materialize, the psychological effect will be devastating. The regime says continually, 'We are sure of the decisive effect of our new weapon.' So the German people await it with impatience, but also with anxiety. All their thoughts are concentrated on it."

The same correspondent gives a picture of the destruction in Berlin at the middle of December:

Areas as large as medium-sized towns have been reduced to dust and ashes by incendiaries and to a lesser extent by explosive bombs. The outer suburbs have been almost as badly hit as the center of the city. On some

principal streets three or four miles long not a single house is standing. Many houses have been burned to the ground.

Any reconstruction work during the war is out of the question. For that reason there has not been much cleaning up in the most heavily bombed cities. The streets are cleared for traffic, but elsewhere piles of debris are allowed to remain.

The Berliners have shown remarkable composure. There is no hysteria. As soon as an alarm is over, people start covering their-windows with cardboard, for it is very cold and it may be months before glass can be obtained. There is no use waiting for workmen to mend a roof. Members of the family must do what they can to cover the holes. Electricity and gas are still lacking in the hardest-hit sections. Telephones do not work, and hardly trickle comes from the water pipes.

He concludes with a statement that is doubly interesting for its novelty. "Strangely enough," he says, "among most Berliners the determination to resist has become stronger." After the first raids there was a great deal of defeatism. People were ready to do anything to save the city and their belongings. But now that so much has been destroyed their reactions are different. "Everyone realizes that a defeated Germany could not rebuild the city or reimburse the property-owners for even 1 per cent of the damage. The middle class, like the great masses, would be reduced to pitiful poverty. People have decided, therefore, to keep quiet and give the regime its chance."

January 15 will be a black day for German children—and for the soldiers too. No more sweets of any kind will be manufactured after that date. For some months the supply of cocoa has been completely exhausted and no chocolate products have been made. Now sugar, which is plentiful in the Reich, will have to plug the hole made in the food supply by the failure of the potato crop. Human beings are to have their potato rations reduced 25 per cent, and pigs are to get sugar beets instead of potatoes. That means no sugar for candy.

In Leipzig at the beginning of December all barracks were surrounded one morning by the Gestapo and, after all means of communication with the outside world had been cut, thoroughly searched. This action, reported in the Aftonbladet of December 10, is so far as we know the first taken by the Gestapo, that is, the S. S., against an army unit. Not less interesting is the fact that the Gestapo found in the barracks a great quantity of leaflets calling on the soldiers to desert. "To save your life, join the National Peace Movement," one sentence ran. The appeal was signed by the "Committee for Peace and Liberty." No further details were obtained by the Swedish newspaper. Nothing could be learned about who had taken the leaflets into the barracks, how much effect they had had, or what else was discovered.

## BOOKS and the ARTS

### THE HORROR SILENTLY WALKING ...

BY F. C. WEISKOPF

LTHOUGH the Nazis set up, immediately after seizing A power, an elaborate system of censorship and control over the whole field of literature, fiction and poetry could never be coordinated to the same degree as journalism or education. A good many of the writers who for one reason or another remained in Germany and had to become members of the Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller still managed to find a way to avoid following the line of the "new decalogue of literature," as Hanns Johst called the prescription of the Reichskulturkammer, the "spiritual Elite Guard of Adolf Hitler." This way of escape led into "timelessness": the new Germany of National Socialism was simply ignored in the works of these writers, who took refuge in the remote spheres of history, myth, dream, fairy tale, pure nature, idyllic peace-time life. Even this form of opposition was not without danger. The Deutsche Rundschau, a literary and political review which printed too many contributions of the timeless kind, had to cease publication. One of the few really gifted young authors, E. G. Winkler, "committed suicide." And Ernst Wiechert, another author of considerable talent, twice experienced the rigors of the concentration camp at Dachau. Still, the hunger of hundreds of thousands of readers for books which are not "full of the present and the reality of the Greater German Reich" is so great that the publishers continue to bring out many new "timeless" works, as well as an extraordinarily increased number of reprints of the classics and of translations.

The magazine Das Deutsche Wort said some time before the outbreak of the present war:

One can state that about ten new books have reached the 30,000, 40,000, and 60,000 mark. Where are the other five hundred books? What has happened to the publishing business? The reader notes five or six names of writers wandering helplessly in the labyrinth of literature; the others are condemned to obscurity. No wonder that those who languish in obscurity try to make up for a lack of quality by quantity in order to attract at least some notice. Already publishers have drawn their conclusions from this state of chaos and are ceasing to publish books by new authors or new books at all.

And in answer to the question "What are the writers of Greater Germany writing about?" the magazine makes the following confession:

They manufacture. We are aware that we are formulating a general reproach, even an accusation, in using this word—140 biographies and biographical novels, 350 novels (90 of them love stories). Must one retreat into the past in order to describe the present? Are we living under the Holy Inquisition, which forced the men of science and art to write allegories and to transfer the

movement of the earth around the sun to Mars? This is the century of the novel. But nowhere is the crisis of literature more evident to the reader than in the novel. Most novels are so feeble that they simply cannot be sold after Christmas. The big city as a literary theme is systematically neglected. Yet books about the big city are as necessary as books about peasant life. The vogue for "blood and soil" faded rapidly; only those authors are read who wrote good peasant novels before. . . . That is the reason we have so many novels which are not epic fiction but trash.

As the conflict dragged on, and as the newspapers began to hint at a new Thirty Years' War, the escape from reality in German fiction and poetry sometimes took a strange turn. Mysticism and apocalyptic visions made their appearance with increasing frequency, and there are clear symptoms that fear of the future is haunting the German heart.

Bruno Brehm, one of the earlier converts to Nazism and an ardent propagandist for Hitler in Austria and the Sudeten territory prior to their occupation, has written a series of stories about the "eternal German soldier." There we find this confession: "We are accused of loving death. But we love death only because we are seeds put into the earth for great future. . . . But what if the sowing was in vain? Oh, never mind, never mind!" Here, fear is only hinted at. It is fully pictured in historical camouflage in a novel by Brehm's old friend Werner Bergengrün, "Am Himmel wie auf Erden" ("In Heaven as on Earth"). Dealing with a "world's-end panic" caused by a false astrological prediction in 1524, Bergengrün feasts on horror. For him fear is a sickness which cannot be avoided by denying it. It is a plague which threatens to destroy "everything, the state, the authority, the faith, heroism, loyalty . . . and nothing remains but the wish to escape the gurgling waters of the deluge."

Of particular significance is the last work of Ernst Jünger. This intelligent and fanciful writer, long before Hitler's ascent to power, had glorified war and destruction and cruelty. He preached, with all the refined methods of a gifted modern author, a sort of heroic nihilism. He was, together with Wiechert, the center of a group of nationalistic writers of some literary merit-Schauwecker, Ernst von Salomon, Giesclher Wiersing. They had been clamoring for the Third Reich as Möller Van Bruck had visualized it, but they dropped out of the ranks of the Nazi literary army soon after the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler had been established. One after the other became silent or turned to timelessness. "What do we know?" laments Salomon, "We know nothing. We only know that we are to be thrown into the mêlée, that this is our fate, and we are ready to fulfil it." Ernst Jünger seems not to be as ready to fulfil this fate as Salomon. In his last novel, "Auf den Marmorklippen" ("On the Marble Cliffs") he sums up in an allegorical and mystical guise his idea of the failure of Nazism. It is the story of two friends, former officers, living in a sort of voluntary exile after a "victoriously lost war," and becoming involved in a new war, a gigantic upheaval brought about by the diabolic machinations of a dictator whose real strength is not so great but who is helped by the fear he is able to instil. Jünger describes with · certain relish the orgies of fear organized by the dictator in order to prepare the way for aggression. At the end the two friends have to leave for a new, and this time real, exile, taking with them the newly acquired wisdom that it is the "word before whose flashing stroke the power of tyrants pales; three in one are Word, Freedom, and Spirit." The publisher took pains to admonish the novel's readers not to see in it an allegorical picture of the present and not to draw cheap comparisons. Still we can hardly understand how such a book was published in the Reich of Hitler and Goebbels unless we assume that the censorship looked upon it as a sort of safety-valve. That the book met a real demand seems proved by the fact that it went through several large printings in spite of its rather complicated style and dark theme.

The fears creeping into the heart of the "armored nation"—to use the phrase of Baldur von Schirach—are reflected even more directly in poetry than in prose fiction. There are sometimes confessions of an astounding courage or naivete:

Und unser Wort, So lang gewöhnt zu lügen, Es taugt nicht mehr Zum heiligen Gesang

And our word, So long attuned to lying, Is no more fit For holy songs

These verses of Josef Leitgeb are matched by the poetry of Herbert Sailer, a member of the Hitler Youth. This young poet, who had been acclaimed by the Nazis as a new literary star, lately turned away from war songs full of fluttering flags and triumphant bugles and began to express feelings of loneliness and mourning:

Das Haus ist leer, das Bett verwaist Verwaist sind Tisch and Bank. Die Blumen, die im Fenster stehn, Sind alle blind und krank. Das Haus ist stumm. Die Nacht geht um, Und ist von lautem Gang. Es ist ein armer, bitsrer Trost, Dass mir dies Wort gelang.

The house is empty, the bed is deserted, Deserted are table and bench. The flowers standing at the window Are all blind and sick. The house is mute. The night is on And has a loud step. It is a poor and bitter consolation That I succeeded in writing this.

It is indeed a poor and bitter comfort for m German poet inside Germany in the fifth year of Hitler's war. And it is m comfort which cannot last long, for the fear, the great fear, comes creeping from the front.

Es winken ringsum Hügel Mit einem Kreuzchen drauf . . .

There are hills around
With little crosses on top . . .

This line from one of the most popular new soldiers' songs is significant. In the diaries found on the bodies of dead soldiers of the annihilated Stalingrad army there were verses like these:

Kein Ende schimmert namenloser Qual Und Winter ist, wo Hossen einmal war No end shines out to nameless misery, And only winter is where once hope was.

And there is also the outcry of an unknown admirer and disciple of that splendid poet Hölderlin, who has enchanted so many generations of German youth:

Wir verstanden den Tod nicht,
Dennoch wie Salz und Brot,
Wie Schwee am Dezembertag,
War sein Name um uns,
Und die Trauer gewöhnlich,
Wie Schlaf uns und Hunger,
Wie Angst im Zwiellicht gewöhnlich war.

We did not understand death.
Nevertheless, its name was around us
Like salt and bread,
Like snow on a December day.
And the mourning was usual
As sleep and hunger became usual to us,
As fear in the twilight.

But it is not the unknown soldier alone who is seized by the fear. Gerhard Schumann, a Nazi writer whose work has been honored several times by the Ministry of Propaganda, a member of the Storm Troops and an army lieutenant, begins a poem called "Ein Mann allein" ("A Man Alone") as follows:

In Frankreich sangen wir Lieder. In Russland wurden wir stumm. Vor uns schritt schweigend das Grauen. Manchmal sah es sich um.

In France we were singing songs. In Russia we fell silent. Before us silently the horror was walking. Sometimes it looked back at us.

The horror silently walking in front of them will look back at ever-shortening intervals until one day it will face about.

### Romanticism of Jacques Barzun

ROMANTICISM AND THE MODERN EGO. By Jacques Barzun. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

ROMANTICISM AND THE MODERN EGO" consists of eight lively essays on the nature, reputation, and value of romanticism in the modern world. Mr. Barzun begins by complaining that the term "romantic" is used in too many different and incompatible senses and by rejecting previous definitions of the word. Historical romanticism, he says, was an attempt to solve the problems of the dissolving eighteenth century. The barriers of classical correctness were

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down, and broader human horizons were revealed. No longer confined to a prescribed nobility or a prescribed melancholy, man became freshly aware of the range of joy and sorrow, strength and weakness, good and evil. Hence the energy and robustness of the romantics, their moral enthusiasm, their belief in the potentialities of original genius.

At first, says Mr. Barzun, romanticism strove after a new synthesis of experience, but later it was simplified, falsified, reduced to a single term by some schools of thought: for instance, by the realists, who stood for "force without principle, matter without mind, mechanism without life"; and by the moderns, whose exclusiveness, preciosity, and yearning for the aristocracy of past ages is romantic in the vulgarthat is, the partial-sense. Romanticism subsided into simplification. Mr. Barzun points to two stages: (A) romanticism proper (1780-1850); (B) partial romanticism, which he subdivides as (1) realism (1850-1885), (2) symbolism and (the opposite simplification) naturalism (1875-1905). (B) is a revolt against (A), though a revolt of son against father; in the same way (B2) is a revolt against (B1). What has happened since 1905? In this book, though not elsewhere, Mr. Barzun stresses the vices and deficiencies of modernism: the "affectation of toughness" of Pound, the "rather uncertain whistling" of Cummings, the "collegiate inventiveness" of Eliot, above all a morbid growth in selfconsciousness or mauvaise honte. The small productivity of ■ Valéry is attributed less to perfectionism than to spiritual anemia. There has been nothing new. All modern movements have been refinements upon symbolism or upon naturalism-refinements, that is, upon refinements.

Mr. Barzun has reopened the discussion of romanticism and put it on a broader basis. Some will see the prime merit of his book as a destructive one. In pointing to the confusion of most considerations of romanticism, Mr. Barzun, it is to be hoped, has removed many half-baked notions and illconsidered preconceptions. He has also openly and reasonably challenged many views which have customarily been defended or attacked only by the tricks and snobbish gestures of modern critical method. But to me the positive element is greater than the negative. Mr. Barzun's contributions to recent discussion have all tended to one great revaluationthe revaluation of the nineteenth century. He has gone about his task in two ways: first by taking the cue from recent biographers and emphasizing the scope and intelligence of romantic endeavors; next by trying, in the light of modern scholarship, to see the nineteenth century as a whole. Drooping Ariels and ineffectual angels are forgotten. Mr. Barzun's nineteenth century is a rich and varied one which could not possibly be reduced to a formula. He interweaves the strands of national traditions, of politics, the plastic arts, music, and literature with remarkable skill.

The book has of course its limitations. One is brevity. Overcompression forces Mr. Barzun to mention too many names. There are also many challenging statements left entirely unelaborated—such as that "Faust" is the Bible of romanticism, "Madame Bovary" the Bible of realism. A further disadvantage of Mr. Barzun's synoptic method is that it practically rules out analysis of single works or even single authors, and interpretation comes to seem sketchy or superficial even when it is not so. A more serious limitation is

Mr. Barzun's anti-classicism. Despite many provisos and modifiers, the book gives the impression that romanticism is right and classicism wrong. Why is this? Perhaps Mr. Barzun's dislike of present-day classicism leads him astray, or, more probably, it is his genuine talent for polemics that drives him to present as argument what might be better as analysis. The following is typical in tone: "... Romanticism declined to be deceived by the sleight-of-hand with which classicism pretends that the truth has been found and can be handed to each shareholder in its limited-liability company. Classicism forgets that. . . . " Mr. Barzun weakens his case by so openly taking sides. The futility of Irving Babbitt's book arose from its so obviously saying, "The romantics' philosophy was different from mine. Therefore I repudiate them." Nowhere does Mr. Barzun actually maintain this kind of thesis, but in many places he seems, by nuance, joke, or epigram, to assume it.

It could of course be said that the philosophy which Mr. Barzun defends—that of William James—is not dogmatic like Babbitt's but rather a complete rejection of the dogmatic method. Yet lack of dogma can itself become a dogma, and sometimes Mr. Barzun is close to pronouncing a doom on all who are not followers of James. Like the dogmatist too, he grows lyrical over the prospects for his own cause: "For, the next time or the next, men will find the strength to throw away their ideal props and to stand up in the open, forsaking safety like those practical romanticists who, against all reason, though served by reason, forsook the earth and learned how solid was the sky." I happen very cordially to share these hopes of Mr. Barzun's. It is harder to share his faith.

Finally, though I think Mr. Barzun's description of early romanticism accurate, his definitions serviceable, and his judgments suggestive, I am not satisfied with his treatment of the period 1850 to the present. His emphasis on the earlier period prompts the highly dubious conclusion that the romantic revolt was not only a greater innovation in the cultural tradition than the work of the later years but also richer in achievement. The latter part of the century has, it seems to me, been very much underrated by cultural historians, who usually accommodate it with some such word as decadent and pass on. But Mr. Barzun, as one knows from other writings, is aware of the extraordinary vitality of that age. In literature alone what period in modern history can offer more than Nietzsche, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Strindberg, Ibsen, and Shaw? Yet Ibsen, Strindberg, and Tolstoi are mentioned only once apiece in a book that reinterprets nineteenth-century culture. The fact is not necessarily decisive in itself, but it does suggest that Mr. Barzun has not taken us as far in the study of the modern ego as he takes us in the study of romanticism. It was not, perhaps, his aim to do so; but one hopes that soon it will be his aim and the aim of other historical critics.

A century of criticism and scholarship has gone into the elaboration of the idea of romanticism; though the diversity of the discussion has confused many, it should not be imagined that the history of culture can be evaluated without discussion. The years to come will see the investigation of the idea of modernity, which includes the lesser idea of modernism. The investigators may go back as far as Giordano

Bruno; they will have to go back to the romantics; but these are ancestors and forerunners. The real point of departure is the second half of the nineteenth century, the extraordinary generation of men which I have mentioned. It may even be, though it is as yet impossible to judge, that what is for Mr. Barzun the third stage of romanticism-namely, the age of symbolism and naturalism-will seem to later generations a more radical departure and a more productive venture than the revolt of Wordsworth and Hugo. If so, interestingly enough, in the van of this greatest cultural revolution of modern times will be-William James.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

### Official-but Not Dull

TARGET: GERMANY. The Army Air Forces' Official Story of the VIII Bomber Command's First Year Over Europe. Simon and Schuster in Cooperation with Life. Paper, \$1: Cloth, \$2.

THE war books divide themselves into three classes on the basis of origin: (1) those written-or ghostwritten-by combatants; (2) those written by newspaper observers, which are semi-official in the sense that the manuscripts are subject to direct or indirect censorship approval; and (3) the official books published with government sponsorship whose authors are not permitted to sign their names lest the impersonal authority of the government be tainted. The last-named class of books originated in this war when the British Air Ministry was shrewd enough to assign Hilary St. George Saunders to write an air-warfare series which turned out to be immensely popular both because of the information which the books contained and because of the subsidized inexpensiveness of the finished product. The official book has one great advantage over either the semi-official newspaperman's book or the personalized combatant's book: the anonymous author has access to governmental records and therefore is able to see the picture more nearly complete. On the other hand, the official book usually has two large disadvantages, both deriving from the presence of goldbraided editors breathing down the writer's neck. First, it is apt to be written in the dull but authentic manner of a White Paper; and, second, it must advocate the point of view of the military group currently in the ascendancyotherwise its author would be transferred to the R. O. T. C. in New Mexico.

"Target: Germany" is America's first effort at an official book written for the best-seller market. The government was shrewd enough to take Simon and Schuster and Lifetimeman Luce into partnership. The book deserves to be a best seller. It completely upsets the tradition that government-blessed publications must be as dull as White Papers. It is not dull; on the contrary, it is the most absorbing aviation book that has come out of the war so far, including those written by reporters, by ghost-writers, and by fliers themselves. No other book, no news dispatch, has given the reader so vivid a feeling of riding an American bomber out of England into enemy territory.

The delicate question does arise, however, as to whether

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official history can be presented objectively while the guns are still firing. From a strategical point of view the work of the United States Army Eighth Air Force based in England has not yet emerged from controversial status. The Royal Air Force has been making enormous, spectacular night raids that blanket whole cities. The U. S. A. A. F. has been going out on a few clear days each month to do pin-point jobs.

A pin-point job is one in which the superior American bombsight enables the fliers, theoretically at least, to destroy a particular German factory making a particular war gadget. The question is whether the Nazi factory actually was destroyed beyond repair, and the full answer cannot come until after the war. The question was raised by the British. They asked: Wouldn't it be better if American fliers were retrained for night bombing, and the planes adapted, so they could do blanket raiding by night when enemy fighters are least effective?

"Target: Germany" replies that American planes with their pin-point attacks are doing a complementary day job at least comparable in effectiveness to the R. A. F. wholesale night jobs. Facts are skilfully marshaled to make the reply convincing. Probably the thesis is correct. Nevertheless, the book is a very able presentation of one side—but only one day a government may conceivably sponsor a book which bites right into an argument and boldly presents both sides.

The book has a chapter which is derisive of armchair strategists at home, presumably meaning the so-called military experts who earnestly try to explain the war to newspaper, magazine, and radio audiences. No doubt these far-away military critics do lay themselves open to ridicule at times. One reason is that the army, the navy, and the air force are so chary about sharing the facts. The armed services probably wish they could abolish back-seat drivers and do away with civilian opinion. They have pretty well learned that this is impossible; and in presenting a book such as "Target: Germany" they have taken a long and entertaining step toward supplying facts needed for intelligent opinion. The authors of an official book, however, have a heavy responsibility to be careful that it seeks merely to inform, not to mold, public opinion. MARCUS DUFFIELD

### A Working Democracy

NEW ZEALAND. By Walter Nash. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

FTER his arrival in Washington in January, 1942, as New Zealand's Minister, it took Walter Nash but short time to gain a solid reputation as a liberal spokesman. He poured out a stream of articles and speeches, all forthright, all liberal in tone, all reflecting, to those familiar with New Zealand, the particular "line" New Zealand Labor has developed in recent years and applied as the government of the country since 1935. So publicity-wise did Mr. Nash prove himself that the American public could be forgiven for concluding that Walter Nash was New Zealand and New Zealand Walter Nash.

This book helps confirm that impression. Of its 313 pages, 33 are given over to a sketch of Mr. Nash's career by Eric

Estorick and 120 to his personal essays on war and post-war problems. Of the remainder 39 are devoted to sketches of New Zealand's history and present condition and 117 to an analysis of New Zealand at war from Mr. Nash's pen and consequently in large part a statement of his views on the subject. The book is therefore not so much a presentation of New Zealand as of Mr. Nash and his New Zealand.

I say all this not to scoff, for I have the friendliest feelings both for Mr. Nash and New Zealand, but to give the reader a clear idea what the book contains. No one who has ever sat with Mr. Nash in his office in Wellington and listened to him talk about the policies he was charged with administering can ever thereafter doubt that he has been close to the heart of New Zealand's Labor government, or that the man at the heart was anything other than a master administrator. Mr. Nash's lucid spoken analysis of the problems and the Labor solutions of them, so many of which he sponsored, has its written counterpart in this book. It is, above all, masterpiece of reasoned and reasonable exposition. But when I went away from the Parliament buildings and called upon the major sources of opposition to Labor in Wellington, Auckland, and elsewhere, or read their blasts in pamphlets and newspapers, I found a hatred of Labor and Mr. Nash which in virulence far surpassed anything I had observed against the New Deal at home. What I find in this book is, therefore, Mr. Nash as he appears in his office and, presumably, to his Labor associates. What I do not find is the Mr. Nash the opposition sees and execrates. Not that I admire the opposition-far from it-but if a rounded portrait of Mr. Nash and of New Zealand is wanted, the opposition should be represented. Within its limits, the book is firstrate, but what lies outside the limits is also necessary to an understanding of New Zealand.

What Mr. Nash says is, in drastic summary, this: New Zealand is a small country dependent for its well-being upon the world market prices of dairy products, meat, and wool. The downswings of these prices have caused intense suffering. Traditionally New Zealanders have believed that the state can and should take action to correct economic difficulties and injustices. The Labor Party has utilized this widespread conviction to try to realize (a) security for ownerproducers by guaranteed prices and state responsibility for marketing, (b) planned diversification of production, especially through expansion of manufacturing, and (c) an elaborate social-security system with benefits for all. To reach these objectives Labor had, before the war, elaborated a system of economic and financial controls which, when war broke out, served admirably to facilitate an intensive war effort which has won New Zealand honor at home and abroad. After the war New Zealand will resume its campaign for security and will hope that all other nations will move in similar direction. "New Zealand today," the book says, "offers a practical example of the kind of social organization-the kind of laws and institutions-that may well become typical of most democracies tomorrow." There is indeed reason so to believe, but I would like to call attention to the fact that it was while contemplating life from a post at the University of Otago that Allan G. B. Fisher evolved the disturbing thesis expounded in "The Clash of C. HARTLEY GRATTAN Progress and Security."

### Fiction in Review

ONTRAN DE PONCINS'S "Home Is the Hunter" T (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2.50), although perhaps not so direct in its romantic appeal as "Kabloona," the same writer's account of his journey among the Esquimos, is still one of the notable books of recent years, shining out of the mist of most contemporary writing with the full light of M. de Poncins's remarkable personality. To read the books of M. de Poncins is to be unusually aware of the author as an individual: he seems at once very worldly and a very internal person, monastically intense in spirit. One has the impression of an intelligence peculiarly of the French aristocratic tradition; and indeed "Home Is the Hunter" is a reconstruction-or a commemoration, if you will-of the almost feudal background against which, we can guess, M. de Poncins was himself bred. It is published as fiction, but it is not strictly a novel. Rather, it is both elegiac poetry and penetrating sociological research into a culture which was already vanishing glory when the author was a small child before the last war.

M. de Poncins's fictional device is to tell the story of Jean Ménadieu, for forty years a servant of the d'Ombres family, who in his old age returns for a few days to the d'Ombres estate. Moving from room to room in the old château, pausing over all the objects which hold his affections and his memory, Jean recreates the history of the d'Ombres family and his own life in his long years of service; through the old man's eyes we see the movement from past to present as a movement from a world thick with meaning to a thin and barren modernity. There was a time when both masters and servants accepted their responsibilities, when, for a servant like Jean, there was a religious dignity in service and, for his masters, no greater satisfaction than in the fulfilment of their duty to their tenants and to the estate itself. But now, even in rural France, that time has passed; the old values have disappeared, and modernity has supplied no adequate new values. Once a broken pot, a bit of string, an old brick, anything that belonged to the château, was something to be permanently cherished because, having once been useful, it was always beautiful. The easy prodigality of the present generation sums up for Jean, and for M. de Poncins, the meaninglessness of modern living. And, in another day, a servant could feel that he too had a beauty in his life because he was useful. If, to contemporary readers, Jean seems too good to be true, that only proves M. de Poncins's point, that in our present-day society a devotion like Jean's has become unrecognizable. And if it has also become undesirable-if, steeped in the egalitarianism of democracy, we are offended by the excess of humility with which Jean devotes himself to his masters in order to achieve his sense of purpose—then we can guess that M. de Poncins would ask us what democracy, shorn even of religion, has offered Jean in substitution for humility and service.

I am very sorry, but I am not surprised, that "Home Is the Hunter" has been dismissed as a statement of political reaction. Certainly, issuing in a poignant assertion of values which have disappeared from modern life, it can too easily be read as an anti-democratic document, and this despite the

fact that M. de Poncins's complex and subtle intelligence has perfectly comprehended the emotional price that his old society often paid for its virtues. But it seems to me that democracy makes a bad mistake to shut itself off so quickly from criticism like M. de Poncins's by giving it an unpleasant political label. Culture no less than nature abhors vacuum, and democratic culture, while it is so jealous to guard against encroachments from the right-calling them mystical or religious on the one hand and degrading to the individual on the other-is surely insufficiently aware of the mysticism and degradation of the individual which invade it from the left. For example, in the same week in which I read "Home Is the Hunter" I read Ben Field's "The Outside Leaf" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2.50), a novel about Connecticut tobacco farming, as easily marked as of the cultural left as M. de Poncins's book is marked as of the right: it would be hard to find a stronger argument in support of M. de Poncins's indictment of modern culture than Mr. Field's book.

"The Outside Leaf" is the story of a young man, Moe Miller, who at the age of twenty takes over the running of his father's tobacco farm. More interested in the Talmud and in people than in success, the father has failed, but Moe cares nothing about the Talmud or people, about family affection, nature, or anything except his work (his devotion is more extreme than Jean's devotion to the d'Ombres family). Moe believes religiously in tractors, farm implements, and sweat—of which an inordinate amount drips



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PURLIC LIABARY

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through the pages of this book; indeed, sweat is Mr. Field's prime test of reality, from which any sign of inner or outer grace would be a seduction. I can recall no novel I have ever read with so repellent a hero as Moe Miller, and yet that Mr. Field thinks of Moe as heroic, and not as a danger-ous monomaniac, is proved, against our most fervent hopes, at the end of the book when the young man wins a very nice wife as reward for his subhumanity.

There are certain things to be said in praise of Mr. Field's book: it is written with an effective sparseness; it takes as much trouble with its secondary characters as with Moe; and it is as informative as an encyclopedia article on the process of raising tobacco. These are negligible virtues, however, when we take into account its horribleness as an exposition of what the progressive novelist thinks meaningful in life. "The Outside Leaf" is certainly more in tune with the times than "Home Is the Hunter"; it will never be attacked as reactionary. But in effect what it is saying is that the less man tempts the spirit and the closer he approximates the mindless force of the machine, the more he asserts or

Thomas A. Amlie's Nation Supplement-

# LOST: One Trillion Dollars

is one of the most constructive and stirring things I have encountered in a long time. It is a real challenge to the American people. Both you and Amlie deserve unstinted commendation for your enterprise in making this fine piece of work available to your readers. It should be sent to every Congressman, and, more important, it should be read by every labor official in the country, for there are still far too many of us in the labor movement whose economics follow the line of the National Association of Manufacturers.

AL SESSIONS, News Editor Olympic Press Oakland, California

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helps create the values desirable in a democratic society; and against so frightening a threat from the left we could do far worse than reexamine the values which M. de Poncins finds in an outmoded social tradition. It seems to me to be simple and wrong to assume that in order to preserve certain old values, we must necessarily move backward in political and economic organization. Such narrow reasoning is itself reaction, and none the less dangerous because it characterizes so much of present-day liBeral thinking. DIANA TRILLING

### Film Notes

GUY NAMED JOE" is just a title. The story is about a ghost named Pete (Spencer Tracy) who, solid and cheerful as ever-except that the living cast cannot see or hear him-gets busy like the other dead aces, showing neophytes how to fly, fight, and make love. His star pupil (Van Johnson) becomes interested in Pete's former sweetheart (Irene Dunne), who is still inconsolable, and Pete's hardest job is to divorce her from the remembrance of the easygoing, slick-paper love scenes she played with Spencer Tracy. It is, as you can see, a story about war-time love and death, a theme lacking neither in dignity nor in appositeness. Like "Happy Land" it neatly obtunds death's sting as ordinary people suffer it by not only assuming but photographing a good, busy, hearty hereafter. I am of course in no position to offer contrary proof, and can indeed imagine the general idea not only as believable but as dramatically amenable to very good use. But I don't care to see it so blandly used, as unqualified aspirin, before an audience of which the majority, I fear, believes everything it sees on a screen, nor can I respect the dramatic uses to which the idea has been put here. Miss Dunne feels nothing like real love or anxiety over Pete while he is alive, and only a nominal, ornamental, plotextending grief after he dies. Pete and the audience are also spared what might have happened if she had really got either frozen or tender with Mr. Johnson, while Pete looked on. So, when she matures in her bereavement, every genuine bereavement and maturing which the film by implication claims to reflect and preach to is cruelly exploited and insulted for the sake of what is, at best, an otherwise harmless and medium-silly romance. If you are so generous as to overlook these minor faults, however, the picture will serve as well as two hours spent over the Woman's Home Companion. Spencer Tracy is better than the show deserves, and Victor Fleming's direction is of itself, as usual, likable enough.

"Riding High" is a musical show featuring Western land-scapes in Technicolor, Victor Moore as a swindler, a blood-curdling sucker-delighter named Cass Daly, some loud, cheerful, uninteresting tunes, and Dorothy Lamour. Miss Lamour wears one costume which must be seen to be believed, and which hopefully suggests to me that the gentlemen or ladies of the Hays office either refused to believe their eyes, did not see at all, or modestly take care never, when a lightly-dressed woman appears, to look below the wishbone.

Erratum: The title of "Destination Tokyo," reviewed last week, was incorrectly given as "Destiny, Tokyo."

JAMES AGEB

### MUSIC

ISTENING to several performances broadcast from the Metropolitan Opera House-listening, then, with ear undistracted by eye-I have been struck, first of all, by the badness of much of the singing. Pinza's singing in "Boris Godunov" was almost unvaryingly loud, coarse-textured, and insensitively inflected: Thorborg's was shrill, and in "Tristan und Isolde" a week later her voice had a terrific tremolo, except in the warning from the tower where it was steady and opulent. In "Tristan" Traubel's voice too was clouded by tremolo much of the time and was earpiercing in some of the high notes, but was clear and beautiful and beautifully inflected in the finale. As for the male voices in this performance, Melchior's started with some remnants of timbre which it lost as it went on, leaving a mere hoarse shout in the last act; Janssen's was wholly without the beauty it once had; and only Cordon's had a richness of sound that made one willing for once to endure the boredom of King Marke's lament. Warren's abuse of his fine voice with the bellowing he did in "Rigoletto" was an old story; but Kullman's forcing and his indulgence in other practices of Italian tenors were-after the beautiful singing and musical taste of a few years agoa shock. New in Pons's voice was a tremolo in the lower register; the upper register had its old crystalline clarity and beauty, but with its old sagging pitch: in Caro nome, after hitting one high E exactly right, she missed a second one and kept pulling herself up to it and slipping off.

The general impression conveyed by the performance of "Boris" was one of shabbiness, slackness, confusion. To get an impression of the "Tristan" conducted by Beecham it was necessary to hear both orchestra and voices; but the performance was broadcast in a way that caused the orchestra to disappear when the singing began. The broadcasting of "Rigoletto" was better, and enabled me to appreciate the firm, coherent, powerful outlines which Sodero's conducting gave to the work.

Poor balance of voices and orchestra was not the only technical defect of the "Tristan" broadcast: the sound was clouded by distortion of a kind which also spoiled a couple of Toscanini broadcasts. "Boris" a week earlier and "Rigoletto" a week later were free of this distortion; but they suffered from

normal defects of presentation. In the Metropolitan Opera House itself the performance is given for people who are assumed to be there because they are interested in the performance; but the American broadcasting mind finds it inconceivable that anyone will listen to a broadcast of music out of interest in the music, and can believe only that the New York Philharmonic-Symphony must be baited with Carl Van Doren and his "American Scriptures," the N. B. C. Symphony under Toscanini with a talk on scientific research by Mr. Kettering of General Motors, the Boston Symphony with an unctuous sermon by Clifton Fadiman, and that the way to hold radio listeners for "Tristan" or "Rigoletto" is to fill the intermissions with the vulgarity which, in its various forms, is the special American contribution to broadcasting,

My explosions, in conversation, over this intermission vulgarity, over the shoddy stuff that is broadcast about the music itself, over the trash that is published in books, over some of the critical performances in newspapers, led someone to suggest that I adopt, toward all these, Jack Dempsey's attitude toward Gene Tunney's Shakespearereading. Asked what he had to say about Tunney's various highbrow activities, Dempsey is reported to have made one of the great statements of all time: "If that's his racket it's okay with me." Dempsey was indifferent to behavior which didn't affect him or anything important to him; I can't be indifferent to record reviews which make difficulties for me; and I am angered by writing about music and performance and the entire musical scene which doesn't hurt me but does hurt things that matter to me.

"People have pointed out evidences of personal feeling in my notices," wrote Bernard Shaw in 1890, "as if they were accusing me of a misdemeanor, not knowing that a criticism written without personal feeling is not worth reading. It is the capacity for making good or bad art a personal matter that makes a man a critic. . . . When people do less than their best, and do that at once badly and selfcomplacently, I hate them, loathe them, detest them, long to tear them limb from limb and strew them in gobbets about the stage or platform. . . . In the same way, really fine artists inspire me with the warmest personal regard. . . . " That is the way I feel, not only about music but about everything that affects

music, including criticism which affects people's understanding of music and their attitude toward it. The critic whose own understanding increases the understanding of his audience, I have "the warmest personal regard" for; the one who misleads his audience with his own ignorance or misconceptions or confusions, I "hate...loathe...detest..." Most of what is written and talked about music is a racket; but it isn't okay with me.

It was a pleasure to hear Copland's music for "Billy the Kid" with the beautiful sound that it had when played by the Philadelphia Orchestra; but some of this music—hard, sharp, astringent—acquired Mae Westian curving outlines from Ormandy's prettifying diminuendos and ritardandos. I continue to regret that Copland, in putting together the concert suite, omitted the music of the pas de deux, and that he did not omit instead the dance of celebration over Billy's capture, which is the poorest music of the work. B.H. HAGGIN

### CONTRIBUTORS

ADOLF STURMTHAL, professor of conomics at Bard College of Columbia University, is an American citizen of Austrian extraction. He is the author of "The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939," and other books.

FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR., is editor of Textile Age, a trade monthly.

JULES MOCH, a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France, has been active in the French underground movement. He is a commander in the Fighting French navy.

F. C. WEISKOPF is a German-Czech writer. From 1933 to 1939 he worked on the largest anti-Henlein magazine in the Sudetenland. He will shortly publish a novel, "The Firing Squad."

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY teaches English at Black Mountain College in North Carolina.

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C. HARTLEY GRATTAN has traveled extensively through the British dominions. His books include "Introducing Australia," "The Deadly Parallel," and "Why We Fought."

# Letters to the Editors

### National Feeling on the Clyde

Dear Sirs: When Freda Kirchwey visisted the Clyde—of which she wrote in your issue of October 23, just arrived—she seems not to have noticed one thing. Perhaps it is something of which she, like most good liberals, rather disapproves of, and therefore does not see. This is national feeling.

She is right in saying that the Clyde workers are all out to win the war. But maybe we aren't such fools as we look; we want to get something out of the war and the war promises. Scotland is a small nation which has had a tough deal for a couple of hundred years. It wants a chance now. Nobody hates England; but we feel the English don't always understand; they haven't even noticed there's anything wrong with us up north. But, before the war, Scottish industry was in a far worse state than English; we have been temporarily rescued by armaments in one form and another. But a great deal of our "floor space" has been used for storage instead of production, and every month Scottish skilled and unskilled labor is being drafted down into England. Some people say that labor is more docile away from home and old associations and organizations.

This is resented, and resented in a nationalistic way. The Scottish Nationalist Party is small; very likely Freda Kirchwey never met a member, nor vet a member of the non-party organization Scottish Convention. But these two bodies-and there are others, as well as purely cultural organizations like An Commun-only represent the consciousness of a vast, half-conscious stirring and worrying. Probably the same kind of thing is happening all over Europe. Yet where you sympathize with the Balkans -or the Irish-you are only surprised at us Scots. But we represent the thing in a more intelligent form and at a stage where a solution is possible and practicable without violence or even bad feeling. Most of us nationalists who belong to small nations believe in federation of one kind or another; you won't catch us thinking in terms of sovereign states. But we think that some things are most appropriately organized in the family unit, others in the factory, village, or street unit, others by counties or boroughs, some in land blocs or in nothing less than a world, but a good many in units of the small nation.

Will you remember this about us? A Highland fisherman, wearing his kilt -his best clothes-was bitterly offended by an American soldier in a Glasgow tea shop who asked him to get up and let him look. I tried to explain that the American didn't mean any harm, that it was really a kind of compliment. But the Highlander knew only too well that this newcomer had never for a moment taken Scotland or the symbols of Scotland-remember, my fisherman's greatgrandfathers had been forbidden, on pain of transportation, to wear the kilt -in any way seriously. President Wilson spoke of self-determination of nations; it meant very little then because it was taken as being compatible with the survival of large empires and bodies which were too big to be nations but which yet could arm and tear one another to pieces. It might be real now. NAOMI MITCHISON

Campbeltown, Argyll, Scotland December 2

### The Iron Age

Dear Sirs: Do you pay much attention to the industrial press, of which the Iron Age is the perfect flower? No one can complain of the job that most of them do in their handling of technical and industrial news, because their readers get a lot more than they pay for directly. But the editors of some of them have invaded the vasty realms of politics and economics with rather painful impact upon reasonable people, if not upon the stuffed shirts whose prejudices and misinformation they apparently deem it their duty to develop and protect.

They appear latterly to have assumed the function of stirring up the s. s. to drastic—and physical—action, as witness the editorial that appeared in the December 9, 1943, issue of the *Iron Age*.

Any normally analytical mind has reason to question the facts upon which this screed is based. They are quite too pat to be accepted without proof. We are to believe that the ingenuous editor, having dropped in on an official of a war "matériel" (that word!) plant, presumably for a cozy spot of tea and a bit of comradely chitchat, is shocked be-

yond measure by a succession of interruptions, over a period of two hours, by Harry, Bill, and two anonymous lay figures. Only two are anonymous, but the four are unanimous in announcing, with unearthly aplomb, the shutting down of their respective departments by "quickie" strikes. Soon thereafter, probably during the same day, the Mahatma converses with one of MacArthur's furloughed heroes who also is steeped in wisdom and patriotism. This man of Mars, surely as authentic as those of Orson Welles, on hearing of the dastardly doings, offers to educate (or execute) the 20,000 malcontents, in cooperation with twenty warlike buddies, presumably through the medium of machine-guns, bazookas, flame-throwers, and hand grenades.

An occasional critical analysis of one of these childish outbursts would not only afford amusement and instruction to your readers, but also would probably have a salutary effect on the effer-vescent editors themselves, for I am inclined to think that they are most sensitive, next to the pocket nerve, in their self-esteem.

J. I. CAPPS Chicago Heights, Ill., December 20

### Now Is the Time

Dear Sirs: Is it not now the time to object strenuously to anti-Semitism, race prejudice, and all fascist ideas wherever they arise?

E. P. Dutton has recently published a murder mystery, "Death and Bitters' by Kit Christian, a trivial story but read by who knows how many people. The leading police officer, a good man, not the comic cop, in interviewing a certain McGregor hints that he conceals an awful thing. What is this fearful secret? He, a most obnoxious individual, is a Jew. To be sure he has been pretending to be otherwise, but the hero and heroine of the book then and later can insult him no more than calling him "Mr. Levine." And the final scene of the novel has the hero and heroine, in vaudeville manner, giving Levine a kick.

Is this small stuff? I think not. I think when E. P. Dutton publishes a book containing this sort of anti-Semitism it is helping to support a truly fearsome thing.

I wrote a letter to E. P. Dutton. though I didn't like doing it, and de-

cent-minded folk everywhere should protest—to publishers, radio stations, motion-picture studios—whenever this type of thing crops up.

R. S. STEWART Berkeley, Cal., November 8

### Letter from Sicily

Dear Sirs: Readers of The Nation will be glad, I hope, to take cognizance of a letter sent to me by an Italian American who is serving with our armed forces in Sicily. To spare him headaches I do not give the name of my correspondent. I will only state that he was wholly unknown to me before I received his letter.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Cambridge, Mass., December 6

The August 7 issue of The Nation carried your article entitled Freezing Fascism In. In it you placed your finger on precisely the chief point the islanders raised during the months our unit fought through the invasion and the months immediately following it. I don't know that any of the observations I make are either new or interesting to you: perhaps what impels me to write is your concern and your expressed wish that the Allies help lay skilfully and firmly in place those cornerstones of policy that will result in building a fine democratic government in Italy, as elsewhere. As a soldier, I could deeply appreciate also your concern for helping to win and preserve the peace in this first occupied territory the Allies have wrested from the Axis.

Since I'm an American soldier of Sicilian extraction I had many opportunities to talk to the islanders during our stay there. We were bivouacked near a town, and since we were there for quite some time, there was a chance to meet and know some of the townspeople to the point where they talked out of their hearts and minds. In their talks these people argued in somewhat this vein: "You say that you came to get rid of Fascism. And in the pamphlets dropped over our towns by Allied planes, you asked us to rise up and oppose the Fascists. We were glad when invasion came, and we did nothing to oppose you; we even helped when it was possible, and soon the island was yours. But you left practically everybody connected with Fascism in power and in office. In our town not a single Fascist was relieved of office. Some of the men now sitting in the Town Hall have sent to prison those who dared to express their disapproval of the Fascist

government openly, and refused jobs and caused suffering to the families of those who did not fully cooperate with the Black Shirts. You say one thing, and do another. What are we to believe? We like the Americans. And we like the American officer in charge of our town. He is kind and courteous and approachable. Best of all, he is honest. When he says something, he means it. But the real power is still with the office-holders, and the landowners who are their friends. Few of us dare to speak up with such a combination in power."

As an educator, you can appreciate the desire of the people of this island for reforms. The grown-ups I've talked with have had little schooling-most of them not more than three years-but they have common sense. They realize the need for reforms in labor standards, in wages, housing, opportunities in work other than farmwork, and education. They want for their children something more than a fifteen-hour working day at back-breaking labor that still leaves them in debt at the end of the year. They are ripe for change, and they are eager for change. They also look to us for leadership to start them on the long road to democracy. I won't say that the prevailing note of the people I've talked with is skeptical or cynical, but these people were still waiting for some constructive plan and for responsible leadership when our unit left.

Should you find that the discussion has been general in reference to regions and places and people, it is done in order to conform with army censorship regulations, sir.

Somewhere in Sicily, November 16

### The Great Problem

Dear Sirs: No matter whether educated and uneducated persons agree or disagree with the book "Liberal Education" by Mark Van Doren, there is one thing we ought all to agree on—namely, that at least the author has dealt with the most vital subject of our time, which is definitely to his credit. If more such able writers would do likewise it is quite probable that the masses would thereby be released from their bondage in time.

The masterly review of the book in The Nation of December 11 by George S. Counts points out the serious defect in our elective system of education. At the same time Professor Counts nails the fallacy that the substitution of "great books" would be a cure-all for the defect. This would, at best, lead to but a cleaner flood of words. But words it would be and nothing more. Consequently the futile struggle between the learned and the so-called ignorant masses would go on. We mean in respect to what constitutes moral education, not education in the arts and technology.

How to get on solid moral ground by means of moral education (there is no other way)—that is the great problem which must be solved before humanity will be able to live rationally together. In the meanwhile all talk of human liberty is either demagoguery or wishful thinking.

We regret that in his review of the book Mr. Counts confined his remarks to the disease without a few plain words of direction as to the cure. His closing paragraph to this end is too scholarly for the common people to understand. However, he makes it clear that no right system of moral and ethical education is yet in sight. It is, therefore, not a question of opinion but of fact that the cause of humanity's misbehavior lies in its moral and ethical mis-education.

So the question is: Why do not the forward-looking men and women of our land join themselves together for the purpose of curing this evil? Except for winning the war this is the most urgent need of our time; as otherwise the people will not win the peace—will win only another war. To say there is no cure for this evil proves only mental bankruptcy.

ALBERT JOHNSON
Los Angeles, Cal., December 20

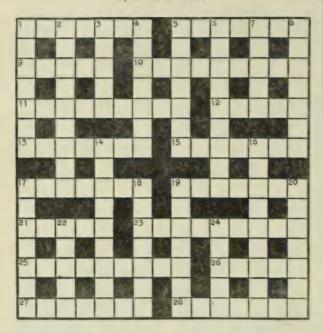
### O Little Towns . . .

Dear Sirs: We should have more descriptions of the workings of the virus of anti-Semitism in particular instances, like that of Litchfield, Connecticut, by Willson Whitman in her article, O Little Town . . . (Restricted) in your issue of December 25. They are preferable to the general accounts and reports that anti-Semitism is rife. Too many people know Litchfield, Connecticut, at they and others will know other such towns described, not to feel the sting of the truth that no place, not even their own



### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 46

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 One who is dissatisfied with his state
- 5 Causing friction is hardly in his line
- 9 Panes (anag.)
- 10 His works are plays
- 11 Most mares produce these animals
- 12 You'll get no rag from this instrument
- 13 He swam the Hellespont twice nightly
- 15 A bit of harness
- 17 Goes bad in foreign wine-shops
- 19 From what we know of certain meet-
- ings, he's not likely to be put out
- 21 The last word, and I'm it after fifty 23 This complaint is not due to the dep-
- redations of a certain agile insect
  25 Shacking stories—no wonder you get
  a queer feeling in the middle of them!
- 26 Strange sound of an American lake
- 27 Si's rest is disturbed
- 28 The workman starts an incomplete

#### DOWN

- 1 Net used in fowling and fishing
- 2 "&"
- 3 Dance of Argentine origin, with Parisian developments
- 4 The common stag (two words, 3 and 4)
- 5 We require them to look at the fair creatures when they have lost their heads

- 6 Tore a bale (anag.)
- 7 It would have helped Goliath had he been wounded in the arm
- 8 Train with metallic interior
- 14 Fingered flower
- 16 In the case of these, inflation is the only remedy (two words, 4 and 5)
- 17 Turn the head of this head of a bed to adapt it for a nipper
- 18 Army undercover men
- 19 I sail S. E. for a country in Central Europe
- 20 Perceive
- 22 These nests are not concrete
- 24 "Ch. - with temper whose unclouded ray Can make tomorrow cheerful as today!" (Pope)

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 45

ACHESS:-1 BARITONE: I SLIVER; 10 HUMIRCH: II ORATORY: 12 ALS: 13 ROVER: IN TREDICUS; 19 HERON: 29 SKATES; 22 RESTATE; 23 IDIOCT; 25 LIFTHE: 2 HEAREN: 3 ZOLA: 22 DRYAD; 35 ASSA: 36 AUSTRIA: 37 NEW-GAFE: 30 PROGRESS.

DOWN;—I BEHEAD: 2 RAMPAGE: 3 TEIM: \* NIMROD; 4 LEAR: 7 VIOLENT; S ROTALIST: 9 RODEO: 13 RED-EYED: 14 VICTORY; 15 RUSTLED: 17 TORE: 18 SKEIN: 21 SITZ BATH: 24 ILLUSED; 24 HOSTAGE: 28 ARRAY; 21 TANNER; 30 CAMELS: 34 TRUE; 35 TWIG.

community and themselves, is free of anti-Semitic feeling. It is easier to pass off a general account with, "Not us, not Connecticut, not Maine, not New England—at least not nearly as bad as this!" Litchfield is too much the prototype, in fact or desire, of the New England town for more of us not to get the point.

Although I write from Maine, I was, till last year, pastor of the Kent, Connecticut, church, which is not far from Litchfield. Miss Whitman might have included all of Litchfield County. Although all the communities have not because they haven't tried. Of one of the mentioned successful towns, Sharon, Miss Whitman might be happy to know that she would have had a more satisfying reception and interview by the ministers there, as well as in several of the other communities of the county.

With the hope that Christmas may

truly come again.

Wilton, Maine, December 26

P. S. Wilton, Maine, a small industrial town, has only one Jew, a German refugee, who is the town doctor. He has replaced two doctors called into the army. He surprised most of the town: "He is not very different from us and fits in rather well, and is a very good doctor." His position is similar to that of the lawyer in Litchfield.

L. A. D.

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AMERICA'S LEADING WEEKLY SINCE

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NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JANUARY 15, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

THE NEW YEAR HAS OPENED OMINOUSLY FOR the Axis. In the west the American and British airmen are methodically pursuing the task of reducing German war potential with a view, to quote General H. H. Arnold, of making "the coming invasion of Germany as economical as possible." Berlin has suffered two more smashing blows; the port of Stettin, supply base for the eastern front, has been devastated, and the great chemical center of Ludwigshafen is reported knocked out as the result of an American daylight precision attack. At the same time huge fleets of light and medium bombers have been hitting at the "invasion coast," seeking to destroy enemy installations and to tempt the Luftwaffe's fighters to combat. But all this air activity is chiefly significant as foreshadowing future defeat: in Russia defeat is already in sight, General Nikolai Vztutin's First Ukrainian Army has enlarged the bulge west of Kiev into : huge fist which is breaking the German line in two. One of his columns has captured the city of Sarny, thereby cutting the railroad which connects the German central army with that in the north; another is driving toward Zhmerinka, a junction on the main line between Odessa and Warsaw. The Nazi forces remaining in the Dnieper bend, already dangerously threatened by these moves. are now menaced from a new direction by the Red Army's capture of the key point of Kirovograd. There seems no alternative left to the German command except to accelerate its retreat. So far it appears to have been able to keep its forces together, but now the question arises whether it has not held on too long in the south. Reports of big hauls of prisoners by the Red Army offer hope that the word "rout" may soon be substituted for retreat.

PERHAPS THE SORDID HISTORY OF THE Allies' relations with the Fighting French has made us unduly suspicious. We hope so, because if the new, and still tiny, cloud of smoke over North Africa originates in fire, as we cynics have learned to believe smoke frequently does, the flame is ominous to a degree. The smoke in this case consists of reports that the British, supposedly with American sanction, have expressed concern over the fate of certain prominent fascists who have been arrested as traitors by the French authorities, particularly Peyrouton, Flandin, and Boisson. Some stories have it that the British "demanded" the release of the prisoners, some that their release was merely urged. Harold Callender, reporting to the New York Times from Algiers, writes that "Washington and London suggested going easy" on the gentlemen in question, and still another version is that the British only asked permission to make sure that these veteran collaborators with the enemy were being well treated. But why should the British and Americans display any interest at all in these individuals, much less ask their release? Sentiment can hardly be the explanation. Nor can it be pressure from the Giraud faction within the Liberation Committee, now that Giraud himself has shrunk to such minor proportions in the French picture. Is this a hint to the men of Vichy that it is not too late to turn coats once more? That if they come over to our side at the moment of the invasion they will be spared the price of their crimes and perhaps—purely out of expediency of course-even left in positions of power? Until Pétain's recent and roundabout feeler concerning the restoration of constitutional democracy, it was the policy of the OWI to tell Frenchmen regularly that they were to put no stock in rumors of future Allied dealings with the Marshal. This assurance, we understand, is no longer being broadcast. So much for the smoke; you can do your own speculating about the fire.

\*

ACQUISITION OF THE JAPANESE-MANDATED islands by the United States after the war is a matter on which all of the Big Four powers are agreed, according to the authoritative Army and Navy Journal. It is even suggested that China would have no objection to the establishment of an American base on Formosa, although it would not be disposed to make a similar grant to Great Britain or the Soviet Union. It is impossible to check the accuracy of this story or find out whether a definite agreement has been reached. But there can be no doubt that many influential Americans, including some army and navy leaders, assume that such an expansion of American interests in the Pacific will take place despite the explicit statement in the Cairo declaration that we have no thought of territorial acquisition. The disposal of the mandated islands presents . real problem. Obviously, they cannot be allowed to remain in Japanese hands. While some of the islands might be capable of self-rule, none is capable of selfdefense. But the United States has no ethnological or historical claim to the islands. Possession of them would be essential to American defense only if no system of collective security were established. Several other countries, notably Australia and New Zealand, have a stronger and more legitimate interest in the islands than we have. The only way that all these interests can be

served is by placing the islands under some sort of international custody—with rights to their use as bases and responsibility for their protection shared equally among the Pacific powers.

×

THE REPORT ON LEND-LEASE ASSISTANCE during the first thirty-three months of the program shows that after a disappointing start the United States has faithfully carried out its obligations as the "arsenal of democracy." Aid extended during the first eleven months of 1943 was valued at \$10,365,000,000, or considerably more than that of the previous twenty-three months. Shipments to Russia scarcely started until early in 1942, but were moving at a rate of nearly \$300,000,000 a month by the third quarter of 1943. The figures show that Great Britain and Russia together have received more than half of our lend-lease assistance and that the bulk of the aid to these countries was in the form of munitions. Although more food was exported than in 1942, the amount remained small in relation to domestic consumption. Lend-lease shipments of butter amounted to less than one-seventh of an ounce per week, for example, for each American civilian. Once again the report makes no attempt to balance our lend-lease expenditures against the value of reverse lend-lease—the assistance given to the United States by other countries. We are told only that such aid is substantial and is growing. Some of it is tangible, like the butter supplied our troops in the Southwest Pacific by Australia and New Zealand, but who can place a value on the contribution that the Russian army, the British navy, and the R. A. F. are making to the defeat of our common enemy? The most we can claim is that our planes, tanks, and food have helped make their achievements possible.

×

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS GUNNING for big game. Encouraged, perhaps, by Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other apostles of "free enterprise" who have been preaching against cartels in general, Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge has set his sights at a very particular international cartel and probably the biggest of the lot. The complaint he has filed accuses du Pont, Imperial Chemical Industries, and the Remington Arms Company of uniting to divide world markets and asks the court to enjoin the defendants perpetually from forming or adhering to agreements of the alleged monopolistic and restrictive nature described. The billiondollar du Pont concern we are all familiar with, and Remington Arms, the largest American producer of sporting arms and ammunition, is merely one of its bigger satellites. Imperial Chemical Industries is to Britain what du Pont is to the United States, only more so. Its total resources may not be quite so impressive, but its degree of monopoly in nearly every type of chemical production is greater since it has had no anti-trust laws to hinder its growth. Moreover, it is strongly intrenched in every part of the empire. After filing the suit Mr. Berge called it "a warning to American and foreign monopolists" and declared: "The arrangements between these groups . . . are nothing but private treaties -as far-reaching as any governmental action but free from Congressional sanction. Their production quotas and divisions of markets are private tariffs enforced without legislative consideration. However well-meaning these private groups may be, they have assumed sovereign and governmental powers—contrary to the American system of free enterprise." Now, Mr. Johnston, now, gentlemen of the free-enterprise claque, how about a big hand for the Department of Justice?

\*

WOTAN HAS LET THE GERMANS DOWN pretty badly and he will have to go. The Nazis are efficient and businesslike, and if a god doesn't stand up well under actual battle conditions they replace him with another model. But that is only one of the explanations for the "back-to-church" movement decreed for all Germans by that saintly man Heinrich Himmler. It seems ironic, with half the country in flames, to drag happy pagans away from their ready-made bonfires; and even more ironic to make Arthur Rosenberg chief missionary. There must be more pressing reasons. In his first Epistle to the Storm Troops the man who pledged the complete elimination of the church, both Catholic and Evangelical, from the life of Germany, shed little light. Cogitating on the meaning of death, as well he might, he merely reminded his flock that the coming of Christ was "the birth of a new era establishing contact between our earthly life and eternity." The Hamburger Fremdenblatt, explaining that "religion has again become modern," suggests, more revealingly, that Germans may fall back on the church to find solace and bolster their morale. And Himmler himself offers still another advantage in this mass rush to the altar. "Through your attendance," he says, "the faithful will believe that National Socialism can cooperate with the church and religion." Undoubtedly the Nazi chieftains hope that the Vatican will also believe it and use its good offices for promoting a negotiated peace. Our own explanation of the phenomenon is that the Gestapo has just got wind of the fact that the meek shall inherit the earth. After all, isn't that the objective?

IDA M. TARBELL WAS THE LAST OF A SMALL but notable group of journalists who were dubbed with the unpleasant but honorable name of "muckrakers." Her death last week at the age of eighty-six leaves a gap among American writers that will never be filled. For Miss Tarbell was a pioneer in every sense of the

word. She was one of the first graduates of a coeducational college; she was one of the first women to achieve notable success in the field of journalism; her articles revealing the cruel and inhuman practices by which the Standard Oil Company gained its dominance in the oil field not only ushered in a new period of journalism but a new era in public policy as well. Her biography of Lincoln is still a standard work—forty-two years after its publication. Although some of her most recent works, particularly her life of Gary, lacked the boldness and penetration of her earlier ones, few writers have left a more definite or more constructive imprint on the social thinking of their generation.

## Border Impasse

NCE again the Polish-border question is disturbing the unity of the United Nations, and no accommodation between the positions of the Soviet government and the Polish government in exile appears in sight. Both parties are exhibiting an intransigence which bodes ill for the future peace of Europe. An official Polish newspaper in London has hailed the great victory which has driven the Germans back beyond the pre-war Polish border as a harbinger of "the most serious political and moral crisis of the war," and has asked: Are the Russians coming as liberators or invaders? The government in exile itself has issued orders to its underground which seem to suggest an attempt to observe neutrality as between the Soviet and Nazi armies.

For Moscow the border question is settled. Anyone even hinting that it is, or ought to be, still open for discussion is likely to find himself blasted in the manner which has so taken Wendell Willkie aback. His article in the New York Times, "Don't Stir Distrust of Russia," was clearly designed to combat anti-Soviet feeling, which remains regrettably prevalent in this country, and it was welcomed as such by the Daily Worker. But that did not save the Republican chief from being accused of trickery and political gambling. We do not know whether the Soviet government really believes that this is the way to make friends and influence people in this country. If it does, it is being badly served by its Washington embassy.

The Russian position with regard to eastern Poland rests on three main arguments: (1) The inhabitants of the disputed territories are racially identical with those of the White Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics. (2) The inclusion of these lands in Poland was accomplished by force majeure, when the Western powers, ganging up on the struggling Soviet Union, compelled it to sign the Treaty of Riga in 1920. (3) The return of these lost provinces to Russia in 1939 was the result of a democratic decision of their peoples.

The first and second of these propositions are indubitably true; the third is less impressive. The election of "assemblies"—it was not a formal plebiscite—was held a few weeks after the Red Army marched in under conditions hardly propitious for a free vote. Few details reached this country, but a totalitarian model of balloting appears to have been followed, with the electors having the privilege of indorsing a single slate. This does not mean, however, that a really democratic vote would not confirm the result, if by a less overwhelming majority. Long oppressed by absentee Polish landlords, the White Russian and Ukrainian peasants in this area might well be expected to welcome the opportunity to rejoin their brothers under the hammer and sickle.

Controverting the Russian arguments, the Poles can claim that, whatever the circumstances under which the Treaty of Riga was signed, the Soviet government never suggested frontier revision between 1920 and 1939. On the contrary, it signed two non-aggression pacts with Poland during the thirties, thus tacitly acquiescing in the territorial status quo. Only when Poland was reeling from the Nazi blitz were Russia's claims resurrected, enforced by invasion, and tamped down by a partition agreement with Hitler. No government in exile that was not wholly under the Russian thumb could be expected to accept this fait accompli. If such a surrender of territory is to take place without leaving a permanent legacy of bitterness, it must come as the result of negotiations between the Soviets and a freely elected Polish government.

That means that a real bilateral settlement of this problem can only be achieved, no matter what ukases Moscow may issue, after the defeat of Germany. We do not see, therefore, what Russia would have to lose by announcing that while it holds firmly to its claim that lands inhabited by White Russians and Ukrainians must remain within the Soviet Union, it is prepared to discuss the actual boundary in a generous spirit. The line which it now insists the Poles must accept was a line negotiated with von Ribbentrop. It places within Russia some cities like Lwow which are mainly inhabited by Poles and are historic centers of Polish culture. Would it not be possible to agree upon a new boundary which, while satisfying Russian ethnic claims, would not divorce such cities from Poland?

If Russia really believes in the spirit of the Declaration of Moscow, it can hardly afford to set the precedent of unilateral decisions in settling territorial problems created by the war. But still less can the Poles afford to pursue their furious anti-Soviet vendetta. Nobody is going to fight Russia to enforce dubious Polish demands for a return to the pre-war status quo. Any attempt to drive a wedge between Russia and its Western allies on this issue would be more than criminal; it would be suicidal, for Poland would be the first casualty.

## Justice Denied

E SUPPOSE this is a hopeless suggestion. But we wish that Conservations wish that Congress by legislation or the Supreme Court by voluntary action would provide for publication of the votes taken in chambers on applications for certiorari. According to testimony given some years ago by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, certiorari is granted when four, or sometimes even three, justices vote for it. The denial of a review is a serious matter, and the public has a right to know how the justices have voted on it. We think a little publicity might have a healthy effect in some cases; justices are only human. We should like to know, for example, how the court voted last week when it turned down the appeal of the convicted Trotskyites in the so-called Minneapolis case. This rejection of a hearing, by a liberal court, seems to us a shocking thing. For in denying these eighteen defendants a hearing, the court permits precedents to stand which seriously endanger civil liberties in the United States. The rejection of the appeal for a hearing is made the more disturbing because the Department of Justice itself did not oppose the grant of certiorari.

The record of this prosecution is one to shame every decent American. The Minneapolis local of the Teamsters' Union is one of the few unions in this country dominated by Trotskyites. The Brotherhood of Teamsters seems to have had little objection to their revolutionary theories until the local, in the summer of 1940, voted to leave the A. F. of L. and affiliate with the C. I. O. At this point Dan Tobin of the Teamsters appealed to the White House for action against this "nest of radicals," and the late Marvin H. McIntyre passed Tobin's complaint on to the Department of Justice, with a notation that the President was disturbed by it. The department began to collect Marxist and Trotskyite pamphlets, and a case was worked up under both the Seditious Conspiracy statute and the Smith Sedition Act of 1940. The defendants were acquitted under the former but convicted under the latter, our first peace-time seditiousopinion statute since 1798.

The highest state courts, notably those of Oklahoma and New Jersey, have held in recent years that persons can be punished for revolutionary opinions only if it is proved that there is a "clear and present danger" of their being put into effect. This is the famous Holmes-Brandeis doctrine. The state courts were doubtless influenced by the belief that a liberal United States Supreme Court, containing so many justices who purport to revere the Holmes-Brandeis tradition, would reverse lower-court decisions which held otherwise. But in this case the Department of Justice argued and the lower federal courts ruled that men can be convicted of sedition in peace time without a showing of "clear and present

danger." A review by the Supreme Court was called for, not merely in the interest of justice—a question that begins to seem too abstract for some members of this present court—but in order to decide exactly what rule the lower courts and the state courts are to follow in the future. By refusing to grant a review the court implies that it is satisfied with the rule applied and the result reached in the lower courts. This may be expected to have a serious effect in future cases.

We hold no brief for the Trotskyites and have differed deeply with them on most concrete issues. But we think them unjustly and unfairly condemned, the victims of a cheap bit of labor politics. It is a crime to send them to jail because they believe in the principles of the Communist Manifesto. But a greater crime is the injury done the Bill of Rights by their prosecution and by the dangerous precedents established, from which the court has averted its face.

### Labor on the Spot

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

TOT many years ago I talked to a friend who had been a member of President Wilson's War Cabinet. He had signed contracts with industry involving the expenditure of hundreds of millions. He had been responsible, directly and indirectly, for wage agreements with organized labor. During the last war labor was accused, as it is accused today, of profiting from the national emergency. "I always took the position," said my friend, "that labor had a right to its share of the swag." He knew, he said, that such a remark sounded immoral. But what was really immoral was the fact that there was swag. He hadn't been able to prevent it. War profits were pouring into the pockets of business men and farmers; why not war wages into the pockets of workers? The place to crack down first, if cracking was possible, was at the other end-the price-and-profit end. Only then could you ask labor to forgo higher wages.

In this war, as in the last, prices and profits and wages have been handled as separate and largely unrelated problems, and the same scramble for advantage is under way. Again, as was the case last time, labor is singled out for special attack, while the other chief interested groups remain relatively immune from criticism. A recent example of this discrimination was General Marshall's much-debated statement on the railroad strike. I do not believe the Chief of Staff is anti-labor. I have no doubt that his single concern is the solid support of the war by every section of the public; as Raymond Swing said a few nights later, "he was pleading, in effect, that the home front join the war..." The strike threat, followed by the government's seizure of the roads, was such a dramatic declaration of inner discord that

General Marshall seized upon it and made it the text of his sermon. But it was a bad tactical mistake, for it served an opposite purpose by increasing labor's sense of grievance and intensifying the public's antagonism toward labor. And it failed altogether to get at the basic elements in the conflict now raging between private interest and national need.

During the very week when the Chief of Staff gave his off-the-record opinion of labor's behavior, another major economic battle was being fought. The issues of that struggle are described in an article on a later page of this issue, Profiteers on the Rampage, by Karl Keyerleber. Can anyone who has followed the fight over renegotiation of contracts believe that the Timken-Detroit Axle Company and other corporations now lobbying to retain their swollen war profits constitute a lesser threat to the war effort than the railway workers? And how about the farm bloc's new legislative assault against the Administration's effort to hold food prices down?

Undoubtedly General Marshall would agree that farm and business groups should be forced, along with labor, to subordinate their interests to those of the nation. But he might assert that at least they have been able to get what they want without making much noise about it. A strike is a highly visible and challenging event. It makes good copy. And the press and radio, both inevitably dominated by a business point of view, are not inclined to play down the aggressive activities of organized labor. The result is that every strike or strike rumor becomes a major event and is communicated to Hitler's agents as fast as it is to the American public. How different the handling of the high-pressure tactics of business and the farmers! The appearance before a Congressional committee of a well-known industrialist pleading for guaranteed profits is reported, if at all, briefly and with respect. The more important arrangements, made behind closed doors, are not reported at all. What General Marshall would doubtless advocate for labor is the strategy employed by business; if the workers have grievances, let them seek redress inconspicuously.

At this point I would urge General Marshall to read another article in this issue—Why War Workers Strike, by Victor H. Johnson. From this round-by-round story of the effort of one local union to get a ruling on its grievances without resort to strike, he would learn what even the most patriotic workers are facing under our war-time setup. The government machinery to deal with complaints is slow, cumbersome, and, as Mr. Johnson points out, "working a single shift." A premium is put on striking by the very system designed to prevent it. Secretary of Labor Perkins reported at the year's end that labor's no-strike pledge had been kept "better than 99 per cent." This is the marvel—not the fact that some workers have struck.

As Congress settles down to work, it should consider

these facts. Labor cannot be asked to accept the major responsibility for "holding the line" in the face of successful raids by other organized interests. And labor cannot even be expected to operate through negotiation and the processes of peaceful bargaining unless it knows

where it stands. What is needed is a consistent federal labor policy, developed as part of an overall system of economic controls, and efficient, well-staffed machinery for settling disputes when they start, not after they have exploded into open warfare.

# Marshall and the Second Front

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 6

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PM or the Chicago Sun or the New York Post or the St. Louis Post-Dispatch or Star-Times or the Philadelphia Record. (The three Patterson-McCormick papers were also excluded.) But I have talked to men who were there, and I have carefully gone over all the accounts of what happened. I should like to begin from an angle the daily press has generally ignored: the light the published accounts throw on the General's attitude toward the second front and the European war generally.

We were told that Teheran decided the question of the second front. The joint communiqué issued at Teheran said, "As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions, and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west, and south." This seemed clear enough, though somewhat less precise than the glosses upon it.

A different attitude is indicated by accounts of the Marshall conference. The accounts agree that he said he had hoped for an internal collapse in Germany some time around February of this year, that he now felt strong German resistance would continue through the summer and that this would require large-scale invasion operations on our part, with heavy loss of life. This does not sound as though General Marshall considered that any very definite agreement had been reached at Teheran on the second front. The Teheran agreement was announced on December 1. He spoke on December 31.

The attitude of mind which seems to be indicated by reports of the Marshall conference was described by George Fielding Eliot in his column on January 3. This column carried no reference to the Marshall conference and seems to have been written before it occurred. Major Eliot has proved one of the ablest of our military commentators. He complained of an "unhealthy glow of optimism" and of "wishful thinkers" who still thought Germany could be bombed into submission. He wrote, "So many bombs would be dropped upon them [the

Germans], we have been assured, that the invading armies would merely have to occupy territory and mop up a few scattered snipers." The OWI in a report released on January 4 similarly warned against overoptimism and the hope of a quick German collapse. General Marshall seems to have shared these illusions until the abortive steel strike and the threatened railroad strike changed his mind. One would have thought those illusions had been abandoned at Teheran.

General Marshall seems to have believed that m collapse or a change of policy was imminent in the satellite countries—Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania—and that this would shorten the war by six months. I don't pretend to know anything about military matters, but this calculation seems dubious to me. I should think all four of these countries together would weigh very little in the scales. However restive they may be, all of them seem securely under German military control, and it is hard to believe that their peoples or armed forces could throw off that control. I should think we would have to fight for these territories and that there was no easy way to obtain them short of a decisive Nazi defeat. With all due diffidence, this again seems to me the nourishing of over-optimistic illusions.

Writers in the daily press have amply demonstrated by now that Axis propaganda has paid very little attention to the strike situation. Dorothy Thompson has pointed out that both the Hitler regime and its truncated Italian partner are playing up to Socialist sentiment, of however distorted a variety. The Axis radio may consider it poor business to let Hitler's harassed, overstrained, and underfed workers—particularly those in the satellite countries—know that in America labor is still free to explain away the testimony of American and British radio -monitoring services. One is that the news of the strike has just been whispered by the Gestapo into the proper ears. The other is more curious.

Correspondents and columnists who can be trusted to echo official views can go over to the War Department and hold hands with certain colonels who provide "off-the-record" background. I think Mark Sullivan's explanatory column of January 5 was the result of such a

conversation. Sullivan reviewed the whole background of the Marshall conference. He said that the army "has at all times accurate, up-to-the-minute knowledge of the morale of the Axis peoples" and that from this information "the army believed recently that there might be a crack-up of the German people, or more likely of the satellite peoples, some time fairly soon, perhaps during February." Sullivan said that at this point along came the taking over of the railroads and the "threatened" steel strike and that these changed the army's opinion. Sullivan went on to make an interesting admission. "The army," he explained, "did not need to wait to get reports of the changes through its intelligence services. The army knew that the strikes in America would be exploited by the German propaganda machine. . . . In view of this development in Germany, our army changed its view about the likelihood of an early crack-up within the Axis." It would seem from this that the army was guessing, and from the records of the Axis radio that it guessed wrong.

I have the highest respect for the men running the War Department, for men like Judge Patterson and Assistant Secretary of War McCloy. But I have talked with some of these colonels who funnel out army intelligence "off the record," and I am not impressed either with them or with their information. The combination of General Marshall's conference and the kind of stuff ladled out to Mark Sullivan doesn't change my opinion. It seems to me that both the quality of the information

and the manner of its presentation indicate poor judgment. I would agree with Ernest Lindley—certainly a much less radical observer than myself—that Marshall's statement was itself of great propaganda value to the enemy, perhaps much more so than the threatened strikes, which I do not defend.

General Marshall has yet to be tested by events. We know that either he himself or someone in his immediate entourage was responsible for the famous "offthe-record" press conference predicting a Russian defeat within thirty days or so of the German attack, and we know that the General Staff long blocked lend-lease shipments to Russia in the imminent expectation of such a collapse. We know that General Marshall might have used this same "off-the-record" device to disassociate himself from the "beat-Japan-first" bloc when they used his name in Congress and over the air last spring to throw a monkey wrench into the President's conferences with Churchill. We now have another glimpse of him in action. I do not object to his appeal to labor. On the contrary I think a well-considered appeal, couched in persuasive terms, might have done a great deal of good. But this angry and exaggerated attack, made on vague grounds and under cover of an unmanly anonymity, bore the earmarks of an attempt to stir popular support for further anti-labor legislation or to make labor the scapegoat if coming invasions should prove costly or unsuccessful. I hope the impression I have gained of General Marshall is proved unfounded by coming events.

# Profiteers on the Rampage

BY KARL KEYERLEBER

FOR every business man who assails the renegotiation of war contracts it would be possible to find ten or a dozen who regard it as a valuable part of government procurement of arms. Yet the few have played their cards so well that one of the most powerful single factors in reducing the cost of the war is in serious danger of being scrapped.

A block of legislators who include Chairman George of the Senate Finance Committee is determined to repeal the renegotiation statute. Changes incorporated in the revenue bill now before the Senate will gain very nearly the same end without repeal. If they become law they will make price adjustments in war contracts unworkable.

While renegotiation is to the average fellow a polysyllable of uncertain meaning, to a small and fractious minority it has become a fighting word—the industrial Old Guard's equivalent of "Remember Pearl Harbor." Two suits to test the law's constitutionality are now in the courts. Trying to whip up a disturbance that will pass for widespread public indignation, manufacturers have importuned employees and fellow-members of chambers of commerce to write to their representatives in Washington. They assert that renegotiation takes away so much of their profits that it is destroying their business, and then they go on to say that most of this money would be captured by taxation anyway. They call the statute undemocratic, arbitrary, and vicious, although the practice of adjusting prices after manufacturing costs are determined has good peace-time precedents.

That renegotiation takes money from business there can be no doubt. It has already saved the American people about two billion dollars on the cost of the war, a direct saving that would not have been effected by taxation or any other means—indirect savings probably run into more billions. But the fundamental issue is not one of economy. The issue in the renegotiation controversy is whether a fortunately placed few shall profit.

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excessively from the war effort. Pledges that they shall not have been put on the record by President Roosevelt, both major parties, and almost every national organization, including manufacturers' associations.

Once our rearmament program got under way, it became obvious that these pledges must be implemented. Even before Pearl Harbor profits were soaring. When contracts had to be "shoveled out" early in 1942, it became clear that the ordinary processes of procurement could not insure fair pricing and that the tax laws were not flexible enough to prevent exorbitant profits. Mass production of items never before mass-produced created situations in which neither government officials nor contractors could tell what the costs would be. Recognizing the danger of widespread profiteering to industry itself, some companies reduced their prices voluntarily before the renegotiation law was passed by Congress in April, 1942. They renegotiated their own contracts.

Price adjustment is not a revenue measure. It is not necessarily punitive; it does not stigmatize the contractor. It is part of the process by which government agencies have met the most prodigious procurement task in all history, and its primary purpose is to accomplish fair pricing in an emergency which keeps the ordinary controls of competition from operating. Most business men regard it as sound war-time policy and credit the adjustment boards with working conscientiously at a difficult job. This is not to say they like renegotiation; nobody likes to have his profits put through a wringer. But they feel that the losses and occasional inequities are preferable to the risk of post-war reaction of the kind to which Secretary Morgenthau alluded when he said the changes incorporated in the revenue bill by the Senate Finance Committee contained "the seeds of national scandal." Senator Walsh, a member of the committee, found it necessary to add that "when the record of profit-making on war contracts is disclosed, the American people will be shocked."

Though most industrialists who look beyond today's unprecedented opportunity for profit favor renegotiation, crippling amendments to the law have been pushed through the House and on to the Senate floor. The most significant are these: exemption of standard commercial articles; exemption of subcontractors whose goods do not enter into the final product—this was made retroactive; provision for post-war reconversion funds; permission for appeal to the courts, also retroactive.

### VOLUME AND PROFITS

The argument that there is little likelihood of excessive profits, and therefore no need for renegotiation, in the manufacture of standard commercial articles is fairly plausible. "I sold this same article for \$150 before the war, and that is what I am charging the army," says a manufacturer. "Why apply renegotiation to goods that you can go uptown to a store and buy?" asks another.

Yet it is precisely on standard goods that some of the biggest war profits have been made. Any business man, or for that matter anyone who recalls the effect of volume production on the price of automobiles, knows that a price which is fair when a plant is turning out 500 units a year is not fair when volume jumps to 10,000. It is a business maxim that larger volume and narrower profit margins go hand in hand.

The Sperry Corporation, one of the largest war contractors, making its regular peace-time product, reported early in 1942 that profits on government business were "larger than had been anticipated or desired" and subsequently slashed its prices. Timken-Detroit Axle makes standard articles for war. Testifying before the Senate Finance Committee last month, Under Secretary of War Patterson revealed that this company made \$39,839,000 in 1942, against a peace-time annual average of \$2,116,-000. After returning \$12,500,000 as a result of renegotiation and paying war taxes, the company still had left \$5,070,000, about half as much as it made in the whole pre-war decade. But unlike Sperry, the company complained about renegotiation, and when a new contract was broached asked an even higher price for its axles. Joseph M. Dodge, chairman of the War Department price-adjustment board, told the Senate Finance Committee of a company, "not by any means the most unusual," which jumped its volume of business from a 1936-39 average of \$16,500,000 to \$50,000,000 in 1942 and its average dollar profit before income taxes from 7.4 per cent on sales to 25 per cent. He told of ten lumber companies whose profits in the same base period, 1936-39, were \$5,000,000 and in 1942 reached \$25,900,000, the ratio of profit to sales rising from 11.8 to 26.1 per cent. Profits of twenty-five woolentextile companies averaged \$3,200,000 for the base period. In 1942 that profit just took on another cipher and became \$32,000,000.

Should these standard-product contractors be exempted from price adjustments? And where would the exemption line be drawn in the aircraft industry, which has become the biggest in world history by expanding from an annual output of \$200,000,000 in 1939 to \$20,000,000,000 in 1942? (An illustration of the fantastic profits in this industry is found in the salary increase of an executive of the Cessna Aircraft Company, as reported to the Securities and Exchange Commission. In 1940 this executive earned \$2,325; in 1942, \$89,851.) The definition of standard products would be good for endless legal arguments. Even battleships and tanks use many standard products.

Exemption of subcontractors whose goods do not enter into the final product would open the way for large profits in the lower tier of contractors, where they cannot be reached by procurement officers. And overpricing here, though creating higher costs for contractors at the top,

would also raise their profits, since it would increase their dollar volume. This amendment would free from renegotiation such companies as the toolmakers. According to Mr. Dodge, nineteen companies in this field increased their sales volume from \$29,400,000 in the base period to \$172,000,000 in 1942, and in the process their net profit jumped from \$5,000,000 before taxes to \$62,-000,000 before taxes and renegotiation. The retroactive provision would open the way for recovery by industry of large sums already refunded, such as the \$5,500,000 paid back by Warner and Swasey of Cleveland. This company made \$20,222,000 in 1942, against a peacetime average of \$1,900,000, and even after renegotiation and taxes made a profit of 50 per cent on its pre-war capital investment. The Lincoln Electric Company of Cleveland, which has refused to pay a renegotiation refund of \$3,250,000 determined by the navy board, would also escape through this loophole. Incidentally, James F. Lincoln, head of this company, whose suit to test the constitutionality of renegotiation is scheduled for trial in federal District Court next month, first suggested the amendment exempting subcontractors.

#### PRUDENT PROVIDERS

A strong case can be made for the claim that manufacturers should be allowed to salt away large sums to finance the return to peace-time production. But renegotiation will not prevent their doing so. In the first place, the big profit-makers have a lot of money left after renegotiation and taxes, in most cases more than they ever made in peace years. The evidence is spread on the record of Congressional committee hearings. In the second place, the tax laws make considerable provision for reconversion, including a post-war refund of 10 per cent of excess-profits taxes paid. Treasury estimates indicate that by the end of this year as much as \$26,000,000,000 may be available for post-war refunds. And in the third place, when some of these war contractors begin talking of reconversion funds they appear to want provision not only for known needs but for every contingency that could possibly arise, not excepting earthquakes.

If the profits under consideration were normal profits made out of civilian business it would be easy to go along with these prudent providers. But the money has come from the public till and must be paid out of taxes. If we admit that corporations should set aside for their own use millions made out of the war effort, we are saying that Smith, whose automobile agency was closed by the war, and Jones, whose business failed because of war shortages, should be taxed to insure that Brown suffers no loss while his war plant retools for velocipedes. And we are saying that in order to underwrite a job for War Worker Williams, Private Doakes should be taxed when he returns from his slit trench.

To argue that employment for Williams also will benefit Doakes is to miss the point here, which is not that there should be no reconversion funds but that they should be handled in another way. If they are to be charged to the war they should be distributed on the basis of need, not on the basis of who made the most money. For the manufacturer who made the most is likely to need the least help.

The provision for court review as now written not only would permit appeals on all future renegotiation proceedings but would reopen cases already decided. Two questions arise here: Will not court fights over renegotiation be so long drawn out as to make the entire statute ineffective? Are courts to decide fact as well as law, and if so, how is justice to be determined?

By the end of this month the War Department expects to complete renegotiation of 17,800 cases involving 1942 contracts. About 7,600 others have been or are being handled by Navy, Maritime Commission, and Treasury boards. An impossible burden would be thrown on the courts if a large proportion of the contractors involved in these cases decided to appeal. Litigation might drag on for years.

As for the second question: the courts can decide equity, but there is no legal precedent for renegotiation in determination of equity. Unless Congress passes a whole set of rules clearly defining costs, on what basis are the courts to decide cases? If a sufficiently flexible formula could be invoked, it could be set up to guide the price-adjustment boards. None has yet been found that will do the job. What makes renegotiation work is the fact that the boards can get at a company whose expenditures or profits are bloated and cut them down before the damage is irreparable—before excessive profits are put beyond reach and excessive costs reflected in inflationary prices. From this standpoint both court review and taxation are measures that lock the barn door after the horse has been stolen.

On this we have the word of business men themselves. The Sperry Corporation has called renegotiation "the only practical means yet developed to prevent unreasonable profits on war business." S. C. Allyn, president of the National Cash Register Company, whose contracts were renegotiated last year, told me recently: "I still think that renegotiation is the best way yet found or suggested to fulfil a necessary war-time function. Good faith is the saving factor and the unwritten element in every contract which protects both manufacturer and government. Renegotiation is nothing more than a means of exercising that good faith."

The list of business men who indorse the statute could be extended indefinitely. But a fighting minority, estimated by Under Secretary Patterson as less than 2 per cent of war contractors, have established a beachhead on Capitol Hill and are likely to win the battle unless the government officials who have been stoutly resisting them are strongly reinforced by public opinion.

# The South American Conspiracy

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile (by Air Mail)

THE Argentine movement has needed only six and a half months to spread to Bolivia; as with every epidemic, its germs found a propitious field in a country whose resistance was low. Bolivia was one of those "democracies" to which we have become accustomed—pro-democratic in foreign policy, dictatorial in internal policy. It was a clear target for local fascists.

Just as Napoleon after his death was still winning battles, so German Nazism advances in Latin America at the very moment it is bleeding to death in Europe. Make no mistake about it. What has happened in Bolivia has been a triumph for Hitler and a defeat for the puerile policy of "non-intervention" of the United States State Department,

I predicted the Bolivian coup d'état when I analyzed the rise of General Ramirez for the readers of *The Nation*.\* I declared that under the dual slogan of combating Yankee imperialism and communism the Ramirez regime would devote itself to the creation of an anti-democratic coalition in Latin America. Bolivia has been the second act in a drama which will be prolonged through more than the conventional three.

To understand the real significance of the change of government in Bolivia one must look back over the last two years. The Bolivian state was headed by a soldier without a grain of political sense. During the Chaco war. Enrique Peñaranda Castillo rose from simple private to be one of the highest officers in the Bolivian army. On April 15, 1940, he became the constitutional President of Bolivia. For two years he respected the constitution. Then the social inequity under which Bolivia was living led to demonstrations which he felt obliged to suppress. In December, 1942, several hundred workers were massacred in Catavi by the forces of the government. A great clamor of protest rose from all Hispanic America. But General Peñaranda had learned in the Chaco the use of the smoke screen, and in March, 1943, he embraced the Four Freedoms for the benefit of foreign public opinion and declared war on the Axis. Two months later he was invited to the United States. Dressed In academic robes, this soldier of the Chaco, this military dictator, was given an honorary degree by Columbia University.

Once a Doctor of Laws, General Peñaranda returned to this country with the conviction that he was one of the leading artisans of victory. He grew more aggressive.

" Argentina's New Rulers. July 10, 1943.

Now softly, now blatantly, he demanded a port for Bolivia. It was his best card in countering internal opposition. President Vargas of Brazil, actuated by his hostility to Argentina, promised Peñaranda an outlet through Santos, several thousand miles distant from Bolivia, and with no connecting railroad. This was surely very generous of the Brazilian dictator, but he rendered his Bolivian colleague no great service. Peñaranda's campaign for a port was rapidly discredited, and he returned from his tour of the United States with little more to offer his people than his academic triumphs.

Although no concrete news about it has leaked out, a secret clique of officers, patterned after the one operating in Argentina, is almost certainly at work in Bolivia. We do know about the recent activity of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, which was responsible for the overthrow. This movement is composed of former veterans of the Paraguayan war and of extreme nationalists who are as violently anti-United States as they are anti-Communist—in other words, exactly the same type of men as those who rule Argentina. It is well known in Santiago that Ramirez agents have visited Bolivia and that one of the most prominent leaders of the Bolivian movement, Colonel Taborga, was in Argentina for three months conferring daily with the colonels who engineered the Argentine coup.

Certain leftist elements, hating the Peñaranda government for its submission to the big mine-owners, were ready to support a revolt. Now they deny that Nazi groups had anything to do with the successful coup. Their protestations are unconvincing. The German Minister to Bolivia, the notorious Herr Wendler, Himmler's brother-in-law, who was thrown out of Bolivia because of his conspiratorial activities, was behind the movement Its organ is his newspaper, La Calle, whose editor is Armando Arce. La Calle is printed on German paper, stocked in La Paz. It is served by the well-known Nazi news agency, Trans-Ocean, and has always been suspected of secret dealings with the Japanese.

The ideological leader of the movement, Victor Paz Estenssoro, combines youth with brilliance and determination. A very capable lawyer and a member of Parliament, he is known as one of the most effective speakers in Bolivia. In an effort to secure the cooperation of all Bolivians, Peñaranda offered him the Ministry of Finance in 1940. Paz Estenssoro accepted but soon broke with Peñaranda and now, speaking over Radio America, a

station which had been closed for its pro-Nazi activities, attacks him as the evil spirit of Bolivia.

If Paz Estenssoro is the most showy personality in the movement, Walter Montenegro, also a young man, is considered its one-man brain trust. He has spent a great deal of time in Argentina, and is known for his passionate anti-imperialism. He is extremely subtle and so elastic in policy that he is able to obtain support from both sides.

Other important figures are Aliguato Céspedes, who lived in Chile for many years and is the author of two rather impressive books—"Sangre de Mestizos" ("Mixed Blood") and "Metal del Diablo," a violent satire on Patiño, the great Bolivian mine-owner; Hernán Siles Suazo, thirty-year-old lawyer, son of former President Siles, a man of honesty and energy and with a solid reputation, who will soon be prominent in the Bolivian press; and José Pinto, a cavalry colonel, who did not hide his sympathy for the Argentine colonels when he visited Chile recently.

It was unfortunate that the Argentine revolt was not taken as seriously as it deserved. It will be equally deplorable if the gravity of the Bolivian situation is minimized, or if public opinion is misled by the support of men who undoubtedly belong to the left and who have clean records. Certain indisputable facts must be kept in mind.

First, the coup d'état will have great inter-American repercussions. Peñaranda, a friend of Brazil, has been overthrown by partisans of Argentina. And the second step in the creation of a Grand Fascist Alliance in South America has been successfully carried out. Second, this success is undeniable evidence of the failure of United States policy toward Latin America, evidence which no diplomatic cleverness will be able to cover up. It proves the futility of trying to maintain cordial relations with dictatorships which have no internal support and which may be destroyed overnight, despite benedictions spoken in Washington. It proves that only genuine democratic regimes can win popular support and that an appeal to the people is the only way to counter the extraordinarily powerful fascist offensive now under way in Latin America. Third, it is a sign that we must be prepared for all kinds of incidents and conflicts in the Western Hemisphere. Of course, the new Bolivian government will continue the state of war with the Axis. It will not retreat an inch from the line laid down by Peñaranda. But behind it and within it are the elements which are trying to Nazify South America and all those fervent nationalists who are ready to precipitate conflict with Chile around the old issue of a port for Bolivia.

And now the third act of the conspiracy is in preparation. The agents of Argentine fascism are active here in Chile, but it is in Peru that they have the most immediate chances of success.

### 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TALY HAS HAD PEACE throughout the year just closed, but peace without tranquillity. . . . Brigands still infest the mountains. The finances of the country are at a low ebb. The King has lost his popularity. His foreign policy is undefined. The Parliament is rent with factious strifes. The people are restless. Garibaldi in his island is preparing for new adventurous attempts. Mazzini—from his sick-bed at Lugano, in Switzerland—preaches a new crusade against the Pope and his supporters. Final pacification is impossible as long as Rome remains severed from the kingdom.—

January 7, 1869.

THE NEWS FROM SPAIN IS BETTER than it was last week. The insurrections which broke out in Seville, Cadiz, and Malaga have been suppressed with little trouble and little bloodshed, the republicans showing nearly as great readiness in surrendering as in rising. The cause of these disturbances is . . the long delay in taking the national decision on the form of government and the belief of the republicans, whether well or ill founded, that the Provisional Government is using the delay to intrigue in favor of a monarchy.—January 7, 1869.

THERE IS, WE ARE ASSURED, no doubt that the Civil Service bill will be opposed by the leading men of both parties, and that there is little chance of its passing this session without strong pressure from public opinion. Practically the power of appointment to subordinate positions in the public service is now in the hands of Congressmen, and they use it for their own private benefit and that of their friends; and he must be a very sanguine person who expects them to give it up without a struggle.—[annary 14, 1869.

ON THURSDAY A BILL WAS INTRODUCED in the Senate to give Mrs. Lincoln a pension, on the ground that her husband being killed while in the discharge of his duty (and because he discharged it so well) as commander-inchief of the army and navy, his widow deserves a pension as much as the widow of any soldier or sailor.—January 21, 1869.

SCIENCE VERSUS PREJUDICE. Tobacco and Alcohol. I. It Does Pay to Smoke. II. The Coming Man Will Drink Wine. By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B., 16mo, cloth \$1.—(ADVT.) January 21, 1869.

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, Cambridge, Mass. Two terms beginning February 22 and September 13, 1869. The resident Professors are Theophilus Parsons, LL.D., Emory Washburn, LL.D., and Nathaniel Holmes, A.M. Gentlemen of distinction in the profession lecture from time to time on special topics. Application may be made for circulars or further information to either of the resident Professors.—(ADVI.) January 28, 1869.

# Why War Workers Strike

### The Case History of a Shipyard "Wildcat"

BY VICTOR H. JOHNSON

E SET off on our junket to Washington with considerable hope. We were happy to have avoided for at least a week the shutdown of two of the biggest and fastest naval shipyards in the country. Labor's "no-strike" pledge had been kept; through pleading and the faith of the men who work side by side with us we had held 43,000 rebellious shipworkers on the job. What, in turn, would Washington do for us in the way of adjusting the grievances of those men and keeping production going?

Washington was not cold or indifferent. In fact, I was surprised to find, in the same city that houses such a viciously anti-labor Congress, some understanding labor people. True, the story of trouble in the shipyards had preceded us, and the officials we reached knew we were

not casual visitors.

The first telephone contact made by the two rank-and-file members of our delegation of five was with Dr. John Steelman, head of the United States Conciliation Service. Dr. Steelman is one of the most down-to-earth government men you could possibly talk to. What his influence and power are among the other government labor people, I don't know. I suspect, though, that he is too straightforward and democratic to be popular with the red-tapers.

Dr. Steelman was already familiar with our case. After a few minutes of questions about details, he undertook to help get action. The mark of his sincerity was his giving us a definite time when he would have news; the mark of his democracy was the way he talked to us. "I know, Bud," he would say. "You have to have some-

thing to take back to those guys."

Dean Wayne Morse, one of the four members of the War Labor Board representing the public, was our next man. (We knew that the four labor members would go along with us; we expected the four employer members to stall; ultimately the decision would be up to the public members.) On the West Coast Dean Morse had a good reputation as a conciliator. In Washington he is known among union people as "the Dean," and they will tell you that he is a good man on vacations and substandard brackets but a tough adherent of the Little Steel formula.

Morse looks more like the male half of a Latin dancing team than a government official. He is young, lithe, dark; lacking the age and flesh of older officials, he has

assumed the dignity of judicial detachment. As he studied our reports and statistics, we were certain of one thing: this man would either do something about our case or plainly tell us he wouldn't.

"That's a pretty big speed-up you have," he said, apparently making comparison with other yards. "The accident report shows it, too. And you were close enough to a strike—there seems no doubt about that. What do you think it would take to straighten out the situation?"

"Two things," one of us answered. "The first is retroactivity—so the men will know that whatever they do get will go back to the time the old contract expired. They don't like the idea of being gypped during negotiation time. The second is vacations, vacations have already been granted in other plants, and our people are burned up because other workers are getting vacations and they're not. The argument for vacations is the company's accident report; a 72 per cent increase in accidents over the last six months shows that the men need a rest."

Morse looked relieved. "There I think I can do something for you. On anything that is not against the President's wage policy the board will do whatever it can. But any blanket wage increase for shipyards is out. Those orders are from the President. We will carry them out, that's all—until the White House decides otherwise."

On vacations and retroactivity, two concessions we believed would prevent a strike while the rest of the contract was being negotiated, the Dean moved quickly enough. First he discovered that our case was what is known as "in the files"—that is, it was buried with hundreds of other cases waiting consideration by the WLB. By telephone he consulted other board members, and we heard him advise interim orders on vacations and retroactivity, and argue that sufficient precedent had already been established in other cases. One of the other board members did not believe this and thought the company might jump the board for deciding a case without taking full evidence. Morse then asked if this legalistic fellow would join, if not in an order, in a strongly worded recommendation for vacations-strongly enough worded to be tantamount to an order.

We left the Dean's office with our case out of the files and with the conviction that he would live up to his promise to push it.

William Hammond Davis, chairman of the board, is the other extreme from Steelman and Morse. He is an old man—his white hair, his round, involved manner of speaking, his smug self-assurance are like those of an old-time mechanic who takes his superiority for granted and resents any innovations. Whereas with Morse we could come quickly to the point, we had to listen while Davis told us what the WLB would do if our men struck. All of this was foolish and beside the point, since we were entirely familiar with the WLB's policy of refusing to act during a strike. We had come to ask Davis's help in warding off a strike.

Where Morse had looked at the problem from a psychological viewpoint, with the obvious intention of stretching legality to fit an acute situation, Davis seemed bent on making the situation fit legality. Production speed, accident increase, the angry temper of a night shift that had already walked off the job, two big shipyards already shut down for four hours—none of these facts seemed to penetrate Davis's mind. Smug in his dictatorial economic power over millions of America's war workers, cracking his not very witty wisecracks about what he had done to John L. Lewis (interpreted by us as what he had done to 500,000 sweating, underpaid miners), and threatening sweetly to do likewise by our men, who had not struck, Mr. Davis would take up our case with the board "sometime in the near future."

Neither the president of our union, a fairly able pinner-downer, nor the rank-and-filers accompanying him could pin this old patent lawyer down to a definite time of action. We felt discouraged when we left his office, and feared that he would sabotage what Dean Morse and Dr. Steelman were trying to do. Meanwhile, the week our membership had given us to get results was sliding by.

Since Davis had given us what amounted to a polite brush-off, the next move was political pressure. Our shipyards are within the sphere of influence of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. Mayor Hague, take him or leave him, is an important cog in the New Deal political machine. He is a figure on the Democratic National Committee, a power in the backrooms; his Hudson County turns out a solid vote for F. D. R. Our delegation returned to Jersey City, consulted some people on labor's political-action committees, then took off for Washington again.

Representative Mary Norton and Mayor Hague telegraphed Davis urging action; down to Washington by plane came Hague's nephew and personal representative, Commissioner Frank Eggers of Jersey City. He and the shipyard delegates went to Davis's office.

The hand of Hague made a difference. Our delegation was not politely dismissed this time with, "Well, gentlemen, I am glad to have seen you." Instead, Mr. Davis leaned back and talked business—the business he should have talked in the first place. The Shipbuilding Commission was being reorganized with representatives of the procurement agencies—the navy and the Maritime Commission—left out. Our case would be one of the first heard by the new commission. Retroactivity, vacations, reclassifications, and other points—we were given to understand the new commission would consider these "favorably"; the implication was that they were in the bag.

At a mass-meeting of our membership held in Jersey City we reported on our Washington trips and the promises made by Davis. Our men are not unreasonable; they are as conscious of the war and of our obligations as any other group of citizens. They were pleased that the Shipbuilding Commission was being reorganized, that their case was out of the files. The War Labor Board was not dead; we had seen some of its members in the flesh. The meeting voted, in good spirits, to accept our recommendation to await action by the WLB.

### REWARD OF VIRTUE

Some of the responsibility for what subsequently happened in the two big shipyards we represented falls upon the shoulders of our delegation. We took Mr. Davis's promises, made after the intervention of Mayor Hague, at face value; we believed we had actually succeeded in getting the WLB to speed action on a case. Our president went off on a week's vacation, certain that he would have something definite to report to the membership next week. We who worked in the yard had the same hope.

But it was only wishful-thinking. After two weeks our phone calls to Washington grew more frantic. The day shift going out wanted to know when we were going to get action. The night shift coming in asked the same question. The WLB's regular answer was, "We're working on it." Sometimes when we'd call around three o'clock to try to get news for both shifts, we'd be told that Mr. Davis was out of town or "not in." The men standing around the phone would crack, "Suppose we go out of town, too?"

The union men who came into the office of who worked side by side with us, we could hold against a strike. Our problem was the unorganized, those who did not know what was being done, or what the situation was in Washington. Our union people, besides being better informed, also realized their responsibility to the "norstrike" pledge and the future of their organization. The unorganized were more for striking than the organized. Non-unionists baited us for "being afraid to strike."

A month of waiting brought an unorganized exodus from the yards. Discontented and wondering if the WLB would take six months or more as it had in other cases, many men decided not to wait for a vacation they might or might not get, or for possible petty raises under reclassifications. Ways were shut down for lack of men; superintendents complained that production was "going to hell." Around the yard appeared the slogan "No dues till we get action!"

Two months of the WLB's "working on it" produced no results as far as the men in the yards could see. Even sober old-time trade unionists, who knew that a strike would cost us public support and perhaps bring organizational disaster, spoke bitterly of "teaching that War Labor Board crowd a lesson." Spontaneous work stoppages, slowdowns, sitdowns multiplied. Union officials had a busy time nipping departmental demonstrations in the bud and keeping resentment from crystallizing into a general walkout. We tried to prevent news of the trouble from reaching the public; and so did the company, apparently.

Finally, we got a sitdown that we couldn't keep from the public or from the WLB. The hookers-on in the steelyard and plateshop sat down and refused to budge. The company tried to break it up by sending the men home. They went home, to return the next day and sit down again. After vain pleading by local union officials, John Green, national president of the Shipyard Workers, flew to the yards from Washington. It was a sad sight, the old leader of the shipyard workers standing on a flat-car, his gray head bare, valiantly trying to uphold the C. I. O's "no-strike" pledge. He was not met with boos and catcalls—just a respectful, deadly silence. The men were still sitting when he left the yard forlornly.

That was a critical night in the shipyards. The company ordered what it euphemistically calls its "riot squad" to stand by for a strike. Feeling for a sympathy strike with the hookers-on, as well as for our own grievances, ran high. We rank-and-file leaders of the swing shift in my yard called a meeting during our twentyminute lunch period. Nine hundred men crowded around the pipe-bench from which we spoke, and we didn't know whether we'd be mobbed or allowed to get away free. There was no word to be said in defense of the WLB. It stank-but Green had brought us certain information from Washington, information that could not be given out officially. If we could hold tight for another week, he felt sure that some of the clauses of the proposed contract would come through. Meanwhile, we had talked with spokesmen from the hookers-on; they asked us not to spread the strike. They were meeting with Green the next day and hoped to get their grievances straightened out. The War Labor Board, which we had thought dead, was not dead-it sent a telegram stating there would be no further consideration of our case until the hookers-on returned to work!

In the face of this coercion from the WLB and after taking up a collection for the hookers-on, the swing-shift crowd returned half-heartedly to work. The sitdowners next day voted to resume production; the welders put off their walkout. Our repeated plea for action was echoed by the returning hookers-on. But this time it was different. Though no open threat was made in the politely worded telegram we sent to the WLB, Washington could

draw its own conclusion. Unless there was action in the capital there was going to be action in the shipyards—plenty of it.

#### RUEING FROM WASHINGTON

The next week the Shipbuilding Commission issued a directive covering, with the exception of reclassifications, all the points at issue in our proposed contract. (On that one point the commission ruled that more time was needed to study other scales in the industry.) The union immediately put out a leaflet hailing a great labor victory. The men in the yards were led to believe they had really won. However, when we checked up on what had actually been granted, we found, in highlight, this: the union had obtained (1) a company check-off of dues under the maintenance-of-membership clause; (2) the right of shop stewards to operate on company time and property so long as they didn't interfere with production; (3) the right to use company bulletin boards for union notices.

These were all excellent gains for the union as an organization. On the demands affecting the rank and file, the following rulings were handed down;

- 1. One week's vacation was allowed for one year's service, provided that the employee had been employed in the yards before July 1, 1942. (This clause almost completely shut out the workers in one of the two yards from a vacation, inasmuch as the yard didn't open for production until after July 1, 1942.)
- 2. Two weeks' vacation for five years' service, effective in 1944. (In other words, men with five years' service were promised a vacation after July 1, 1944.)
  - 3. Sick leave was denied.
- 4. Hospitalization and a liberalized insurance clause were denied.
- 5. Retroactivity on reclassifications was given to us at the start of a paragraph but was taken away at the bottom by a clause leaving final discretionary power with the Shipbuilding Commission. (The union leaflet published only the first part of the paragraph.)

With production up five times over that of peace time, with costs of living up but wages held down by the WLB, it would seem that the shipyard operators would have jumped at such mild terms as Washington proposed. But the operators didn't jump. They appealed from the order, hitting chiefly at vacations on the ground that they were in reality "a wage raise."

#### THE LID BLOWS

Again our case went back to the WLB. Again the strike fever in the yard mounted, with little stoppages, numerous slowdowns. After another month of waiting, the yard "blew." Thirteen thousand men hit the bricks over the pleas of union officials and shop stewards. We were on a big-time wildcat strike. It tore and screeched over the radio; it tangled claws on editorial pages. And it shook Mr. Davis up in Washington.

President John Green of the Shipyard Workers was

ordered by Davis to intervene, on the tacit understanding that the WLB would act when production was resumed. Being somewhat wise in the ways of John Green and knowing his desire to protect the check-off already granted, we started the back-to-work movement even before he arrived. It was better to get the men back at work at the peak of their wildcat strength than to have the strike broken slowly by the union, Green, WLB pressure, and the draft boards. And, as we foresaw, Davis did act. The point is, he could have done it months before without being forced at the point of a strike.

From this experience and from the nature of the clauses granted and the clauses denied, to both the union and the company, and from other evidence too far afield to be covered in this article, I have drawn some definite conclusions about the War Labor Board and the general set-up of Mr. Roosevelt's war-time labor-grievance machinery:

- 1. War-time labor adjudication has not kept pace with the rest of the war program. War industry is generally working three shifts; government labor-grievance machinery works but one, and apparently not too conscientiously at that.
- 2. The WLB is a cautiously reactionary instrument under the domination of William Hammond Davis. The window-dressing of liberals like Wayne Morse amounts to that—window-dressing.
- 3. The policy of the War Labor Board is to give workers the minimum that will keep them from striking.
- 4. For selling to their memberships the meager gains made under WLB rulings, union officials are rewarded by maintenance of membership, closed shop, and automatic company check-off of union dues. If union leaders fail to sell WLB decisions to the membership, Mr. Davis threatens to withdraw the union-favoring clauses.
- 5. Many of the wildcat work stoppages, strikes, and slowdowns, and partial responsibility for some of the labor turnover in war industry, can be laid in the laps of Messrs. Davis, Vinson, and Byrnes. Besides erring frequently in their judgment as to how little they can give workers without bringing about a strike, their procedure is so slow that all official Washington is damned in the eyes of the workingman awaiting action. He decides, rightly, that the only way to get action is to strike.
- 6. Come election time it will be difficult for Mr. Roosevelt to explain away the activities of these gentlemen. Undoubtedly the closed shop, maintenance of membership, and check-offs will hold the top labor officials, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., on the President's bandwagon. But rank-and-file workers who have been through the ordeal of the WLB, and who have been more or less coerced into acceptance of its decisions, will be on the lookout for a liberal candidate of Presidential stature who will give the whole set-up the blasting it deserves.

### In the Wind

R. MAX BRAUER, who was mayor of a large German city during the Weimar Republic and is now working for the Federated Churches of Christ, addressed at Yale last week AMG officers studying the background of Germany. He had been asked to speak as an expert on municipal government in Germany, but instead spent most of his time urging reestablishment of the German Reich as it was in January, 1933, minimizing the importance of the Jewish problem, and offering the AMG officers advice on how to act toward civilians who might wish to establish a Soviet in Germany. The officers complained to the director of the school. He admitted that Dr. Brauer, who had been okayed by the OWI and other agencies, was guilty of bad judgment.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL REPORTS that "Spike" Movius, secretary to Senator Nye, had a hand in Nelson Sparke's book, "One Man—Wendell Willkie."

LABOR SHORTAGE: When J. W. Canant, publisher of the Monte Vista Journal of Colorado, and three of his printers became ill last week, an emergency call was sent to the war prisoners' camp at Monte Vista. The officer in charge canvassed the Nazis to find out whether any of them had had printing experience. A type-setter, a stenographer, and a press feeder were discovered. They were rushed to the Journal office, and the newspaper appeared on time.

AN AUCTION SALE at Christie's in London brought \$200 for sixteen bottles of Scotch whiskey. Nine bottles of Irish whiskey went for \$95, and five bottles of gin for \$64. A bottle and a half-bottle of Chartreuse sold for \$48, and \$35 was paid for a half-liter of green and a half-liter of yellow Chartreuse.

THE MOST POPULAR AMERICAN BOOKS during the last five years in Uruguay: "The Microbe Hunters" by Paul de Kruif, "Gone with the Wind" by Margaret Mitchell, "The Good Earth" by Pearl Buck, "Grapes of Wrath" by John Steinbeck, "World's End" by Upton Sinclair, "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell, "The Wild Palms" by William Faulkner, "Manhattan Transfer" by John Dos Passos, "Native Son" by Richard Wright.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Five Czechoslovakians were hanged on telegraph poles in retaliation for the wrecking of a freight train. The victims were four boys, one of them fifteen years of age, and a girl of sixteen. . . . A Czechoslovak woman was executed for failing to denounce her brother and sister-in-law to German authorities. . . . The Czechoslovak government has determined that the man responsible for the razing of Lidice is Hauptsturmführer Wiesmann, chief of the Gestapo in Kladno at the time.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Germany, 1944

POLITICAL warfare this year has one supreme objective—destruction of the Third Reich. In 1944 the United Nations must deal the decisive blow to Germany, in the political as well as in the military field. To understand the processes which will carry Germany to final defeat and through the period of transition that will follow its surrender, one must be intimately acquainted with the internal situation of Germany, its economic problems, frontier issues, the prospects of labor, the strength of the political opposition, and other factors which will determine the course the country will pursue once the National Socialist regime is destroyed.

In the coming year this section intends to devote particular attention to German problems. In an early issue it will begin a series of articles dealing with the subjects mentioned above. The commentary of Argus will continue to be a valuable background to this analysis. From the start his column has been welcomed by laymen and specialists alike. We know definitely that more than one official agency in the United States considers "Behind the Enemy Line" among the most accurate and serious sources of information on Germany.

We recently have had new evidence, in two important documents, of the exactness with which Argus has been interpreting German developments. One is a book; the other, a letter from Spain written by a person who has lately visited Berlin, and who was in a position to obtain information from authoritative sources.

The book, "Behind the Steel Wall" by Arvid Fredborg, will be brought out this week by the Viking Press. It covers a period which American journalists, obliged to leave the country after Pearl Harbor, have never been able to report on. Mr. Fredborg quit Germany only in the summer of 1943. He was able to feel the German pulse, to witness the immediate reaction of the people to some of the major events which changed the course of the war-the winter campaign of 1941-42 on the eastern front, the beginning of war weariness in the spring of 1942, Rommel's failure to bring his spectacular drive in Libya to a victorious conclusion, the catastrophe of Stalingrad, the final struggle in Africa, the intensified air raids of 1943, the deterioration of the German submarine war, and the decline of German prestige even among pseudoneutral states and satellites.

That the author is not distinguished either for imagination or political shrewdness is manifest in the last pages of the book, when he writes of the structure of post-war Europe. Probably under the spell of the com-

fortable Scandinavian monarchies, Mr. Fredborg finds nothing better to suggest for the Europe of 1945 than a universal return to monarchy. He becomes childish when he tries to read the future, but when he talks of the present he reveals a remarkable power of observation which recognizes the smallest detail as an integral part of the whole. His very lack of imagination gives the book the imprint of veracity. Mr. Fredborg is not a man of great vision, but as a chronicler of fact he is unexcelled.

Among the first impressions one gets from the book is that none of the evils and difficulties awaiting the German people as they move toward defeat will be anything new. Except for the final collapse itself, the Germans have already gone through the most trying experiences possible. In the coming months those experiences may, of course, be repeated in such aggravated form that they can no longer be endured. But in evaluating them, one should keep in mind Mr. Fredborg's observation. "Often," he says, "I had occasion to reflect on the fantastic tenacity that the Germans displayed; their endurance seemed only short of the miraculous.

The encouraging stories we have read, from Ankara and Stockholm and Berne, of growing unrest in Germany must be scrutinized with a sense of proportion. To begin with, neither the degeneration of morale, nor the internal feuds among Nazi leaders, nor the difficulties in obtaining food, nor the decreasing faith in Hitler, nor the late of the people for the party, nor the acts of sabotage are unprecedented. All through 1942 and 1943 Mr. Fredborg was a witness to these developments, and he reports them with his customary scrupulousness but without ever deluding himself that they are sufficient to bring Germany to its knees.

As early as the summer of 1942, Mr. Fredborg states, "morale was declining in many ways." A wave of rumors suddenly swept over Berlin. Characteristically, they referred primarily to the most hated and feared person in the country—the chief of the German police. Some rumors said that he was dead; others that he had been injured in a plane crash on his way to Norway; others that the General Staff had forced him to retire after he had drawn a revolver and shot a general in the presence of Hitler. As in most rumors there was in these a kernel of truth. Just about the time they were circulating, Berlin bookstores received a secret letter from the Propaganda Ministry instructing them to remove pictures of Heinrich Himmler from display. But very soon after

he had apparently fallen from favor, Himmler's influence was restored. Instead of diminishing, his power steadily increased until he became the most important minister of the Reich. Even Air Marshal Göring, after persisting for several months in his determination not to give up a single unit of the Luftwaffe, finally yielded to Himmler enough planes to build up an air corps for the S. S.

Every fresh lapse of confidence resulted in new powers for the Gestapo. Mr. Fredborg gives interesting details about its present strength, which he estimates to be at least 500,000 men equipped with every modern weapon. He tells how the Gestapo has been trained in the art of street warfare; how it has developed a system of internal espionage that exceeds the most dramatic underground reports; how it stimulates the slightest symptoms of articulate opposition into real rebellion, using the methods once followed by the Czar's secret police, thereby making possible the arrest of everyone suspected not only of illegal activities but of "illegal thinking."

Just as Himmler has emerged victorious from his various disputes with more moderate elements, so does every other conflict with the conservative forces of the country result in their defeat. Dissatisfaction with judges who still exhibited a pedantic respect for tradition was settled by the appointment of Dr. Thierack as Minister of Justice, with the party fanatic, Rothenberger, as his assistant minister. (A cable on January 3, 1944, stated that the latter had been dismissed from his post; the reason was not given, but possibly he went too far in disciplining the tribunals.) Judges are treated as puppets. No deference is paid to impartial justice. Even as old a party member as Governor General Frank of Poland had to pay for the crime of having said in a lecture that the totalitarian system was compatible with security under law and that the National Socialist state should not degenerate into a mere police state. Within the party it was expected that Frank would be appointed to the post Thierack now occupies, but a Germany that is rapidly losing the war cannot leave the administration of justice to such a flabby disciple of National Socialism.

Also, much of what we have heard about disagreements between the Führer and his generals is true. When the man who was considered the brains of the German army, General Halder, was replaced as chief of the General Staff by an unknown officer who only a month before had been a simple colonel, a break between the party and the Reichswehr seemed imminent. All the foreign correspondents in Berlin were after the story. But nothing grave happened then or later. Since December, 1942, General Zeitzler, piling defeat on defeat, has performed his duties as Chief of Staff, with no higher qualification for his post than his ability to get along well with the supreme commander.

The Swedish journalist's account of two years in Germany describes frequent periods of extreme pessimism. He shows a people which sees its chances of victory rapidly vanishing, cities and houses destroyed by continuous air raids, working hours increased until ten hours a day is the minimum and eleven or twelve the average. It is exactly the same picture drawn in the interesting letter mentioned above, dated November 30—just five months after Fredborg left Berlin.

"Suddenly," the writer says, "Germany has become a land without joy; the men in uniform look like automatons, and only one emotion illuminates their faces—a growing sense of fear. People walk mechanically on their way to the factories and on their way home. They still eat abundantly, but they no longer enjoy their food. Much stronger than the desire to eat is the desire to get an extra hour of sleep to compensate for the sleepless nights to which the bombing raids are subjecting the population of the large cities."

"Until recently," the letter continues, "the soldiers who had permission to return from the front were systematically used to encourage the home population. Now their efficiency for any kind of psychological propaganda has diminished enormously. They don't come home enthusiastic and aggressive, but complaining of the lack of German planes and of the terrific tenacity of the Russians."

In the midst of those pathetic, pessimistic masses a growing section of the German people is seeking the way out. Mr. Fredborg is particularly cautious in speaking of the present strength and chances of the underground. What role the opposition in Germany may play in the future he does not know. He has divided the opposition into four main groups-monarchists, liberals, Socialists, and Communists. In the autumn of 1942 it was estimated that 150,000 persons had joined the underground. During 1943 their number increased. They have even obtained weapons, chiefly by bribing the men who supply military depots; these are ready to report abnormal "losses" of the arms in their charge if they are paid with coffee or with other scarce foodstuffs. "But from a purely technical point of view," Mr Fredborg states with certainty, "the opposition is still hopelessly inferior to the regime."

Under such circumstances it is difficult for a Minister of Propaganda to find successful new slogans, but there is still one that acts as a stimulant. According to Mr. Fredborg, even in the summer of 1942 "Never Again 1918" was the best propaganda slogan the National Socialists could have wished for. It is the one most frequently used today. It runs through Hitler's last New Year's proclamation, and apparently its force is recognized by Herr Goebbels, on whose audacity and energy the author of "Behind the Steel Wall" and the writer of the letter agree. "Nazi leaders," says the latter, "now

frequently address the workers. They are listened to in silence or with forced applause. Only one man is still more or less successful in warming up the crowd. That is Dr. Goebbels. After he visits a factory, a vague optimism prevails and lasts for a few days-but not much longer."

"Never Again 1918" sounds quite firm. But can another 1918 be avoided? Is there any chance for the Third Reich to escape defeat? According to the Swedish journalist, some leading Nazis still believe there is. They like to point to the situation in 1762. Toward the end of the Seven Years' War, when Frederick the Great stood alone against two great empires, Austria and Russia, it looked as though nothing could save him. But the Empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and her successor, Peter III, offered Frederick a separate peace. "Perhaps once more," they say, "rescue may come from Russia."

But when Mr. Fredborg left Berlin, the Teheran conference had not yet taken place, nor had the Russian armies crossed the Polish border.

A. DEL V.

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ONSTANZ is a small German city of 34,000 inhabitants on the Swiss border. When a person in Konstanz dies, the family, in accordance with German custom, inserts a death notice in the local newspaper, the Bodensee-Rundschau. A Swiss newpaper conceived the idea of examining the back numbers of the Bodensee-Rundschau to see how many of the death notices since the beginning of the war were those of soldiers and officers killed in battle. It discovered that up to the middle of December 3,794 of the announcements referred to men fallen at the front.

This figure, however, included soldiers from the surrounding region as well as from the city of Konstanz and therefore could not be set against the 34,000 inhabitants-it would have represented a frightful percentage. But it could be compared with the region's losses in 1914-18. During the First World War the population of Konstanz was just about the same as now, and the Bodensee-Rundschau printed the death notices of 3,083 soldiers. If Konstanz can be considered typical of the country as a whole, and if these deaths are a reliable index, 20 per cent more men have fallen in this war than in the last.

The Swiss newspaper which dug up these bare facts, the Schaffhausen Arbeiter-Zeitung, rounded them out in its issue of December 23 with some human-interest details. Many of the recent notices, it said, were inserted by elderly people who "announced the death of their last son." In others "peasants mourned the last prop of farm and field." "Some parents have lost three sons; one eighty-year-old woman has lost seven grandsons in Russia. . . . Women have become widows a few days after their wedding; old people have committed suicide from grief; young girls have drowned themselves in Lake Constance or taken poison. There have been no fewer than seventy-six suicides in Konstanz since the Russian war started."

Information of a more general character about German losses and the present strength of the German army has been gathered by another Swiss newspaper. Germany's Winter Army Number 3 is the title of an article in the Zurich weekly the Weltwoche for December 3. Based on facts obtained from apparently reliable sources, it begins with the following statement:

Nearly all German men between seventeen and fiftythree-those born between 1890 and 1920-are now in uniform. Those born in 1898 and later-forty-five years old and younger-are in combatant service at the front; those born before 1898 are serving behind the lines. The sixteen-year-old boys, born in 1927, must register for military service in January, but about onefifth of the boys of this class have already enlisted.

The most decisive factor in the present situation, according to this account, is the continually decreasing strength of the army in spite of the regime's efforts to drain the last drop from the man-power reservoir. For about sixteen months "losses have exceeded new enlistments." The numerical strength of the German army "reached its peak when the Germans were approaching Stalingrad and Cairo; at that time 16,000,000 troops of all categories had been called to the colors." Today the total strength of the German army, according to "reliable estimates," is "somewhat less than 10,000,000. Thus in spite of the mobilization of new classes and the induction of men combed out of various kinds of civilian work, the effectives of the German army have diminished by more than one-third in the past fifteen months."

But though the number of soldiers has decreased, the number of divisions, this article declares, has remained the same. Thus "the average strength of a German division has grown steadily less for almost two years. Today division of 16,500 men is the exception. Most divisions contain about 13,000 men, and some stationed in occupied countries are even smaller. In France, for instance, six months ago fifty-five railroad trains were required to move a division; today forty suffice." Even the thirty to thirty-five armored divisions, though they still exist, have no longer their old strength. Hardly a one has the normal quota of 360 tanks. And what is most important, while a short time ago every German armored division had behind it both a "replacement" and a "reserve" division, now in almost every case the reserve division has disappeared.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

### Power and the Common Man

COMMON CAUSE. By G. A. Borgese. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

Y SOLE objection to this magnificent book is that "the bride is too fair." Borgese does not believe in an economy of scarcity. He will not plow under any felicity of speech—allusion, alliteration, or even the lowliest pun. His pages are masterpieces of baroque art: every nook is adorned, and every ornament beckons with dramatic urgency. Others may prefer chaster modes—Spartan, Calvinistic, or Voltairean. But I am using "baroque" as a definition, not as a stricture. We cannot forget that Shakespeare is the supreme achievement of the baroque.

A stylist, but no mere stylist, for the thought is as luxuriant as the form. "Common Cause" is a Summa: a truly philosophical book which embraces religion as well as history, politics, and economics. Vast as the sweep is, the details are not blurred. The discussions of Catholic policy and of Churchillian Toryism, for instance, are masterly—and deadly—in their definiteness.

It is impossible to sum up such a book without destroying its unique quality. Reduced to common terms, the Common Cause is that of the Common Man, and it has been adequately voiced by Henry Wallace. This is not "war as usual" but Armageddon; in Wilsonian phrase, the war to end war. Material victory is necessary, but not sufficient. Who is to surrender, and to what? Material blueprints for peace—Culbertson's is the most glaring example—are pathetic. Peace is of the spirit. We have not begun to fight, for we have not voiced the faith that is in us.

The cause of the common man "everywhere in the world." Anything short of that, any form of privilege, selfishness, or greed, means a shift of power, not peace. Nationalism is the arch heresy. Imperialism is but an exaggerated case: if we crave power and prestige, it must be at some other; expense. A name for the special brand of Anglo-Saxon nationalism or imperialism might be "peculiarism"—splendid isolation, limited liabilities, special reservations in the common law. The second curse is "pecuniarism"—Mammonworship, the profit motive, now camouflaged as "free enterprise." The third and worse is racialism, the refusal to admit our common humanity. Caste in India, the Herrenvolk fallacy, Kipling's "lesser breeds," our immigration quotas based on the Nordic myth, are all variants of racialism, all denials of the Common Cause.

Borgese wants to serve the Common Man because he has faith in him: "He is kind, he is temperate, he is orderly." Truly a touching Rousseauistic-Jeffersonian faith. Not unrealistic, Borgese would not preclude Taine's definition of the Common Man—"a ferocious and lustful gorilla." But any common effort has to be based on the social propensities of the Common Man, not on his anarchical instincts. In other words, every organized state, local or worldwide, is of necessity a striving for Utopia; it must embody the will to

make justice prevail. Any state committed, within or without, to the fostering of selfishness is divided and shall fall.

The America of the Founders is committed to the Common Cause. Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt are high priests of one enduring faith. This is truly America's business: to raise a standard to which the honest and the wise can repair. But-and this was true even in the days of Washington-we are also filled with the fear of the Common Man, the fear of brutal revolution. Our second line of thought-often uppermost-is that of Burke. Joseph de Maistre, Metternich, Carlyle, Taine, Ferrero. The defense of privilege takes advantage of that legitimate fear and masquerades as a pessimistic view of human nature. The beast in man must be curbed—and the beast is the mass demanding an equitable share. Hence our anti-bolshevismwe have not yet suppressed Martin Dies-and the "Rather Hitler than Blum!" attitude which led us to shady deals with Darlan and Badoglio.

We, Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, must recognize that the Common Cause is revolutionary, so long as privilege clings to power. We cannot avert revolution without betraying our cause. But we have the power to effect the revolution ourselves, as part of the great upheaval of war. If our arms carry the Jeffersonian revolution to Europe—and India and China—the Common Man may prove to be what we know him to be among us, "kind, temperate, orderly." If we try to force upon him ancient wrongs, violence will ensue.

In such a schematic form this gospel might be dismissed as naive. But the incredible subtlety and richness of the book are the decisive argument. In its steady light it is the cynics who appear crude and unrealistic. Munich and the Darlan deal were very poor strokes of business. Intelligence pays.

Of course, among servants of the Common Cause there are points of difference—usually mere questions of emphasis. Borgese's defense of the "monarchical" principle sounds paradoxical. I agree that decisions cannot be reached without leadership. The parliamentary system has collapsed everywhere, even in England; and the spectacle of our acephalous Congress in 1943 is an irrefutable demonstration. But there is in Borgese's conception of the leader a tinge of the "hero" or "providential-man" fallacy which is almost pre-fascist. Executives we need, not supermen. The responsibility for the Common Cause lies with us common men. It is for us to force Roosevelt, Wallace, or Willkie to lead us the way we want to go.

Borgese denounces all privileges. Yet he seems to have faith in the privilege of mass or might. He thinks in terms of "the Big Two," which he calls the Britannistic world—mostly American—and Soviet Russia. This is a relapse into the "realism" of power. Power, he knows, is transient Tomorrow Japan's dream might come true: Pan-Asia united against the White Man. Who appointed the Big Two trustees for mankind? Trusteeship is another word for hegemony, the white man's burden.

These are differences in accent—Borgese says Mazzini when I would say Lamennais or Michelet; they do not alter our essential agreement. Servants of the Common Cause, this should be your Book.

ALBERT GUERARD

### The Best of Military Thought

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY: MILITARY
THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO HITLER.
Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University
Press. \$3.75.

T IS seldom that any book can lay claim to being unique, yet "Makers of Modern Strategy" has that distinction. In an extremely meaty volume of 550 pages no fewer than twenty authors, working under the leadership of Dr. Edward M. Earle of the Princeton University Institute of Advanced Studies, have summarized the best thinking and writing on war of the last three centuries. Their work makes readily available much valuable information which could hardly have been obtained in even the best American libraries.

Their method is mainly biographical. The doctrines of Machiavelli, Vauban, Frederick the Great, Jomini and Clausewitz, Foch, Lyautey, Churchill, Ludendorff, Stalin, Trotsky, Haushofer, Mahan, Douhet, Hitler, and others are studied through their lives and writings. The figures chosen for study will surprise many. Only two Americans, Mahan and General William Mitchell are among them, Napoleon's principles are examined only through his interpreters, and such able commanders as Lee, Jackson, and Marlborough are omitted, either because they left no written record of their theories or because their main contribution was in the field of tactics. On the other hand, Alexander Hamilton, Marx and Engels, Delbruck, and Lenin are included because of their contribution to the study of strategy in its non-military phases. Possibly as an offset to the predominantly biographical approach, two chapters—one by Theodore Ropp, the other by Alexander Kiralfy-discuss continental concepts of sea power and Japanese naval strategy.

As always in a volume representing many styles and points of view, the writing, though it shows uniformly high scholarship, is uneven in literary quality. A few chapters are by writers of no great talent and are frankly boring. In certain other cases it was evidently impossible to secure the most competent authority. But as a whole "Makers of Modern Strategy" reflects the highest credit on the editor, the Princeton University Press, and most of the authors.

Lack of space prevents any detailed account of a book of this type. Two of the three chapters contributed by the editor, one dealing with Hiller and the other with Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and the Soviet concept of war, are of especial interest at the present time. In the chapter on Hitler Dr. Earle presents an admirable synthesis and interpretation of known facts. The Nazi leader, he believes, is one of the ablest of all experts in political warfare but not of equal stature as a strategist. The material on the Soviets is not so well known and goes far toward explaining the reasons why the Red Army has amazed nearly everyone. In uncovering the genius of the despised and often overlooked Trotsky Dr. Earle does not in any way slight Stalin, whose able preparation for war

through the various five-year plans and whose extremely harsh decisions in the present war were as certainly correct. Kiralfy, in discussing Japanese naval strategy, advances the view that the navy is regarded as an auxiliary to the army in carrying on land offensives in nearby territories. Our enemy, he believes, does not understand the meaning of command of the sea as the term is used in Great Britain and the United States. An American soldier writing under a pseudonym brilliantly describes the military sickness exemplified in the doctrines of Liddell Hart and Maginot, which paved the way for Hitler's early successes. One other chapter, written by Captain Harvey DeWeerd, is worth the closest attention. It discussed the civilian war leaders Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Churchill, and their guidance of the often over-conservative and sometimes stupid military leaders of their countries into the correct decisions. There are other excellent discussions, but these half-dozen chapters stand out. DONALD W. MITCHELL

### Poetry in Review

F TWENTY books of poetry I have read during the past weeks two separate themselves quickly from the sorry remainder. The two worth reading are Louis Aragon's "Le Crève-Coeur" (Pantheon Books; paper, \$1; cloth, \$2) and George Barker's "Sacred and Secular Elegies" (New Directions, \$1).

"Le Crève-Coeur" comprises some twenty poems written between October, 1939, and October, 1940. They were published in France, banned by the Germans, and smuggled into England; and they are now introduced to the American reader by the English critic Cyril Connolly. Connolly hails Aragon as "the first poet of the United Nations to make music out of the war," and he trusts that Aragon's success will act as an impetus to other poets. I find myself less concerned, however, with the attribution of the title of "war poet" to Aragon than with the conviction that poets make music out of words, and that in time of war the very grammar of life, as well as of language, seems to fall apart. How, then, could Aragon experience the chaos and the personal attrition of the war with all its ingenious forces of deprivation, and translate that experience into poetry? Aragon speaks for more than himself when he says: "Presque chaque chose à quoi nous nous heurtons dans cette guerre étrange qui est le paysage d'une poésie inconnue et terrible est nouvelle au langage et étrangère encore à la poésie."

The theme of almost all the poems is not so much the war as it is the absence of love:

Femmes qui connaissez enfin comme nous-mêmes Le paradis perdu de nos bras dénoués Entendez-vous nos voix qui murmurent Je t'aime Et votre lèvre à l'air donne un baiser troué

In the second of the following stanzas from Le Printemps, note how the emotional effect is obtained by means of technical proficiency:

Mais nous sans yeux nous sans amour nous sans cerveau Fantômes qui vivons séparés de nous-mêmes Vainement nous attendions le renouveau Nous n'avons inventé que d'anciens blasphèmes

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Here are the last two stanzas of perhaps his best poem, Zone Libre, written in September, 1940:

> J'ai perdu je ne sais comment Le noir secret de mon tourment A son tour l'ombre se démembre Je cherchais à n'en plus finir Cette douleur sans souvenir Quand parut l'aube de septembre

> Mon amour j'étais dans tes bras Au dehors quelqu'un murmura Une vieille chanson de France Mon mal enfin s'est reconnu Et son refrain comme un pied nu Troubla l'eau verte du silence

Discipline in poetry is twofold—the inherited tradition in which the poet writes, and the poet's technique, the means by which he uses his tradition to express his own meaning. Aragon, like other serious modern artists, is aware that he must subject his talents to the greatest possible amount of self-imposed opposition. That is, the struggle between what the poet wants to say and its expression within the literary tradition must be made difficult or the poem, the resolution of the struggle, will not be worth achieving. Moreover, it frequently happens that the opposition must be exerted in the field of the poet's greatest facility. If it lies in his sensibility—or in his imagination, or in his intellect—it is just that quality he must discipline most or fall victim to his own facility.

Aragon's extraordinary concern with the technical matters of poetry-especially his employment of new kinds of rhyme and rhyme schemes and varied and complicated stanzaic forms-goes far in accounting for his success. Rhyme is much more important to French poetry-which, generally speaking, has no fixed accent-than it is to English verse, and Aragon uses run-over rhymes, as well as end-stopped and internal rhymes, originally and with thrilling effect. Technical innovations are never exercised for their own sake; they are unobtrusive, and clarify rather than obscure his meaning. Nothing is more difficult than the communication of simple emotion in art. Indeed, the continual threat of the censors that forced Aragon at times to mask names and places served as an additional hazard assisting him to objectify, to "ground," what might otherwise have been the self-consuming tumult of his own feelings.

Rhyme and stanza provide the framework that contains and controls the emotion and causes it to emerge as an indissoluble part of the poem, because Aragon expresses himself within the whole tradition of French poetry. Without that connection his meaning would be isolated and merely personal. A good deal of his technical equipment is drawn from the reservoir of the past—from Old French and Provençal poetry, from the Renaissance poets, from popular and folk songs, and, indirectly, from the influence of post-comantic poetry on the language. His Alexandrines recall Racine as well as Baudelaire, and his octosyllabics bring both Villon and Apollinaire to mind. The point is that after years

of exile Aragon has returned to his own tradition. He has recovered the lost thread of his poetry, ironically enough, at a time when he has been forced into involuntary exile from France. His poems are "heartbreaking" because he has returned to his tradition and because he is master of his medium, not because he has lived through three wars (and three betrayals), or because he is so much in love with his wife (Connolly calls it "the inestimable reward of thirteen years of live marriage"), or, finally, because for ten years he was trained in "political reality" as a Communist.

George Barker does have genius, and his new poems do show an advance over his previous work, but despite his sonorous verbal magnificence, one is again left with the impression of having been present at a pageant of sound without movement. He now manages to get more movement within the line by varying the caesura (all writers of blank verse should be compelled to read Milton); his beat is less regular; and he has more to say. Yet the total effect of the twelve elegies is monotonous. Barker tends to luxuriate in richness of sound, and the direct consequence of that surrender is lack of variety. Consider, for instance, the last stanza of the first Sacred Elegy:

Lovers for whom the world is always absent Move in their lonely union like twin stars Twining bright destinies around their cause: They dazzle to dark with a meridian present The wallflower world. Redundant it shall resent The kiss that annihilates it and the gaze that razes. O from their clasp a new astronomy rises Where, morning and evening, the dominant Venus, To let us kiss behind the mask of faces, Dismisses all sad worlds that turn between us.

Even a cursory examination of these lines will reveal how he makes his sound travel. Alliteration, assonance, imperfect rhymes are the medium in which vowels and consonants, like notes in a musical phrase, are anticipated, carried over, and reechoed; sentences rise, curve, and fall; and we have an orchestral accompaniment that overwhelms the meaning. Note especially, "Redundant it shall resent," which most certainly does have a clear meaning in the context. (Also "the gaze that razes.") The reduplication of sound and letters to the ear and to the eye, the insistent demand on the immediate senses, smothers or nearly effaces the meaning of the words. Prodigal use of repetition for musical effect is bound to become monotonous. And Barker's fondness for blank verse, almost as a musical measure, leads him-notwithstanding the imperfect rhymes-directly into the arena of his greatest danger; so that he will yield to the temptation of mere sound, and force his conquerors to "Thrash on the hotbed of their terrible onus." "Your eye on the income and the encomium" is another example.

Barker writes beautifully within his tradition, but as yet he does not command the technical means to represent himself simply and honestly. Technical incompetence can make a liar out of any artist. No, the problems obstructing his complete development as a poet must be met the hardest way and by the strictest discipline. If Barker is the serious poet I think he is, he must stop his ears, he must wring the neck of his eloquence, he must modulate his voice. Only then will he be able to say what he wants to say of love and

# "We All Stand Before the Bar of History, Humanity and God"

These solemn words were uttered some months ago by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a speech urging action to prevent the mass extermination of the Jews of Europe by Nazi Germany.

We repeat these solemn words of the head of the Church of England, for the need for immediate action is now even greater.

The fiendish minds of Nazi Germany have set up an official "Extermination Commission" dedicated to murdering the Jews of Europe before the war ends. The number of Jews already murdered exceeds the combined total of all of the United Nations' war fatalities, excepting Russia and China. This constitutes one of the darkest pages in the annals of human history.

The conscience of our Nation has been deeply shaken by this ghastly situation. From the length and breadth of our Nation, expressions of sympathy and voices of anger are rising. But this alone cannot stay the hand of the murderers.

### THERE ARE PRACTICAL MEASURES

The first prerequisite for action on such a vast. grave and urgent problem is to invest responsibility and authority in a group of men and charge them to concentrate their efforts and energies on this task.

It is with this in view that leading statesmen have introduced a resolution in Congress urging:

"the creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action, designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany,"

There are many practical measures for saving the Jews in Europe, measures which such a Commission will verify and effectuate.

Much can be done for the Jews in Europe WHERE

THEY ARE. The very creation of this Commission . . . announced by short-wave radio to the entire world, to the tormented victims as well as to the Godless enemy and his shaky satellites . . . will have a profound influence on the destiny of the Jews in Europe.

For the many Jews who can be taken out of Europe, there are nearby accessible territories . . . Cyprus, North Africa, Turkey, Palestine, and other countries near Europe . . . which can easily give temporary asylum to vast numbers of men, women and children now trapped in the ghastly ghettos and execution camps of Poland.

### WHAT HAS HELD UP ACTION?

President Roosevelt answered this when he declared, "The heart is in the right place, but it is a question of ways and means."

The Resolution now before Congress provides the answer to the "ways and means" question.

The Jews of Europe will not be saved so long as special machinery for such action is lacking. That is why a Commission to Save the Jewish People of Europe should be created.

### EXTERMINATION OR SALVATION?

The Nazis have created their Commission for the EXTERMINATION of millions of innocent men, women and children only because they are Jews. We, free Americans, should now create our Commission for the SALVATION of these human beings. Let us act with strength, nobility and compassion, in the finest tradition of America.

Monday opened the second session of the 78th American Congress. The Rescue Resolution still pending. A unanimous public opinion should express its wish that this Resolution be passed without delay. Wire or write your Senators and Congressmen. Request their cooperation.

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country, history, the river god of the blood, and whatever else. Then his sound will articulate his meaning. In the meantime, read this aloud:

> O Golden Fleece she is where she lies tonight Trammeled in her sheets like midsummer on a bed, Kisses like moths flicker over her bright Mouth, and, as she turns her head, All space moves over to give her beauty room.

Kenneth Patchen's "Cloth of the Tempest" (Harper and Brothers, \$2.75) makes me think of the saying that everything an artist spits is art. It is not true of Mr. Patchen. Unlike Aragon, and Barker (who is English), Patchen is unencumbered by either tradition or technique. The Walt Whitman school from which he vaguely stems is not a

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tradition in the sense that it provides a working discipline: if the "song-of-myself" poet is to amount to anything he must start from scratch, an almost impossible task. Patchen has written 204 poems about everything from the childhood of God to the Supreme Court of the United States. He takes the position of primal innocence in relation to the world and the cosmos, which exist for him only in so far as he experiences them. He therefore tries to create miracles, as if everything could be beckoned into being by the omniscience of his feelings. But actually his poetic visions turn into mirages, for his images are so all-inclusive that they are open to all meaning and consequently have none-merely "phantomshaded fancyhood." Patchen is not a serious poet. And his fulsome self-indulgence, combined with the continual intrusion of a personality that insists on talking, singing, weeping, fighting, and cooing to itself, is very trying.

From the point of view of the state of contemporary American poetry Patchen is interesting. He represents, in effect, the latest formula—all that was new in poetry twenty-five years ago appropriated and devitalized to meet the demands of the reader who is ready for poetry only when it becomes an imitation of poetry. It is no more than to describe the operation of poetry justice to add that the reader who cares for poetry only as a commodity will leave him after a while, simply because of the small disturbing presence of the genuine talent the poet once had, and has so outrageously abused. Again, it is the abysmal depths to which criticism in the United States has sunk that, more than anything else, is responsible for these poems.

H. P. LAZARUS

### Marshal Smuts

JAN SMUTS: A BIOGRAPHY. By F. S. Crafford. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.50.

UCH of the gilt assiduously applied to Jan Smuts's reputation by his ardent admirers is knocked off by this solid and conscientious biographical study written by an Afrikaans-speaking high-school teacher. Smuts remains nevertheless a complex and remarkable man who would be an exceptional figure in any environment. What he ceases to be, in the light of the facts of his South African career, is a disembodied, idealistic intelligence, bent exclusively on higher things.

Our views of foreign statesmen are often curiously distorted because we do not know the circumstances of their domestic careers which tell us how their idealism is practiced, or not practiced, and with what results. At home Smuts is widely disliked, not always for admirable reasons, but on Mr. Crafford's evidence he can be honorably disliked for his consuming lust for power, his dictatorial ruthlessness with opponents, his strong anti-democratic bias, his anti-labor and anti-native record, and his total dedication to the African imperialism of Cecil Rhodes. Smuts's life has been a problem in reconciling high-minded verbal idealism and practical decency in government, and he has notably failed to solve it. In fact, this is a contradiction which plagues the world today. It is therefore rather characteristic that Smuts the idealist is once more being vaunted to the skies, while the Smuts

who settles strikes with gun fire and excludes the African natives from his philosophic "holism" is played down or ignored. Mr. Crafford restores a proper balance.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

### FILMS

OST ANGEL" undertakes one of the few dramatic subjects worth a second thought: the bringing-up of a child. The child, who is, with occasional skids, very poignantly played by Margaret O'Brien, is a foundling whom a set of psychologists adopt, name Alpha, and do their worst with. By the time she is six she is an air-conditioned genius. Then a newspaper reporter flicks a wild card into her deck. For the first time she hears of, and experiences, the possibilities of the irrational, the irregular, the inexplicable, the magical. For the first time she becomes aware of love, and suffers it. Moral: Never trust your own, or anybody's, intelligence about a child; love is all that really matters.

There are grimly misleading and mismanaged things about this picture. Much as I mistrust the run of child-psychologists and progressive educators I don't like to see it implied, even in myth, that they are unaware of the indispensable importance, to a child, of parental love or the best available substitute. They are likely to militate against any fruitful love far more frighteningly through the antiseptic, utilitarian, neo-pietistic quality of their recognition than through ignorance. It is unlikely, too, that a child under their seal would see the city, or meet another child, for the first time, only after running away from them. Rather, the child would be so hermetically "well adjusted," so thoroughly anaesthetized, to both that a naked realization of either would be one of its gravest difficulties. I like hardly better seeing the loose sentimentalities of a narcissistic reporter (James Craig) set up as a working model for the cure-all. And I don't like at all such needless complications as the gunman who is tossed in for New Yorkerish laughs, or the general unimaginativeness through which "magic" is shown the child by means of the remarkable things of a city street at night -sandwichmen with neon shirtfronts, etc.-rather than the unremarkable. Almost anything, in such contexts of childhood, can seem miraculous; and through the child's eyes and mind the wonder of a city, which is intrinsic in a wellused camera anyhow, could have been shown many people, instead of the easily glamorous mist, a pipe-smoking dog, some Chinese, a night club, and similar easy outs; and could have become one of the most beautiful sequences I can imagine. But barring a brief examination of a popcorn machine, that chance is forfeited.

Nevertheless, I was often moved, impressed, and excited by this film. It does get down something of the detachment and paradoxical defenselessness-inviolability of a young child, and—for all its softening and cheating—some broad warnings against attitudes one should fear. And toward the end it had, for me, a good deal of the beauty and power of Mann's "Early Sorrow," all the more because I would hardly have expected it on the screen. I can only hope it will be more useful then deceitful; either way, I think it is important.

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JAMES AGEE

### MUSIC

A ROUND 1890 Bernard Shaw was writing about the "performances of 'Lucia' solely to show off Madame Melba's singing," and the opera companies with "five leading tenors and no stage manager. For want of a stage manager, 'Orfeo' was murdered. For want of a stage manager, the first act of 'Otello' was laid waste. For want of a stage manager, 'Tannhäuser' was made · laughing-stock to every German who went to see it. . . . " The recent Monday night performance of "Rigoletto" at the Metropolitan that I attended could have been given for Lily Pons to use the phrases of Caro nome to shoot off her vocal fireworks; and the effect of her china-doll get-up and movements and vocal tones in Verdi's somber and violent work was that of a blockbuster in Berlin. In the cast were two singers, Jan Peerce and Leonard Warren, with superb voices which they abused-Peerce by constriction in production and occasional forcing, Warren by frequent bellowing; and Warren's make-up for the title role was poor, his acting of the lunge-and-clutch variety. There was conductor, Cesare Sodero, and an excellent one by the evidence of the orchestral portions, or as much as one could hear of them miles away, from row Z in the world's hugest opera house; however, he apparently did not have the authority to impose a musical style on the singing, but had to use his musicianship to create an appearance of musical continuity, style, and sense around the phrase-destroying vocal exhibitionism. There was a stage director, Desire Defrere, who had produced on the stage not dramatic sense but nonsense; but even if he had had the talent to do better he would not have had the authority to deal with Pons's get-up, Warren's lunging and clutching-any more than Dr. Graf once had been able to prevent Lehmann from using a certain negligee in "Der Rosenkavalier" or Tibbett from wrecking the opening scene of "Otello" with his posturing. It was, in sum, a performance which gave one an excellent idea of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Metropolitan as a producer of opera. If the Metropolitan's performancesoften employing good singers and conductors, but undisciplined, insufficiently rehearsed, confused, tastelessare worth saving with the latest \$300,-000 which the Metropolitan is asking the public for, it is not because they

are something for the world to marvel at but because they are the only ones we have, and moderately good sometimes, and better than nothing.

Listening to singing as it is picked up at a Metropolitan broadcast by the microphones near the singers and amplified for transmission, one gets an impression of nearness and of a power which the voice may not have even in a less huge auditorium than the Metropolitan. Pons's voice does not have it; nor did Albanese's voice, when I heard her at the Metropolitan in "Figaro" two or three seasons ago, have the power it appeared to have in the recent broadcast of "La Traviata." As a matter of fact she seemed to be forcing, which she had not done in "Figaro"; and, possibly as a result, there were other differences: there had been a vibrato. but this time it was terrific; the voice, though small, had been lovely and accurate, but this time it was often acidulous and sometimes badly off pitch. She sang better, however, as she went along; and very beautifully in the last act. The Alfredo was Jan Peerce again; the Germont was Tibbett, with what I suspect was the hoarse remains of a voice built up to impressive volume by the broadcasting microphones and amplification.

A reader who wrote that he agreed with me about the excellence of the Budapest Quartet's performances-but who added sternly that he did not carry admiration to the point of being uncritical-asked me whether I had noted a tendency in the group toward slightly fast tempos. "I think their slightly faster than average pace in the first movement of Beethoven's Opus 135 spoils the reflective spirit that is present in the Léners' reading. And their interpretation of Opus 59 No. 3, which is magnificent in every other respect, misses by its rather flippant, fast pace the spirit of that mysterious section in the second movement, which Sullivan calls 'a memory from some ancient and starless night of the soul.' Certainly the slower pace of the Léners better captures the meaning here." I answered that I had been aware of the Budapest group's tendency toward fast tempos, but had been disturbed by it only in the performance of the first movement of Mozart's G minor Quintet. Then I listened to the group's performance of Beethoven's Opus 130 broadcast by WQXR from the New Friends of Music concert, and was very much disturbed by the effect of what seemed to me the unprecedentedly fast tempo of the first movement, and especially of the development—after which I was uneasy about the tempos of the third movement and the finale. Later I played the recorded performance of several years back, and found that the first movement was in fact slower and more relaxed and better, and that this removed uneasiness about the others.

In that broadcast of the New Friends concert Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 was cut off, at 7:00, before the great concluding movement, which would have taken until 7:06. Thus, even when a well-intentioned commercial sponsor like the Book-of-the-Month Club sets out to give the public a complete concert it is defeated by the on-the-hour scheduling of American broadcasting that is a result of its commercial basis. Remember that when you hear about what American commercial broadcasting gives you; ask yourself whether you would be willing to pay the \$2.50 a year that the Englishman pays, for what he gets-the broadcast of a concert continued to the concert's end; music without incessant, inescapable talk; opera without gossip-columns and quizzes.

"Speaking of the Metropolitan," a reader writes at this point, "how about the 6-ring circus it has become under commercial sponsorship? Many people have commented on this to me. [Let them comment to the Metropolitan and to the Blue Network—B. H. H.] General Motors has some way to go yet (Kettering et al.) before it beats this display." His mention of the Metropolitan is the question what about Mozart; and I too ask what—in this eighth week of the season—about "Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"?

B. H. HAGGIN

### CONTRIBUTORS

VICTOR H. JOHNSON was a firstclass mechanic and shop committeeman in the yard described in his article. He has since shipped out as second assistant engineer on a merchant vessel.

MANUEL SEOANE, journalist and former leader of the Aprista Party in the Peruvian parliament, is now living in Chile. He is *The Nation's* regular Latin American correspondent.

KARL KEYERLEBER is on the staff of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University. His latest book is "Napoleon III."

# Letters to the Editors

### T. S. Eliot on Kipling's Anti-Semitism

Dear Sirs: Your issue of October 16 has only recently reached me, containing Lionel Trilling's interesting and, I think, valuable essay on my volume of selections of Kipling's verse. Mr. Trilling permits himself the following observation:

Mr. Eliot, it is true, would not descend to the snippy, persecuted anti-Semitism of ironic good manners which, in The Waster, leads Kipling to write "etc." when the rhyme requires "Jew"; but Mr. Eliot must have been at some trouble to procure the poem for his selection, for it is not included in the Inclusive Edition.

I used, in making my selection, the "Definitive Edition" published by Hodder and Stoughton in London. I am informed that this edition is published in New York by Doubleday, Doran and Company, and that Mr. Trilling can find the poem in question on page 525 of the 1940 impression.

Second, I would observe that in one stanza, at least, the rhyme required is not to do but to done: and the obvious rhyme for done is not Jew but Hun.
Kipling made several opportunities for expressing his dislike of Germans; I am not aware that he cherished any particularly anti-Semitic feelings. In any case, the interest of the poem lies rather in his criticism of the English than in any aversion to Jews, Germans, or Scotsmen that may be imputed to him.

T. S. ELIOT

London, December 15

### Mr. Trilling Replies

Dear Sirs: I mistakenly supposed that the Inclusive Edition of 1938 was the latest and most inclusive of the several Inclusive Editions of Kipling's verse; in that edition The Waster does not appear. But the poem is one of the small group of additional poems which appears in the 1940 edition. I therefore owe Mr. Eliot an apology, which I offer sincerely.

But I cannot admit Mr. Eliot's second objection. The gist of The Waster is that the English, because of their public-school code, are always being beaten by certain unscrupulous racial groups. In the first and last stanzas they are beaten by the etc.-Jew because they believe that "There are Things no Fellow can do": in the second stanza they are beaten by the etc.-Hun because they think that there are "Things that Are Never Done"; and in all three stanzas they are beaten by the Pict. (It is probable, by the way, that for Kipling the Pict is not the Scotsman, as Mr. Eliot implies, but rather the Irishman and perhaps even the low-born Englishman; in A Pict Song the Picts speak of themselves as "the Little Folk . . . Too little to love or to hate," who, if left alone, "can drag down the state.") It is of course true that the poem criticizes the English for being the victims of their own code; but the criticism, because of the nature of the comparisons by which it is made, is so ambiguous as to be almost a kind of praise.

As anti-Semitism goes these days, I suppose Kipling is not—to use Mr. Eliot's phrase—particularly anti-Semitic. I certainly should not think of isolating for discussion what anti-Semitism he has, but only of mentioning, as one aspect of a complex xenophobia, his queasy, resentful feelings about lews.

LIONEL TRILLING

### New York, December 31

### Our Clever Contemporary

Dear Sirs: I wonder if you really mean it when you say, on page 684 of the December 11 issue of The Nation, "... but publications ordinarily as far removed from political concerns as our clever contemporary, the New Yorker."

I believe you can find in the New Yorker's "Talk of the Town" at least as far back as 1936 some comment or other which indicates a strong, shall we say, editorial bias (?) or economicpolitical concern. Reflecting on this, I have sometimes wondered whether these homeopathic doses of liberalism to a wide audience, many of whom must be unreconstructed conservatives, does not mark this journal as a significant agent of liberal forces in the land. I do not mean to belittle the more outspoken liberal journals, but it does seem that journal of this sort, with its wide circulation and its subtle infusion of liberal slants on many current items, must be a useful ally in the struggle. Don't you

AUSTIN B. WOOD Brooklyn, N. Y., December 9

### Negotiated Peace— What Kind?

Dear Sirs: The German war lords have only one avenue of escape to save their hides now and only one chance to start new war of revenge in the future—a negotiated peace based on a split among the United Nations. This fact is recognized by every student of the international situation. But it is also high time to take cognizance of the nature and the scope of such a peace trap, devised to deceive the Western allies and especially America.

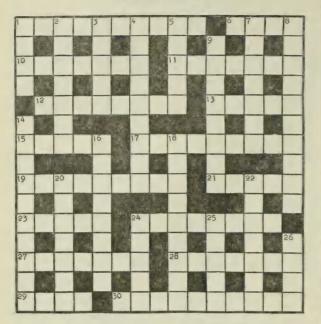
The main features of this negotiated peace are already known. It is no secret that about a year ago a certain emissary of the German war lords visited this country and sounded out influential conservatives in the East concerning this peace plan. Its basis was the promise of the German military to restore nominal independence to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, in exchange for which Germany would be given a free hand in Southeastern Europe and would retain at least Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

What escaped attention at that time was the strange fact that exactly the same plan was proposed three years ago by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, then as now a leading isolationist, in his reply to President Roosevelt's speech of December 29, 1940. In his proposal Senator Wheeler advocated the incorporation of Czechoslovakia and Poland in Germany as "autonomous" territories. For Austria he did not even demand autonomy.

Finally, let me point out another strange coincidence. Many war maps published in this country (by the National Geographic Magazine, Rand Mc-Nally, etc.) consistently show Austria, Czechoslovakia, and often Poland territories of Germany, in spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia and Poland are full-fledged members of the United Nations, are our allies in this war, and are recognized by the United States government and by all the United Nations. In my mind there is no doubt that the publication of such maps is but a psychological preparation for the proposed German peace plan, which, if realized, would add to the old Germany 50,000,-000 people and vast territory with rich natural resources, give it the control of

### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 47

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 If we had it tomorrow, somebody would probably be against it!
- 6 An able seaman turns his back on the Royal Navy
  10 Laughs . . . "I've laid"

- 11 Big house with a good cellar no doubt 12 Where the sulphate of iron which makes your writing fluid may come
- from 13 Egg-shaped, and consumed finally

15 Chuck up the sponge

- 17 Most of Ring Lardner's stories were written thus (two words, 2 and 7) 19 A wise form of indulgence
- 21 Nature's cup-and-ball 23 "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, To soften - - - -, or bend a knotted oak" (Congreve)
  24 Not the fisherman's catch, but a kind
- of wicker cradle
- 27 You know it better as a rowlock, perhaps 28 Circulation that interests the marine
- stores (two words, 3 and 4) 29 What tree would you back to lose?
- 30 This form of puzzle first became popular in 1924

#### DOWN

- 1 A thousand to one it's familiar to a magistrate
- 2 Needed for a car or a bar 3 Foreign devil
- 4 I ran on set (anag.)

- 5 An obliging relative, sometimes
- 7 Mean, but not too bad 8 An article upset before you and me
- taking a meal. It's sickening! 9 Nora between her parents makes a pretty picture
- 14 Our system I alter and make it difficult to understand
- 16 A laughing-stock
- 18 Bandages
- 20 You will recall that a treaty was signed in this Swiss town some years
- 22 Naturally you can get it on a pier by arrangement (two words, 4 and 3) 24 His dozen is more than twelve
- 25 Disabled ships, and automobiles, may be taken thus (two words, 2 and 3)
- 26 Tidings from the four points of the compass

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 40 ACROSS:-1 TRAITOR; 5 GREASER; ASPEN; 10 DRAMATIST; 11 MARMOSETS; 12 ORGAN; 13 LEANDER; 15 SNAFFLE; 17 BODEGAS; 19 STEWARD; 21 LIMIT; 23 PHLEBITIS; 25 THRILLERS; 26 EERIE; 27 RESISTS; 28 ARTISAN;

DOWN:-1 TRAMMEL; 2 AMPERSAND; 3 TANGO; 4 RED DEER; 5 GLASSES; 6 ELABORATE; 7 SLING; 8 RETINUE; 14 DIGITALIS; 16 FLAT TIRES; 17 BOL-STER; 18 SAPPERS; 19 SILESIA; 20 DIS-CERN: 22 MARES; 24 BLEST.

Southeastern Europe, jeopardize the independence of the democracies on the western seaboard of Europe, and enable the German militarists to plunge Europe and the world into another blood bath.

If these three instances pointing to one definite peace plan of a negotiated peace are mere coincidences, they are strange coincidences indeed!

Beware of the peace trap set up by the cunning leaders of the Wehrmacht -and watch for new coincidences.

JOSEPH MARTINEK

Chicago, Ill., December 15

### Proposals for Litchfield

Dear Sirs: If Willson Whitman in O Little Town (Restricted) in your issue of December 25 is telling the truth, Litchfield, Connecticut, is a degenerate community which any decent American should be ashamed to live in. To carry out anti-Semitism logically in its community life, it should adopt at least the following municipal measures: (1) Banish the Bible from the churches and substitute "Mein Kampf"; (2) Tear down and rip out all crosses in the churches and substitute the swastika; (3) Take down in public buildings all pictures of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln and put up portraits of Adolf Hitler; (4) Prohibit in the hospital use of any and all medical and surgical discoveries or inventions of lewish scientists; after which chisel over hospital entrance this motto: "All hope abandon ye who enter here"; (5) Prohibit investment of municipal funds in war bonds as long as Secretary Morgenthau's name is signed thereto; (6) Remove from the public library all books by Jewish authors, including Bible aforesaid; (7) Adopt as town slogan and engrave over the door of the town hall this legend: "In order at least to prevent the worst, one begins to take the sod out of the Jew's usurious hands by making the acquisition of soil legally impossible for him" ("Mein Kampf," Chapter XI, page 427).

Great work, Nation, keep it up! If there are any more of these Sodoms or Gomorrahs in this country let us know about them.

I am sending copy of this to the Litchfield Enquirer and to the rector and ministers of the Episcopal, Congregational, and Methodist churches of Litchfield and to the priest of the Catholic church.

AUGUSTUS LORING RICHARDS

Remsen, N. Y., December 29

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 5, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

THE LATEST SOVIET BLAST AT THE POLISH government in exile has withered the faint hopes of agreement which sprang up last week. After Moscow's declaration that the 1939 (Ribbentrop) frontier was not "unchangeable" and its indicated willingness to negotiate on the basis of the 1919 "Curzon Line," which is more favorable to the Poles, great pressure was put on Premier Mikolajczyk's Cabinet to make a move toward rapprochement with the Russians. The effort was not entirely successful, but the rather non-committal Polish statement at least refrained from polemics. It failed utterly, however, to mollify the Soviet government, which has reacted by declaring (1) that the Poles had evaded the question of the Curzon Line; (2) that their proposals for opening negotiations were "misleading" since the Soviet government cannot negotiate with a government with which diplomatic relations have been broken; (3) that in the opinion of the Soviets the Polish government has demonstrated once again that it "does not desire to establish good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union." It might appear that the second of these points had been met by the Polish suggestion of Anglo-American mediation, but it is clear that the real barrier to conciliation lies in Moscow's aversion for the present Polish regime, which it regards as fundamentally hostile to the U.S.S.R. The only method of breaking this deadlock seems to be the evocation of that clause of the Moscow agreement providing for cooperation among Russia, America, and Britain "in the examination of European questions as the war develops." This would appear to cover the Polish problem, which in view of its many facets can hardly be considered a private affair between Russia and Poland.

\*

GENERAL DE GAULLE AND THE NATIONAL Committee of Liberation are being squeezed. On the one hand they are under strong pressure from the American and British governments, which are urging them to be gentle with the collaborationists they have taken into custody; on the other they are being violently pushed by the Provisional Consultative Assembly, which insists on swift and drastic punishment of traitors. When the Assembly came together it was commonly regarded in this country as no more than a rubber-stamp for De Gaulle.

But under the leadership of delegates representing underground France it has quickly shown its independence. The Assembly is not taking orders from de Gaulle; it is giving him instructions in the name of the French people. It is all very well for those who have never been within 3,000 miles of a Gestapo torture chamber to deplore harsh treatment of men like Pevrouton, Pucheu, and Flandin-willing assistants of the Nazis in enslaving France. Men who have been fighting the Nazis, living from hour to hour in deadly danger, may be forgiven for being less charitable. Such men, in the course of the Assembly's debates, have sharply criticized the National Committee for sloth in carrying out the promised purge and have even threatened to deal with traitors by underground methods. It is fully recognized that Anglo-American interference is the real reason for delay. No doubt the State Department, having plucked Peyrouton from his safe retreat in Fascist Argentina to exercise his "administrative abilities" in North Africa, feels some responsibility for his safety. If so it should say so openly and offer him honorary American citizenship. For the French "will not live with traitors."

\*

IN ALGIERS THE FRENCH CONSULTATIVE Assembly is urgently demanding arms and other supplies from the forces of liberation within France. The French guerrillas, fighting in the mountains of Savoy and the Vosges, as well as the army of civilian saboteurs, lack equipment. Tens of thousands also lack sufficient clothing and food. The resurgence of France is one of the great and inspiring developments of the past two years, but it is not fully credited even now. So far the British and American authorities have been slow to accept the facts brought out of France by the delegates of the Resistance in North Africa. In the Political War section this week we publish a remarkable story, Patriot's Notebook, which brings to life the reality of the French struggle. Nothing could better demonstrate the need of prompt and generous assistance for the French underground. We commend it particularly to the attention of all Americans who have come to think of the French as decadent people who have lost the capacity to fight and die for freedom.

THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS written a conclusion to the farce of our diplomatic victories in Spain. A fascist who calls himself a liberal, who publicizes the release of Spanish Republicans, and who praises Tito's guerrillas may be able to fool Archbishop Spellman and certain gentlemen in the State Department. Not more than three weeks ago a high official of that august institution boasted at a dinner that "we have Franco in our pocket." Possibly he was accepting at face value the declarations of Ambassador Hayes, who, aside from his sympathies with Franco, is anxious

to prevent his mission to Madrid from turning into greater catastrophe than Sir Neville Henderson's classic failure. But the improvised "liberal" fascist could not fool the Russians. In the latest issue of its official bulletin the Soviet Embassy utterly rejects the American and British contention that Franco has been won over to the cause of the United Nations. The bulletin states very specifically that a Spanish legion is still "on one of the sectors of the Volkhov front," that a Spanish air squadron "which systematically receives replenishments" is also stationed on the eastern line, while "Franco's gendarmes arrest people even for distributing the press bulletin of the British Embassy in Madrid." The United States can find further proof of its mistaken policy in the charges made by Pais, a Venezuelan newspaper, that "not fewer than 200 Germans, carrying out pro-Nazi activities in Venezuela, receive money from the Spanish Embassy in Caracas." After the official statement of the Soviet Embassy, our government and the British government would do well to consider whether the continuation of diplomatic relations with Franco can be reconciled with the solidarity of the United Nations, which, according to President Roosevelt, was reaffirmed at Teheran.

THE EXIGENCIES OF WAR TRANSPORT PROVED the decisive factor in the selection of Chicago is the scene of both the Republican and the Democratic conventions. Naturally the capital of isolationism was not Wendell Willkie's first choice, but he has accepted the decision calmly, although unfriendly commentators are describing it as a defeat for him. According to the same sources Mr. Willkie slipped badly during the G. O. P. National Committee meeting last week, but to less biased observers he still appears to be a formidable contender for the Republican nomination. Governor Willis's blast at his enemies, the "four-year locusts," delivered from the rock-ribbed citadel of Vermont, seems to have made an impression on the committee members in Chicago. We note also that the plans of the party bosses were upset by the election of Mrs. Frank G. Tallman of Delaware, a Willkie supporter, to a vacant place on the executive committee. An informal poll of fifty-seven committeemen at the gathering showed Willkie and Dewey to be running neck and neck with twenty-one votes apiece and the rest of the field nowhere. Undoubtedly there is widespread support for the New York governor, who in the eyes of many Republicans is the best "safety-first" proposition in sight. They would prefer Governor Bricker, of course, but he doesn't seem to have even Dewey's modest endowment of political "it." Dewey's henchmen, however, are not in too easy a position. They can only convey their candidate's willingness to run by nods and winks, since his official attitude is still that he intends to remain governor of New York for his full term. And, indeed,

in view of his solemn vows he can hardly reverse this stand without leaving himself wide open to attack.

\*

OF COURSE, IF HARRISON E. SPANGLER, National Chairman of the G. O. P., is right it does not matter very much whom the Republicans nominate; they can, he asserts, win with "anybody." This statement has alarmed some good Republicans, who resent the implication that the June convention can safely nominate a "nobody." Such pronouncements by the head of their machine make them begin to wonder whether the party can afford to be saddled with a chairman who so perfectly exemplifies the famous Irishism-"every time he opens his mouth he puts his foot into it." It is, in fact, hard to explain the choice of this gentleman for his office except on the theory that the President-a master of political black magic according to his enemies-managed by some occult means to wish him on the Republicans. What could be more inept, for instance, than Mr. Spangler's proud announcement that he had asked four Republican officers in England to conduct a survey among their men on how they intended to vote in 1944? Imagine the howls of indignation which would have rent the air if Postmaster General Walker had commissioned four Democratic officers to carry out a similar task. Political canvassing of this kind is contrary to military regulations and, in any case, is highly improper. That it is also valueless, since soldiers are likely to have a shrewd idea of their officers' political views and to give answers calculated to please them, is beside the point. It is not surprising that the Republican National Committee, wishing to keep a tighter hold on its chairman, should have forced him to agree to call together the executive committee, which he has steadily ignored since he took office, at least once a month.

×

THE WHITEWASHING OF PATROLMAN DREW by a special three-man board appointed by Mayor La-Guardia does not reassure us either with respect to Drew's innocence of the charges against him or the dependability of the New York police department in dealing with anti-Semitic offenses. Since the case against Drew was a complicated one, involving alleged connection with several subversive and anti-Jewish organizations, it is difficult to see how the board could have made an adequate investigation, including the subpoenaing of witnesses, in the two weeks it spent on the case. A further indication that the Mayor is more interested in trying to cover up a nasty situation in the police department than in protecting New York citizens is provided in his failure to take action on Commissioner Herlands's long-awaited report. The Commissioner cited eight specific cases in which the police failed to take adequate action to punish anti-Semitic outbursts and deplored the

tendency of the police to minimize such incidents as ordinary acts of neighborhood hoodlumism. That an ugly and even menacing situation still exists despite the recent outcry is indicated by a recent incident in which the police released, without questioning, four members of a gang that had participated in the beating up of several Jews and the wrecking of a Brooklyn poolroom. Commissioner Valentine's order, long overdue, forbidding policemen to affiliate with anti-Semitic organizations would have a beneficial effect if it were quickly enforced. But the Mayor's refusal to back up Herlands and to take more drastic action in the Drew case, together with his refusal to release the evidence against Drew, does not make for optimism.

THE PLAN FOR A NETWORK OF NEW ROADS recommended by the President is significant as the first program for creating jobs after the war to be officially laid before Congress. A total of 34,000 miles of modern super-highways is contemplated at a cost of about \$750,000,000 annually for the next ten to twenty years. It is estimated that the project will normally provide direct and indirect employment for approximately two million persons, and in the event of a severe depression work could be speeded up to employ a greater number. So far there is little indication of what action Congress may be expected to take on the proposal. Although the idea of planning ahead with respect to post-war jobs has failed to rouse our legislators, the need for better highways is so great that we suspect Congress may overcome its lethargy sufficiently to indorse this project. It must be recognized, however, that the two million, or three million at the most, that can be put to work in road-building constitute a very small proportion of the number of persons likely to be unemployed six months or a year after the end of the war. If Congress is ever to be prodded into formulating plans to provide jobs for the rest, it must be in the months preceding the election.

AS WE GO TO PRESS WORD COMES OF THE delayed Pravda dispatch from Cairo quoting reports from "reliable Greek and Yugoslav sources" that two leading British officials have recently conferred with Von Ribbentrop in Spain. The important fact about this item is not the charge it makes but its publication by Russia's most responsible journal and its announcement over the Moscow radio. What can be the object of the Soviet government in broadcasting ugly rumors at a time when the need of close and confident relations between the great allies is so overwhelming? Nothing could damage more seriously the ties established at Moscow and Teheran. An explanation by the Soviet government may have been published before this comment appears, but no explanation can wipe out the shocking evidence of disunity which the incident provided.

# The Five-Point Plan

T WAS inevitable that the President's message to Congress should produce exceedingly diverse reactions. To many citizens it seemed a fine fighting speech, a salutary warning that the war is not yet won, that not less but greater national effort is needed to speed victory. Others, whose views are represented in our Washington letter, are unconvinced; they feel that Mr. Roosevelt has made a new turn to the right; they fear that his primary aim is not total mobilization but the shackling of labor. In view of the kicking around labor has been experiencing, we understand and sympathize with this fear. Nevertheless, we believe that on its broad merits the President's five-point program should be supported.

Although the President went out of his way to stress the integral nature of this program, it is only natural that popular attention should have been caught chiefly by his proposal of a national-service law. Each of the other points had been stressed previously, but until now the President had carefully avoided calling for compulsory labor service. At first thought, his timing seemed badly awry. Two years ago, or even a year ago, the public was better prepared for such a demand because of the urgency of the war situation. But today, with the talk of cut-backs in war production and an apparent easing in the man-power crisis-to say nothing of the widely held hopes for an early end to the European phase of the conflict-people were frankly unprepared for the President's request. Moreover, the timing of the proposal suggested that the President was thinking of universal service more as a weapon against strikes than as means of dealing with the man-power shortage.

Actually, the timing is not as far off as it seems. With the beginning of major offensives against both Germany and Japan promised in the very near future, the toughest part of the war lies just ahead. It will be a period in which we must strain for maximum production and for speeding up every phase of the war effort. And although some workers will be freed by the projected cut-backs, the fact remains that our over-all man-power resources have been badly stretched. The War Manpower Commission estimates that an additional 900,000 workers will be needed between now and July 1, mostly to cover withdrawals by Selective Service. Women must necessarily make up the bulk of the 900,000, but reports from various sections of the country indicate that women are getting out of war industries almost as fast as new ones can be hired. A considerable withdrawal of men from war jobs to civilian occupations-has also been observed. In the absence of compulsory-service legislation this loss of trained personnel might readily become critical if additional victories on the war fronts intensified the impression that we were nearing the end of the war.

Moreover, compulsory powers are essential to curb the hoarding and uneconomic use of skilled labor which is still practiced in many parts of the country. Compulsion, however, is not a substitute for a carefully integrated man-power policy. There is real justification for the fear that the passage of a national-service act would leave us without a proper framework for man-power mobilization.

But the prospect that a national-service act may be badly administered is not enough to rule it out of a program calling for sacrifices from every section of the population in the difficult days ahead. Effective control of prices and profits and the imposition of a sound tax program would far outweigh any injustices. grievances, or maladjustments that might be entailed in national service if it were as poorly managed as our man-power program has hitherto been. But labor fears, with reason, that this five-point program, like Mr. Roosevelt's older seven-point program, may break down on the price, profit, and tax fronts and serve only to hold labor in line. Certainly the prospects for adequate taxes -rightly placed first in the President's list-seem no brighter today than before the President spoke. Senator George has indicated that the Senate's reply to Mr. Roosevelt's budget request for at least \$10,500,000,000 in new taxes will be to pass the feeble \$2,275,000,000 measure approved in committee. While hopes for a continuation of renegotiation and a compromise on the subsidy issue have brightened, the fight is still on.

Unless these battles are irrevocably lost, we feeldespite the considerations advanced elsewhere by Mr. Stone—that labor is ill-advised in coming out flatly in opposition to the President on the national-service issue. In Britain national service has been accepted from the beginning by every class and party, and its essential fairness has not been questioned. Instead of indiscriminate opposition, American labor might better concentrate, first, on pushing through the other measures in the President's program, and, second, on getting a national-service bill which contains the safeguards necessary to an effective and democratic system. The Austin-Wadsworth bill, for example, fails to provide proper safeguards. It is a measure which would make impossible any closed-shop, unionshop, or maintenance-of-membership agreements. Nor is any provision made for protecting the seniority rights of workers who are shifted to war industries. Defects such as these can and should be attacked by organized labor. But unless labor shows that it is willing to put up with some inconveniences and to accommodate itself even to demands that are sometimes unreasonable, it has not the moral right to ask sacrifices of capital and the farmers. And if the spirit of self-seeking, business as usual, and sparring for position is to be allowed to dominate our home-front policies, the result will not only be felt in a lengthening of the war but in a worsening of labor's position, both relatively and absolutely.

# Stalin's Choice

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

If THE Communist Party indorses the recent proposals of Earl Browder, it will cease to exist as a party and will become a "political association," and its purpose "for many years into the future" will be to encourage national unity through the support of free enterprise. In this role it will do its best to help avert an explosion of class conflict when the war ends. It will run no candidates for public office but will operate through the accepted medium of the two-party system. Mr. Browder came out flatly for the reelection of President Roosevelt next fall, but he made it clear that Communists are now free agents and may join either the Democratic or the Republican Party.

But the pivotal point of the Browder encyclical was Teheran. It is to further the aims announced at that historic meeting that the Communist Party is now divesting itself of its name and its character and its principles. Indeed, Browder's whole position is founded on the premise that, just as victory in the war necessitated an intimate union of forces among the great allied powers, so a "coalition peace" is the only alternative to "the spreading of civil wars over vast areas, culminating . . . in a new world war between nations." To prevent this utter catastrophe it is necessary to abandon the fight for socialism—at least in America.

Such is the Browder thesis, abbreviated but I think not distorted. What is the reality behind it?

The war will end with Russia the strongest power on the Eurasian continent. The only other power in the world comparable in strength will be the United States. Russia's two chief problems after the war will be the restoration of its shattered industrial plants and security against new wars. The first problem can be met by long-term commercial agreements with the Western nations, particularly the United States. The second problem can be met by the creation of a sound working system of collective security. This, in turn, requires a stable Europe dominated by states friendly to Russia and not infected with expansionist ambitions.

It is in the light of Russia's basic needs and desires that Browder's speech should be examined. It has no meaning apart from them.

Toward America, Stalin's course is clear. The Roosevelt Administration is well disposed toward Russia. At Moscow and Teheran the Secretary of State and the President agreed to a common course of action. Their political prestige is tied to the fulfilment of the agreements reached with Russia. Already, without any doubt specific plans for expanded trade between the two countries have been discussed. Russia's best hope for the crucial years immediately following the war lies in the con-

tinuance of a Roosevelt regime in Washington and in post-war economic stability.

Other, more long-range, considerations point the same way. The ending of Democratic control in Washington is likely to mean a sharp swing to the right, with extreme reactionaries riding into power on a wave of resentment against war-time taxes and controls, against labor, against every remnant of the New Deal. In place of pre-war isolationism the country might move into a period of intense imperialistic competition. Antagonism to Russia would certainly rise; plans for international cooperation would go by the board—and a new war would come striding out of the future.

So the Russians presumably argue. And faced with such alternatives they prefer to take no chances. The Communist Party offers at least a modest obstacle to Russia's interests in America; consequently it must go.

The end of the party was foreshadowed when the Comintern was dissolved. At that time the Communist parties in Canada, Cuba, and Costa Rica died and came to life in new, presumably less objectionable, forms. The same fate seems to have been designed for the American party, but its liquidation was delayed. For several months the Communists in this country tried to ingratiate themselves with all sorts of persons and political tendencies, from Frank Hague on the right to their opponents on the left. The Party was apparently doing its best to prove that it could serve the aims described above.

It didn't work. As always the attempt to lure corrupt reactionaries into the same bed with political progressives further alienated both elements. The suspicion and hostility generated by Communist behavior during the past and by the gyrations of the party line could not be overcome. And the Administration itself showed not the least gratification over the activities of the Communists in its behalf. In short, the unity move was a flop.

The party's transformation into an association may also be a brief expedient. Under any name communism smells about the same to the people who don't like it. The new set-up, too, may prove to be more nuisance than help to Moscow. Or it may die for lack of nourishment. A radical party wins support by militant, aggressive action in support of a radical program, not by serving as an uninvited handmaiden to the party in power.

But the fate of the Communist Party in America is far less important than the plans of Moscow for the Communist movement in the rest of the world. Does the present move mean that the party everywhere is to dissolve? Does it mean that Communists will everywhere work for capitalist stability? These questions cannot yet be answered. It is possible that the policy announced by Browder was designed particularly for America and will not be applied fully anywhere else. Already one can find some evidence that it is adopting a varied, ad boc policy to fit conditions, and Russia's interests, in each country.

Obviously Russia's interests in America are very different from in Europe. In America the danger of reaction and the desirability of returning Roosevelt to power may seem to outweigh the dubious services of the Communist Party. In Europe the leading elements in the underground are largely recruited from the ranks of Socialists and Communists. Their desperate struggle is animated by more than a determination to drive out the

Nazis; they fight for a new Europe and an end to the domination of interests that gladly made deals with fascism. To ask them to avert class conflict and work for the stabilization of capitalism would be to take the life and meaning out of their movement. It will be very difficult to apply one strategy to America and a contrary one to Europe, but it would seem that Stalin has no other choice.

# F. D. R. and National Service

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 13 N JANUARY 8 the Army and Navy Journal predicted that the President, in his message to Congress, would recommend national-service legislation. The accuracy of the prediction lends weight to the Journal's further statement that the "off-the-record" remarks made by General Marshall on December 31 were inspired by the President. The Journal implied that the Marshall press conference was planned to prepare the public mind for a national-service act. This might have been accomplished by a frank and moving appeal from Marshall to labor. The effect of the "off-therecord" talk was not to appeal to labor but to inflame public opinion against it. I think the approach reflects (1) the kind of thinking done by the right-wingers like Byrnes with whom the President has increasingly surrounded himself, (2) the kind of thinking common among regular army and navy officers with little knowledge of civilian life and problems, and (3) the basic anti-labor bias of the small group of Wall Street men who fathered the Austin-Wadsworth national-service bill. This group has much influence in the War and Navy departments, both of which have indorsed the bill. I think this background important in evaluating the President's message.

There are two possible reasons for asking for a national-service act. One is to prevent strikes. The other is fully to mobilize man-power. Judging from the Marshall press conference and the Army and Navy Journal, the military are thinking only of the first. The remedy is a doubtful one; national service hasn't prevented strikes in Great Britain. Mr. Roosevelt in his message gave both reasons. He wants national service to "prevent strikes" and to attain "nothing less than total mobilization of man-power and capital." I think it significant that he should say that he would not recommend a national-service act except as part of a five-point program designed "to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits." For

these questions bear only a moral or a demagogic relationship to that of national service. If we face a serious man-power problem that can best be met by compulsory means, we ought to have a national-service act no matter what the other conditions on the home front. The questions which the President and his advisers must answer are: Is there a man-power shortage? Can it best be met by compulsion?

The facts, so far I can obtain them, show that we passed the peak of our man-power difficulties last November. In November the War Manpower Commission listed seventy-seven cities as critical labor areas where no more war contracts were to be placed and where existing contracts were not to be renewed. The number of cities in this category has since fallen to sixty-seven. Three important war-production centers-Dallas, Bridgeport, and Dayton-were among the ten removed from the critical list. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that the rate of turnover in war industries began to fall last autumn, with the news of further cutbacks in war production. It is no secret that the War Manpower Commission, from McNutt down, and the regional directors meeting this week in Washington do not think compulsory service necessary to replace the 900,000 men to be drafted this year. The New York Times on January 9 reported that "surprise was general" that the President should be considering national-service legislation "at a time when the man-power situation was improving." If this general impression is false, it is up to the President to correct it.

Mishandling of man-power cannot be cured by mere enactment of a statute. A national-service act would do more harm than good unless coupled with reform in the field of labor policy and reform in the field of industrial mobilization. Most of our difficulties arise from Mr. Roosevelt's failure in both fields. The effect of overlapping labor agencies, inconsistent labor directives, and surrenders under threat has been to reward the John L. Lewises and penalize the Philip Murrays. In many plants employers feel that the no-strike pledge permits them

to ignore grievance committees. These grievances and the War Labor Board's unsatisfactory method of handling them have as much, if not more, to do with labor unrest than have wage questions. I hate to think of what these employers would do if given the additional weapon of a compulsory-service act, and of what the effects would be on labor efficiency.

Even more important is the fact that efficient use of labor power can only come as part of an integrated and total mobilization of our economy. If some readers think this too vague and general an objection, I refer them to the report made last November 6 by McNutt's top management-labor policy committee opposing a nationalservice law. I do not share the committee's basic theoretical opposition to national service. But I am impressed that so diverse, representative, and well-informed a group of men,\* writing in November of 1943, should make the same criticisms that have been leveled at the war effort on the home front since 1941 by one Congressional investigation after another, including those under Truman, Tolan, Kilgore, and Pepper. The committee complained that critical man-power situations in various areas were the "results of dislocation, maldistribution of contracts, and ineffective man-power utilization rather than of inadequate over-all supply of labor." The committee reported that full utilization of labor cannot be achieved until "all agencies of government concerned with procurement, production, and manpower are administered under a coordinated and wellunderstood arrangement." It was to correct this that a powerful bloc in Congress early last year sought to pass the Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore bill for an Office of War Mobilization, and it was to block passage of this bill that Mr. Roosevelt set up an Office of War Mobilization under Byrnes; but it was an Office of War Mobilization in name only.

Byrnes has been more complaisant than the War Production Board about big-business resistance to effective mobilization by government, and he has been the willing accomplice of the War and Navy departments in their reluctance to coordinate their efforts with civilian production and man-power agencies. Those commentators now praising Mr. Roosevelt for a "strong" policy in recommending a national-service act would do well to examine his record on the mobilization of industry and the integration of war agencies; the record is one of weakness, not strength. They would also do well to consider that Byrnes and the War and Navy chiefs backing national service have been the principal opponents of that total mobilization and coordination which alone would make national service palatable and effective.

\*For labor: Howard Fraser of the Brotherhoods, Green of the A. F. of L., Murray of the C. I. O. For agriculture: Albert Goss of the Grange, Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau, Jim Patton of the Farmers' Union. For management, Conrad Cooper of Wheeling Steel, Fred Crawford of the N. A. M., and Eric Johnston of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

# 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TALY MIGHT HAVE LIVED happy and contented if she had kept out of the combinations (what the Germans call the constellations) of the great powers. She entered the Triple Alliance, and condemned herself to expenses which are too large for her financial capacity; she begins now to pay the price of her ambition, and is passing through a most dangerous crisis.—January 4, 1894.

AN EVENING JOURNAL in this city received the following by special messenger a few days ago: "Sir: In publishing names of attendants at the Charity Ball will you kindly mention Mr. and Mrs. ——. If you mention costumes, Mrs. —— in pink and Nile novelty satin 'décolleté,' old lace, diamond ornaments. We were late and missed the newspapermen. If there is any charge, kindly let me know by bearer and greatly oblige, Mr. ——."—January 11, 1894.

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that the Republican National Committee has indorsed the proposition to admit as states Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. . . . The rights of statehood ought not to be conferred upon a territory like New Mexico, whose population is largely composed of ignorant Mexicans and Indians, or like Arizona, which had only 59,620 people (thousands of Indians included) when the last census was taken.—January 18, 1894.

IT HAS ALREADY BEEN ANNOUNCED that the Carnegie iron and steel works have taken the place formerly held by the Britishers as bugaboos to the American manufacturers. In other words, the Carnegies have so far outstripped all their domestic competitors in the completeness and perfection of their machinery that the latter need protection against Carnegie rather than against John Bull.—

January 11, 1894.

CECIL RHODES, since his victories over the Matabeles, has become a great hero in the eyes of the Cape Colonists, and his success has doubtless done much to turn his head, or, as our slang would say, to enlarge it. Accordingly, he has made a speech in which he substantially bids defiance to the home government, and says that if they do not let him have his way, they may have to face an agitation for the independence of the Cape Colony.—January 25, 1894.

#### THE SWINE AND THE FLOWER

I shrank to meet a mud-incrusted swine,

And then he seemed to grunt, in accents rude,

"Huh! Be not proud, for in this fat of mine,

Behold the source of richness for your food!"

I fled, and saw a field that seemed, at first,
One giant mass of roses pure and white,
With dewy buds 'mid dark green foliage nursed,
And, as I lingered o'er this lovely sight,
The summer breeze that cooled that southern scene
Whispered, "Behold the source of Cottolene!"

Cottolene, the Vegetable Shortening. (ADVT.)-January 25, 1894.

# Guns in Palestine

BY JESSE LURIE

URING the last war Palestine was an enemy base offering a serious threat to the Allied communications belt. Today Palestine may serve as springboard for an Allied invasion of the Balkans: the Palestine Post reveals that the country is teeming with Allied soldiers-American, English, Indian, Australian, Polish, Greek, Yugoslav, South African. But whether or not this role materializes, Palestine is playing an important part in implementing the Allied war effort in the Mediterranean theater. Jewish engineers have built a new military road in the Lebanon. A Jewish cooperative enterprise has been awarded the contract for important installations on the Persian Gulf, the main place for unloading American supplies for Russia. Some 23,000 Palestine Jews, from a community of 550,000, have volunteered for the British army. Civilian production for the army has quadrupled since 1940. Of all this little has appeared in the American press.

Lately, however, we have read a number of confusing cables from Jerusalem concerning arms searches in Jewish villages and trials of Jews for gun-running and concealing arms. These incidents are more significant than they seem, for they are bound up with the problems attendant upon the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. They cannot be understood without reference to the events which form their background.

One of the most recent dispatches told of the sentencing of seven men from the Jewish village of Hulda to two to six years' imprisonment for the illegal possession of arms. The name Hulda has little meaning for Americans, but to Palestinians it is symbolic of the patience and courage which forged a modern industrial and agricultural community from hitherto untilled earth. Hulda is an outpost of Jewish Palestine in the south. It is situated in the southern foothills of the Judean Mountains, a few miles north of the Negev, the wilderness of Beersheba. For its communications it is dependent upon a dirt road, almost impassable in winter, which runs westward to the main north-south highway. This road, which is hardly more than a camel track, is entirely on Arab land, and passes through the Arab villages of Monsoura and Agger. East, south, and north of Hulda are three other Arab villages.

In August, 1929, Palestine was racked by riots and pillage incited by the Mufti of Jerusalem (who, incidentally, is now in Berlin) through false stories of Jewish designs on Moslem holy places. Hulda's existence was threatened. Ephraim Chizik, a member of the Haganah, the "illegal" defense organization which the

Jews of Palestine had organized out of dire necessity, came from Tel Aviv to lead the twenty-four Jewish settlers in the defense of their homes. Thousands of Bedouins from the southern desert, incited by promises of great loot, attacked Hulda that night. Wave after wave was repulsed by the Jews. Ephraim Chizik was killed leading a sally to clear out a nest of snipers who had taken one of the village houses.

When British troops arrived in the morning, the Arabs were gone, and the "illegal" arms with which the village had been defended through the night had been hidden. The British commander insisted that the position of the village was untenable and, despite the strenuous opposition of the settlers, ordered them evacuated.

In that same week in August, 1929, I happened to be visiting Tel Hai, a Jewish village at the other end of Palestine, on the Syrian border. This northern outpost had been attacked by a French-paid Arab gang in 1921, during a British-French border dispute, and possessed a box of "legal" arms for use in emergencies. I watched the settlers break its seal and take out a few old hunting rifles. To rely upon them was to invite slaughter. Fortunately, the Haganah was on the job.

In 1930 the Jews went back to Hulda to rebuild their homes. They took with them a tractor. The neighboring Arabs thought it was some kind of powerful weapon which would be used to punish them for the 1929 attack, but when they finally learned its peaceful uses they borrowed it, and its Jewish driver, for their own fields. The Jews of Hulda brought the first pedigreed bull to southern Palestine, the first chicken incubator, the first gramophone, the first orange grove, introduced intensive vegetable growing and modern sanitation. Hulda has the only doctor and dentist for miles around, and not a day passes without the appearance of several Arab patients, who are treated without charge.

The Jewish village prospered and so did its Arab neighbors. When the Mufti and his cohorts again started trouble in 1936, the excellent relations between Hulda and the surrounding countryside continued. Though it felt obliged to be ever-vigilant, Hulda was not attacked. But in 1938 German military sappers, with the connivance of the Mufti, were smuggled into Palestine to try out some of their new road and anti-personnel mines. The dirt road which was Hulda's sole link with the outside world was an excellent testing ground. The mines proved to be extremely effective. Seventeen young men and women of Hulda were blown to pieces.

Then came war and the invasion of Poland. Most of

the settlers of Hulda had originally come from Poland. Only a fortunate few have heard what became of their parents, brothers, and sisters. The relatives of most of them are presumed to have been slaughtered in the Nazi death ditches and asphyxiation chambers or to have died fighting in the epic defense of the Warsaw ghetto. All the Hulda settlers wanted to enlist. But since food is an important weapon, and since the production of Hulda, like that of other villages, had to be more than doubled to feed the armies and civilian war workers, everyone could not go. A lottery was held. Every man and woman who wanted to fight put his name in a bowl, and the names of twenty-two, seventeen men and five women, were drawn out. These joined the British army. (There is no government conscription in Palestine.)

On October 3 of last year hundreds of British and Polish soldiers, led by a British brigadier, surrounded Hulda and instituted a house-to-house search. Their pretext was that they were looking for Polish deserters. The insinuation was a calumny. Would the brothers of those who defended the Warsaw ghetto harbor a deserter? Would a village which had voluntarily given the best of its young men to the British army aid the enemy?

No deserters were found, of course, but the real object of the search, seizure of the settlement's defensive weapons, was attained. Several boxes of ammunition were discovered, and seven leading members of the community were arrested and taken to Jerusalem. British censorship refused to allow the Palestine press or foreign correspondents to print the news until the middle of December, when the seven men were brought to trial and sentenced.

Meanwhile, an even greater injustice had been perpetrated in Ramat Hakovesh, another isolated Jewish village in the Sharon plain. Ramat Hakovesh is in the midst of the Arab villages of Tireh, Misky, and Qalqilia. Its communicating road, like Hulda's, goes through Arab land. In 1938 a Ramat Hakovesh truck carrying men and women to work in the fields was blown up. Eight persons were killed and many others wounded. (In all Palestine 292 Jews were killed and 649 wounded by Arab terrorists in 1938. In 1936, 81 Jews were killed and in 1937, 33.)

The search for arms at Ramat Hakovesh was considerably rougher than that at Hulda. Again the trumpedup excuse was a mythical Polish deserter. Bearded Indian troops, accustomed to the methods used on the Northwest Frontier, surrounded Ramat Hakovesh and herded all the men into a barbed-wire inclosure. In the ensuing confusion Shmuel Wolinietz was shot by a British policeman. Although the village doctor warned against his being moved, and although there are nearer and better-equipped Jewish hospitals in Petah Tikvah and Tel Aviv, Wolinietz was taken to the government hospital in Nablus. He died there, five days later. Thirty-

five settlers were arrested, but no charges were brought against them, and after ten days they were released.

No arms or "deserters" had been found; one Jew had been killed; and for ten days thirty-five farmers had been kept from producing food for the Allied armies.

If the Palestine government undertook these searches to provoke disturbances at a time when the country should have been united against Nazism, it almost succeeded. On the day Wolinietz died, anger spread over the country like a burning khamsin wind. Hot-headed youths attacked the government offices in Tel Aviv, and according to a Palcor cable twenty-one civilians and eleven British policemen were injured; war factories closed down as the funeral cortège passed; all Jewish transport left the roads. But calmer heads soon prevailed. The main enemy was still in Berlin, not in Jerusalem. The war workers went back to their jobs.

The Palestine arms trials which were reported in the American press a few months ago showed the same provocative pattern. Leib Sirkin, secretary of the Seamen's Club of Haifa, and Abraham Rachlin, a taxi driver. were sentenced to ten and seven years, respectively, for buying 300 rifles and 105,000 rounds of ammunition. These had been stolen from army dumps by two English deserters, who were sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. The trials were publicized extensively by the Palestine Press Office, a branch of the British Ministry of Information. The purpose of the trials apparently was to prove the extent of the Haganah's arsenal and the Haganah's connection with official Zionist organizations. In the course of them various accusations were leveled against the Jewish Agency, which is recognized by the mandatory power as the representative Jewish body to be consulted on all matters connected with the Tewish homeland.

Nothing has been given out by the Palestine Press Office about the Arabs' possession of arms, but the correspondent of the London Times made his own investigation and cabled his paper: "It is common knowledge that the majority of Arabs are armed with rifles that were bought or stolen from Allied troops—one of Vichy General Dentz's last acts in Syria was the delivery of French arms to Syrian Arabs, who sold them across the border to Palestine."

The Palestine government has made no search for this Arab arsenal: its interest in illegal arms is entirely superficial. The motive behind these searches and trials is political one. A significant cleavage exists between the Palestine administration and important sections of the British War Cabinet over the White Paper issued by the Chamberlain government in 1939, and the Palestine officials are trying to strengthen their position by destroying confidence in the Jewish population. The administration is definitely committed to the policies of

that document, which will end all Jewish immigration to Palestine after another 31,000 persons have entered. It also forbids the sale of property to Jews in the greater part of the country, while in the remaining part, where prices have of course quadrupled since these laws were instituted, 

Jew can buy land only if the High Commissioner approves his purchase.

How the White Paper works in practice may be illustrated by the dilemma of one American Jew who has developed a large citrus grove in Palestine. He was visiting his sons in the United States when the war broke out and was unable to get back to Palestine. His return visa has long since expired. Now he fears that the White Paper quota will be filled by refugees and that he will never be able to go home. He sometimes wonders whether he should transfer his property to a non-Jewish son-in-law, who would not be subject to the White Paper's restrictions. Meanwhile he has been trying to buy a piece of Arab property adjoining his grove, but he finds it difficult to get the High Commissioner, who is naturally occupied with the war emergency, to sign on the dotted line. With every delay the Arab owner raises his price. If the Jewish grower wanted to buy a piece of unwatered waste land a few miles away-which he could irrigate with pipes from his overflowing wellit would be impossible. Not even an appeal to King George would help. The land lies within the Arab reserve, which covers two-thirds of the country.

By implementing the White Paper the Palestine government expects (1) to end Arab agitation against Tewish immigration and the sale of land to Jews by complete capitulation to Arab demands: (2) to improve Britain's relations with neighboring Arab countries which contain important oil deposits; and (3) to be able to speed up its program of equalizing the Jewish and Arab economies. After the last war, when the bureaucrats came to Palestine from Kenya, Jamaica, and other colonial training schools in administrative inefficiency, they were more or less overwhelmed by the problems presented by the speed of Zionist construction. They saw the Jews beginning to develop a modern economy alongside an Arab feudal society. Governing such a country, they said, was like trying to drive a spirited mare in harness with a plodding ox. Rapid Zionist settlement in accordance with the terms of the Palestine mandate would be, they decided, unfair to the Arabs.

Their solution was to hamper Jewish enterprise as much as possible. That meant binding Jewish activities in yards of red tape, filing requests and then losing the files; it meant discriminatory tariffs which ruined infant industries; and it meant declaring the Jewish defense organization illegal. Implied in this solution was the intention of raising the living conditions of the Arabs at least to approximate Jewish standards, but only a few men in the Education Department were interested

enough to try to carry out this intention. (Actually, the Arabs have benefited much more from the influx of Jews into Palestine than from any efforts of the administration. They have learned how to work their land and how to care for their houses and children. Jewish hospitals have cured their trachoma and introduced them to sanitary arrangements.)

The White Paper was the final slap at the Jewish experiment, and the final gesture of appeasement to the Arabs. It must inevitably quench Jewish initiative in Palestine and effectively neutralize what has been already accomplished there. The plodding ox will frustrate all efforts of the spirited mare.

Many leaders of the British War Cabinet were opposed to the White Paper when it was issued by the Chamberlain government and are opposed to it now. Mr. Churchill himself voted against the White Paper in 1939. "This pledge [the Balfour Declaration]," he said, "of a home of refuge, an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home. . . . That is the pledge that was given, and that is the pledge which we are now asked to break." Herbert Morrison, Labor member of Churchill's War Cabinet, declared during the same debate: "We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America. This policy will do us no good in the United States, where we need to be done good, and where we need the good-will of the great American people. It comes at a time of tragedy and apprehension for the Jewish race throughout the world, and it ought not to be approved by the House today."

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, has been conferring with Churchill, Morrison, Amery, and others in the present British government who opposed the White Paper in 1939 on a new statement of policy on Palestine. Other members of the Jewish Agency executive have also left Jerusalem for London. Whether or not these negotiations will result in a modification of the White Paper is still doubtful. What we cannot doubt is that the present Palestine administration, which will stand or fall with the White Paper, is doing everything in its power to disrupt the negotiations by discrediting the Jewish population and its self-defense organization. Nor can we doubt that eventually Palestine will be included in the territories protected by the Atlantic Charter and enjoying the Four Freedoms. Let us hope that in the final settlement the seven men of Hulda will not be forgotten and that all Palestinians will be granted another freedom, one for which the American colonists fought the redcoatsfreedom from "unreasonable searches and seizures."

# Brains in the Kitchen

#### BY EDITH M. STERN

Pierry DAY, to desperately understaffed Washington hospitals, come messages from graduate nurses: "Sorry, I can't report for duty today, but the maid didn't show up." New York City social agencies, the head of a large one estimates, have lost 25 per cent of their trained case workers, young married women who have to stay home because they have no domestic help. "A considerable proportion of the alumnae who would be glad to help in the war effort are limited in their availability by . . . family obligations (we wish expert mathematics teachers did not have to stay at home with children of school age because maid service has gone into factories)," laments Katherine S. Doty, of the Barnard College Occupation Bureau.

War agencies are crying for statisticians. Yet a friend of mine, an expert statistician, has just quit her government job. Figuring deductions, carfares, lunches, maid's wages (\$4.20 to \$5 for an eight-hour day in Washington now), she found she cleared just \$300 a year on her forty-eight hours a week plus twelve hours' traveling. Eager to help in the war effort, she would have continued if she had been able to get a reliable worker to take over her housework and the care of her threeyear-old after nursery-school hours. But after struggling with six maids in one year, using up her leaves and more because of their unexplained absences, and seeing her child become a behavior problem, she gave up. I could tell similar stories about a physicist—and how the Navy Department wants women physicists!-a lawyer, a teacher, and one of those badly needed expert secretaries who could replace four of the inexperienced clerical workers now milling around government offices.

Unfortunately we have no statistics on the relation between the waste of skilled woman-power and the shortage of competent domestic help. Unfortunately nobody knows how many officers doing desk work might be released for service overseas if trained women could be relieved of dish-washing, mopping the kitchen floor, and hanging out the family wash. But surely it is pretty clear that the "servant problem" plays a large role in the woman-power problem and should be a matter of national concern.

Indeed, it should have exercised us long ago, when women first began to step out of kitchens into college halls, laboratories, and offices. The lack of competent domestic workers is not new; the war has simply brought it into sharper focus. While the supply of labor may have diminished quantitatively—according to the Wom-

en's Bureau of the Department of Labor, "there is no real shortage of 'domestic help' but there is a real shortage of 'good, well-qualified, trained domestic workers' "—the qualitative deficiencies we have always had with us. Only in times of deep depression has the kind of domestic help the professional woman requires been obtainable. Your woman doctor, attorney, writer, scientist, social worker, or teacher needs someone in her home not only to do the physical work but to plan, manage, and execute with a minimum of supervision, like an administrative assistant—someone with as much feeling of responsibility for kitchen and nursery as she herself has for her laboratory, office, or classroom.

But what kind of person is the run-of-the-mill domestic worker? Nearly always her job is Hobson's choice, and so she cherishes a deep, perhaps unconscious resentment that makes her something of a psychopathic problem. Seeing no future in her work, she is understandably indifferent about doing it well; there are no long-term penalties for absenteeism, unreliability, and carelessness with property. Often she has been discouraged from taking the initiative—this is especially true of the Southern Negro—and therefore she cannot be depended on to exert the necessary authority over tradespeople, or to cope with the emergencies that arise with regular irregularity in even the best-run households.

The housewife who stays at home and keeps a watchful eye on children and property, who can spend hours trying to get hold of repair men or standing in line at market, can muddle along with this kind of help at no greater cost than irritation. But the professional woman finds it a continual drain on her time and socially useful creative energy. Professionally trained women are therefore driven into joining one of three groups. In the first are those perhaps sensible women who foresee the losing battle and jettison their long and expensive education soon as they marry. In the second are women like my statistician friend who struggle along for a while and then decide that, rather than continue to sacrifice their families and themselves, they will let society at large get along without them. The third is made up of women with terrific drive, with special talents, with burning ambition, or now with fervent patriotism, who take on a double job that would faze any man, at unrecorded cost in terms of jagged nerves to themselves, their husbands, their children, and their professional potentials.

"But," you will hear from those who have never played this exhausting game of home versus career, "everybody has trouble with inefficient employees. Why, the things I go through with my factory hands, or my stenographers!" Ah, my dear sir—you must be male, or you would know better—there's a difference. The difficulties you have with your employees are an intrinsic part of your work. The career woman's difficulties at home are not only in addition to those in her office but over and above them. Not many normal women put career before home. Most of us, whether because men have sold us a bill of goods, because the mores are strong, or because of biological instinct, put our homes first and take pride in creating good ones.

A successful homemaker, however, does not have to perform or supervise every detail any more than a good business executive has to type his own letters or count the items in the shipping-room. A mother has duties, such as taking Sally to the doctor's to have him check up on her general condition or beaming upon her in her dance recital, which she would not and should not delegate. But someone else can take the children to be fitted for the same kind of shoes as those they have just outgrown, buy their toothpaste, make certain that their milk is warmed-and without detriment to the children's psyches. Pro bono publico, a woman capable of solving chemical problems or writing books should be able to depend upon a domestic worker to make out an accurate, comprehensive marketing list and not be obliged herself to inspect pantry and icebox. Often domestic workers fall so far short of this that they cannot even follow simple, written directions, thought out when the employer might be planning her own day's work.

What is the answer? So simplify the house that we can do without a domestic worker? The women's pages are full of bright suggestions. But you may use paper napkins, put away anything that needs polishing, eat out of cans (if you have the points), and there still remains an irreducible minimum of actual labor that must be done before and after office hours, enough to wear down any woman who needs her energies for other work. Constant attention is needed to keep even a new house decently clean, and the dinner that cooks itself is still only on the advertising pages. Nursery schools for the smaller children, after-school play groups for the older ones are also only a partial solution. They do not cover the beginning and tail end of the day or the frequent occasions when the youngsters are at home with colds.

There are only two ways out. The first is to dignify and professionalize domestic work so that it will attract a higher type of worker. You have your analogy in nursing, a calling for paupers and drunkards a century ago, today affording the opportunity for a master's degree. Actually, homes are pleasanter places in which to work than factories, and many women are better suited to domestic tasks than to office work. Remove the social stigma of the servant status, give the job and its complex

skills the respect that is rightfully theirs, standardize training, for a beginning at least as much as stenographic training is standardized, and a new vocational group will come into being. Everywhere, except in the home, we practice specialization. Only by training and honoring specialists in homemaking can we release other specialists, feminine gender, for their full social usefulness in war and in peace.

The second way out is simpler. Let no woman ever go beyond elementary school.

## In the Wind

N DECEMBER 25 The Nation published an article, O Little Town (Restricted), on the genteel Hitlerism of Littchfield, Connecticut, where by immemorial custom no Jew may own property. On January 7 the United Press released a brief story on the will of Benjamin Epstein, who had lived in nearby Winsted and left a fund of \$5,000 to maintain free beds in the Litchfield County Hospital.

THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER reports that the public favors federal control of soldier ballots by two to one. A Southern share-cropper's wife, asked by the interviewer why she favored state control, replied, "That way the Nigger soldiers can be kept from voting."

THE SOUR ILLITERATE: Benjamin De Casseres, a Hearst columnist, offers these thoughts on the life of the mind: "Eight out of ten of our professional Ph.D. 'intellectuals' are mental zombies. I don't belong, . . . and yet nature endowed me with a rather goodly share of 'intellect' out of her brain barrel."

HEADLINE in the business section of the New York Times: "Excess of Swine Grows in Chicago."

IMMACULATE FERTILITY: From Maurice Samuels's "The World of Sholem Aleichem," page 283: "Jews were too busy having children to bother with sex."

REPRESENTATIVE EDITH NOURSE ROGERS of Massachusetts, interviewed by the Boston Herald, said subsidies to keep food prices down were unnecessary: "I am sure that public opinion, public protest, and the refusal of the people to buy at exorbitant prices would keep prices at a reasonable level. . . I think, though, the average person would rather pay a few cents more for eggs than to go without them."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Since tea is unobtainable in Belgium, the German-controlled press has suggested boiled briars as a substitute. . . . An ammunition warehouse in a suburb of Oslo blew up and set off a succession of explosions that rocked the city and killed many people. "We were not afraid," said an eyewitness. "We thought it was the invasion."

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in December goes to B. ]. Morris of Milwaukee for the story of Wheeler McMillen's platform for 1944. It was published in the issue of December 18.]

# Patriot's Notebook

BY J. KESSEL

[Although the names of persons and the details of the incidents in this story are fictitious, it is an authentic account of the Frênch resistance today. M. Kessel has only recently come from France. He is now engaged in adapting his material on the underground struggle for a film which will be produced in England.]

Y HOST now is the Baron de V\_\_\_\_, and I live in a beautiful Louis XIII château. The estate includes a park, a lake, rich and widespread lands. It would be hard to imagine a safer or more pleasant refuge. The Baron has put himself entirely at my service. With his long nose, complexion tanned by wind and sun, and hard little eyes, he is somebody; he takes after both wolf and a fox. He cares for nothing except his broad acres and his hunting. A retired cavalry officer, needless to say, whose wife and children live under the Terror. The only person to stand up to him is his elder sister, an old maid never out of her riding breeches. The Baron de V--- was a sworn enemy of the Republic. Before the war he had organized his farmers and his kennelmen and huntsmen into a squadron armed with shotguns and revolvers which in the event of a Royalist rising was destined to take the nearest prefecture by a cavalry charge.

This squadron, perfectly organized and perfectly trained, still exists. But it will go into action against the Germans. Arms are there in plenty, and many escapes have been made to the land of the Baron. He belongs to no underground organization, but he helps them all. After his wife and children have gone to bed he rides out with his sister, both mounted, to receive new recruits. It is to this feudal character that our local chief, the secretary of the syndicate, has intrusted me. I teased the Baron de V—— on his alliance with a revolutionary; he gave his hunting boots a loud slap with the riding whip which he always carries, swore, and said to me, "Je préfère, monsieur, une France rouge à une France qui rougisse."

A country priest has come to say mass at the château. He spends his days and nights going round the farms. "You," he says to a peasant, "you have room to hide three men who won't go to Germany." "You," he says to another, "you must feed two more," and so on. He knows exactly what each one can do. He has a lot of influence and everyone obeys him. His name has been

given to the Germans, and he has been warned by the French authorities. "I've got to hurry up," he says, "for before I go to prison I want to place three hundred!" It has now become a kind of sport. A race against time.

The number of those who refused to work in Germany were a few thousand when I went to England. Today you can count them by the ten thousand. Many are swallowed up by the countryside. But many more have fled to the natural strongholds or have taken to the maquis—the maquis of Savoy, of the Cévennes, of the Pyrenees, of the Massif Central. Each holds an army of young people. They have to be fed, organized, and armed so far as is possible. It is a new and terrible problem for the Resistance. Some groups have sorted themselves into communities. Sometimes they edit a paper. Like tiny republics, they have their own laws. Others salute the colors every day, the flag with the Cross of Lorraine. The next mail for England will include photographs of these ceremonies.

But most of these lads, young workmen, students, clerks, need strong and intelligent leadership, money, and outside connections. Chose a committee of three from our lot to look after them: Félix, Lemasque, and Jean-François. They have the virtues and faults which complement each other.

Sent off a reception team for people and parcels coming from England. The team consists of a fireman, mutcher, a secretary of the mayor's, a policeman, mudoctor. Means of transport—the policeman's car and the butcher's van.

Examined a great many reports. For the people in the Resistance the margin of life is always growing narrower. The Gestapo multiplies its arrests and the German courts their death sentences. And now the French police automatically surrender the Frenchmen they hold to every demand of the enemy. Before, there was prison, the concentration camp, forced domicile, or a simple warning from the authorities. Today it is nearly always death, death, death.

But on our side we kill and kill.

The French weren't ready, weren't disposed, to kill. Their temperament, their climate, their country, the state of civilization which they had reached kept them a long way from bloodshed. I remember how difficult it was for us in the first days of the Resistance to contemplate murder in cold blood, ambushes, planned assas-

sination. And how hard it was to get recruits for that. There is no question of these scruples now. Primitive man has reappeared in France. He kills to protect his home, his daily bread, his loves, his honor. He kills every day. He kills the German, the accomplices of the German, the traitor, the informer. He kills rationally and unconsciously. I would not say that the French people have grown hard, but their edge has been sharpened.

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Accident? Good fortune? Premonition? Instinct?

I left the château a week ago. Two days after my departure the Baron de V— was taken, at the same time as the railwayman, our section chief. Both have already been shot.

I am living in a big city, at the house of a juge d'instruction, as his servant. It's good cover. Unfortunately, I have to see a great many people. Such coming and going in a quiet household is quickly noticed. I can't stay here much longer.

Mathilde has come back from her tour. She has made a complete report on our sectors for me. She has seen everyone and spent every night in the train. She finds it less tiring than looking after a large family in poverty. To tell the truth, she no longer looks like a housewife, I think that her new way of life and her cold fury and despair have entirely changed her expression and her way of moving. But she has been practicing as well. She told me that on her travels she changed her personality several times. Sometimes she powdered her hair and wore a severe black dress; at others she used make-up and dressed conspicuously. "I change fairly easily from the old lady bountiful to the old tart," said she in her business-like way.

One of the most important things she has done has been to etablish relations with the local heads of other groups to avoid overlapping and interference in operations. It sometimes happens that two or three different organizations have the same objective at the same time—sabotage, train-wrecking, assassination, or execution. If we are without contact, the squads are multiplied uselessly and so are the risks. It is also necessary to avoid the risk of a minor operation bringing the police down on a district where a major operation is in preparation. And yet the exchange of plans increases the danger of an indiscretion.

It is the eternal problem of underground life. To take people into our confidence is an imprudence, but recruiting can't be carried on without it. The only remedy is to partition everything, so as to limit the havoc. The Communists are the great masters of partitioning, at of everything connected with the underground city. Mathilde returned full of admiration for the strength, discipline, and method which she found among them. But short of working underground a quarter of a century, one can't catch up with them. They

are the professionals; we are still paying our apprentice fees.

Off again. Room taken under a fifth alibi. My papers: colonial officer on leave. Inoculations against malaria, Mathilde, as a nurse, comes to give them.

Visited Lemasque's sector.

I am not emotional, but I do not think I shall ever forget what I have seen. Hundreds and hundreds of young people returning to savagery. They can't wash. They can't shave. Their long hair hangs over cheeks burnt by the sun and the rain. They sleep in holes, in caves, in the mud. Their food is a terrible daily problem. The peasants do what they can, but that can't last indefinitely. I've seen boys wearing old bits of tire for shoes, or even bits of bark tied around their feet with laces. I've seen others whose only costume was an old potato sack split in two and tied round the loins. One can't tell any longer where these boys come from. Are they peasants, workmen, employees, students? They all wear the same hunger, the same misery, the same anger, and the same bitterness on their faces. The ones I visited were well disciplined under Lemasque and his helpers. We get them as much food and as much money as we can. But there are thousands of fugitives in the various maquis. No secret organization can look after even their most primitive needs. Either they must die of hunger then, or take to looting, or give themselves up. And winter hasn't come yet. Cursed be those who put such a choice before our young men.

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Mathilde has made a discovery which confirms some information about which we weren't quite sure. The dressmaker where Mathilde has taken an attic has a son of about twelve. This little boy works as a page at the Hotel T——. The job is a good one, not so much for the salary as for the scraps from the restaurant that he is sometimes given. Mathilde was asked to share one of these feasts. She said nothing was more pathetic than to see the little boy pretending that he wasn't hungry so as to give more to his mother, and the mother enacting the same comedy, when neither could take their eyes off the food.

Well, lately, the child has been sleeping terribly. He moans, cries, screams in his sleep, and seems to suffocate. The shivering fits which seize him are almost convulsions. He seems delirious and calls out, "Stop hurting her. Don't kill her. I implore you not to cry like that."

In desperation his mother consulted Mathilde, whom she still takes for a nurse. Mathilde spent part of the night listening to the little boy's nightmares. Then she woke him up gently. A woman who has had as many children as Mathilde, and loved them so much, knows how to speak to boys. The dressmaker's son told her everything: For about a week he has been put under the orders of the guests who occupy the third floor of the hotel. He has to wait on the landing and answer the bell. The whole floor, he says, is occupied by ladies and gentlemen who speak French well but are all Germans. They entertain a great deal. There are men and women who always come between two German soldiers. And these French people's eyes always look unnatural, as if they are afraid and do not wish to show it. And they are always taken to the same room, No. 87. Almost always cries, and peculiar noises, and moans are heard. The noises stop and then go on again. And again. "Till it makes you ill, I assure you, Madame," said the child to Mathilde. "The screams of the women they are hurting, they are worse than anything. And if you could see in what a state they leave. Often they are taken into another room, and then they bring them back. And it begins again. I didn't want to speak to anyone about it because I was afraid to think about it."

That was how we discovered the whereabouts of the Torture Chamber for this town.

Next day Mathilde asked me what advice I would have given the dressmaker about her son.

"But to take him away from the hotel at once," I said. "Well, I persuaded her to let him stay on," said Mathilde. "It is so valuable to have a spy in such a place. Above all, an innocent one." Her mouth narrowed, and she looked at me inquiringly with a very sad expression. I had to force myself to tell her she was right.

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A long talk with Louis H——, chief of a group with which we often cooperate. We discussed first of all a very urgent question. Louis H—— has three men in a concentration camp to whom he is particularly attached. The Gestapo has claimed these three men. They are going to be handed over to it by train in four days. Louis H——'s organization has been terribly tried in the last month, and he has not got enough men to rescue his comrades. He has come to ask me if we would undertake the operation. I shall give the necessary orders.

Then, without wishing it, as old schoolmates or regimental or war comrades do, we let ourselves drift into reminiscences. Both of us are among the veterans of Resistance. We have seen a lot of water and blood flow under the bridges. Louis H—— worked out that of four hundred who formed his group at the beginning only five were left now with their life and liberty. If we have a greater proportion of survivors—a matter of luck, perhaps of organization—the work is the same, tremendous. And the Gestapo strikes without stopping, always harder and closer. But the enemy cannot succeed in suppressing the Resistance. It's too late. We decided that a year ago the Germans, if they had shot or arrested a thousand picked men, could have beheaded all our groups and disorganized the Resistance for a long time,

perhaps till the war was over. Today that's impossible. There are too many resisters, and substitute resisters, helpers, and accomplices. If all the men were deported the women would remain. And there are some surprising ones.

After Louis left, I had a fit of depression. It's not good to count the missing. And then I haven't been sleeping well these days. I think of the Mont Valérien, where not a day passes without executions, of that park of Chaville where every day a lorry brings the condemned before an execution squad, of the rifle range of Z——, where not a day goes by without our comrades being machinegunned.

I have thought about the cells of Fresne, the cellars of Vichy, about room 87 in the Hotel T——, where every day, every night, they burn women's breasts and break their toes, and stick pins under their nails, and send electric currents through the sexual organs. I have thought of the prisons and the concentration camps where people die of hunger, of consumption, of cold, of vermin. I have thought of the team of our underground newspaper, completely renewed three times over, of the sectors where not a man, not a woman, remains of those who saw the work begin.

And I asked myself as a practical thinker, as an engineer who designs a blueprint, do the results we obtain justify these massacres? Is our newspaper worth the death of its editors, its printers, its distributors? Are our little sabotages, our individual assassinations, our modest little secret army which will perhaps never go into action—are they worth our terrible losses? Are leaders like us, who inflame and train and sacrifice so many stout fellows and brave men, so many simpletons, for a war in secret, of famine and torture—are such leaders, in short, really necessary for victory?

As a practical thinker, as an honest mathematician, I have to admit that I have no idea; and even that I don't believe we are. In numbers, for all useful purposes, we work at a loss. Then, I have thought, we should in all honesty give it up. But the moment the thought of giving up has come to me I have known it was impossible. Impossible to leave to others the whole weight and care of protecting us, of rescuing us; impossible to leave the Germans with the memory of a country without a comeback, without dignity, without hatred. I have felt that an enemy killed by us who have neither uniform nor flag nor land, that such an enemy was heavier and more efficacious in the scales which weigh a country's destiny than a whole holocaust on the field of battle. I know that we have waged the French people's most glorious war. A war of little material use, since victory is already assured us, even without our help. A war which no one compels us to wage, a war with no glory, a war of executions and assassinations, in fact # free war. But

this war is an act of love and an act of hate. In short an act of living.

"For a people to be so generous with its blood," said the boss one day, with his quiet smile, "that proves at least that its corpuscles are red."

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

OWHERE has the Nazi race theory failed so miserably as in Alsace-Loraine. And nowhere has its failure been illustrated more dramatically than in the incident of the University of Strasbourg, or, if you prefer, the University of Clermont-Ferrand. For some weeks we heard only vague rumors about new Nazi brutalities; then gradually we learned more about the affair from reports smuggled across the Swiss border into the news room of the *Journal de Genève*.

When war first broke out, Strasbourg was evacuated, and the university, together with all its teachers and students, was transported to Clermont-Ferrand, where it was allowed to use the equipment of the local university. Then came the surrender. Alsace was annexed by the Germans. A new German university was founded in Strasbourg. Thereupon the Nazi authorities sought to induce the Alsatian students and teachers to leave Clermont-Ferrand and return to Strasbourg. But although most of these were, in Nazi terminology, "racially German," few could be persuaded to go back. Moreover, a steady stream of Alsatian youth who had no desire either to study at a Nazi university or to serve in the German army trickled over the demarcation line to the university in exile.

When all France was overrun in November, 1942, the Germans intensified their efforts to get the Alsatians to return. Representatives of the student groups were haled before the occupation authorities and given an ultimatum. It was on one of these occasions that student is said to have answered, "My comrades and I would rather live in poverty with vanquished France than become servants of victorious Germany." Some arrests were made; persons disappeared—among others, Professor Hauter of the Department of Protestant Theology. When all this availed nothing, the Nazis abandoned their attempts to lure back their Alsatian "Volksgenossen" and employed their familiar methods of "annihilation" and "extermination." The Gestapo went into action.

At ten o'clock on the morning of December 2 an S. S. battalion armed with machine-guns seized the main building of the University of Clermont-Ferrand in the Avenue Carnot. All Alsatian students and professors found there, about five hundred, were rounded up.

Without even being allowed to get their coats and hats. they were forced to march out into the winter cold. holding their arms above their heads. A professor of Greek, M. Collomb, who refused to put up his hands, was shot on the spot. A professor of theology, M. Eppel, was mortally wounded. Toward evening the procession reached some barracks. There they found other hundreds in the same situation, for the Gestapo had raided not only the main building of the university but a halfdozen other schools-the physics and chemistry institutes, the law seminar, even the municipal library. What happened after that we do not know. Nothing has been heard from any of the persons arrested. The Alsatians who escaped arrest went into hiding. The next morning the Gestapo chief issued the statement: "The University of Strasbourg in Clermont-Ferrand is no more."

For the first time in this war Germany is experiencing a serious food crisis. At the beginning of the fall the weekly potato ration for the winter period was set at nine and a half American pounds, and the people were urged to buy their entire winter's supply at once, so far as that was possible, and to store it in their cellars. Special purchase stamps were given out for this purpose. But by the end of November it began to be apparent that the plan had struck a snag. First, further purchases of potatoes for storing were forbidden. Then came announcements that "the potato crop this year did not turn out to be as large as would have been desirable:" Finally all previous rulings were scrapped. The weekly ration was "revised"; cut almost in half to five and a half American pounds. But since then, in large parts of the country, even the allotted five and a half pounds a week has not been obtainable. In Dresden, for example, all through November the ration was reduced to three and a third pounds.

It is a safe conclusion that the sudden scarcity was due not only to the bad harvest but to the progressive loss of the Ukraine. We know how much the German regime had counted on the Ukrainian "bread basket"; at the least the armies on the eastern front were to be fed from it in 1944. In any case the potato shortage is a fact, and the Nazis face a food problem of serious proportions. For not only are potatoes an extremely important item in the people's diet, but they are also used extensively as fodder for animals. A decree published on December 23 states that "the poor potato crop makes it necessary to slaughter great numbers of pigs prematurely; if their slaughter were put off, the consumption of potatoes would be undesirably high." When the same necessity caused the same action to be taken during the last war, it was called "hog murder." And it is ironical that in the Nazi agitation of later years this "hog murder" was described as "a criminal Jewish trick" to ruin Germany.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Goya

THE COMPLETE ETCHINGS OF GOYA. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. Crown Publishers. \$3.50.

F ALL the artists whose life and works have inspired a literature Goya perhaps stands first. Art critics and biographers are still examining into what manner of man this was, and what are the excellences of the work he has left us. Writers in very different fields still draw strength from Goya in the development of their own ideas. Ever since the first books appeared about him—Laurent Matheron's in 1858 and Charles Yriarte's in 1867—the publications of all sorts, commentaries, articles, even poems, which had to do with him have been endless and abundant. Some of them are influenced by the legend which accompanies him, some by historical considerations; some take the novel form; some—and perhaps the fewest—analyze his art; it is, of course, true that the best guide to understanding the art of a great artist is that artist's life.

The concept of what is characteristically Goyesque springs in all this literature, good and bad, from Goya's engravings. Their creator divided the most important of them into four groups, and gave those groups the following titles:

The Capriccios: these were printed between 1792 and 1799, and some 240 impressions were made of them.

The Art of Bullfighting: Goya printed this series himself, about the year 1815, but there is no record of the number of impressions made.

The Disasters of the War: these were printed in 1863, thirty-five years after Goya's death, and 500 sets were made of them.

The Proverbs (also called by the untranslatable title Los Disparates): the first 250 impressions were made in the year 1864 by the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts.

Earlier, Goya engraved copies of twenty-five of Velázquez's paintings (nine of these engravings have been lost), but though the work of Velázquez left a profound mark on Goya's painting, it had no effect on his black-and-white.

In one of the hundred and thirty-odd letters written to his friend Don Martin Zapater, Goya told him, "My teachers were nature, Rembrandt, and Goya." This he said in explaining the aesthetic orientation of his engravings. There is no better analysis. If we try to go farther back, we very quickly find that the three cardinal points on which the engravings rest are Goya's eyes, his magical temperament which put something of himself into everything he touched, and the art of Rembrandt, which also moved within the engraving method. Madrid still preserves a magnificent collection of the Dutch master's prints, which Goya must have studied with the utmost care. But unlike Rembrandt, Goya was too restless, too dynamic in temperament to squander time tracing an infinite number of delicate lines on a copper plate for the purpose of getting the shadings, the translations from white to black which he desired. So he invented the resin bath called "aquatint"-resin dust sprinkled on copper

plate leaves small free points which, when the acid bites into them, gives those deep or delicate grays which form his backgrounds. This new method is so characteristic of the technique of Goya's engravings that Plate 32 of the Capriccios is in itself sufficient to acquaint one with the quality of the prints.

The eighty Capriccios form a kind of intimate diary of one period of the artist's life. In them Goya took the lid off his passions, and with an irony which was at times both brutal and bloody, criticized the society he was then occupied in painting. Kings and nobles, priests, politicians, friars, light women, witches, devils, and common people move in and out of the series, exhibiting the vices of their souls as well as of their bodies. The strangest of compositions carry the most confusing of legends under them, for Goya was intent on cloaking these Capriccios in mystery, and in spite of the most meticulous searching of scholars, the mystery still holds. We assume that the famous Duchess of Alba, King Charles IV, his licentious consort Queen Maria Louisa, the enfant terrible Ferdinand VII, the court ministers, the sages, churchmen, and even the social concepts of the period appear and disappear in these Capriccios. It is not impossible that those two subtle writers, Cean Bermudez and Moratín, who were both friends and models for Goya, may have added the richness of their ideas to this work—a work drawn with such spiritual violence and monstrous exaltation that it became the forerunner of the school of caricature favored by graphic newspaper commentators throughout the nineteenth century.

The Capriccios were followed by the Art of Bullfighting, which is an engraved history of that art in twenty prints. We do not know whether, as the legend claims, Goya actually took part in a bullfight, but Moratín wrote in 1825, "Goya says he was a bullfighter in his day, and that with a matador's sword in hand he fears no one, and this in spit of the fact that he will be eighty in two months." It can be added that he understood the fine points of bullfighting perfectly and delighted in drawing them. Some of the prints in this series are among the most beautiful of all his etchings.

The Disasters of the War were inspired by Napoleon's invasion of Spain. It is more than possible that Goya made this group of eighty war prints as a relief and an outlet for the saddest moments of his existence. His eyes saw no theatrical brilliance in those triumphant marches, that military heroism. His eyes saw misery, ruin, maledictions, hatred, death; and Goya gave up all the comforts of his charming Palacete on the outskirts of Madrid and installed himself alone in a small workshop in a humble city street. There, like an old sorcerer manipulating acids, he went on engraving destruction, fire, crime, blood, rapine, disease, and hunger. He watched the Spanish people struggling for their independence, and out of an interpretation of their anguish came a prophecy for the future. Print number 78, which shows a horse attacked by mad dogs while other dogs sit by and watch, is entitled "He Defends Himself Well,"

French writers of the middle of the last century explained that the meaning of the print was to be found in the situation of the Spanish people, then attacked by foreign armies with the approval of powerful countries which prevented Spain from defending itself. The bit of history which Goya saw in 1808 was repeated with great violence in 1936.

After the Disasters of the War, Goya engraved the Proverbs, or Los Disparates. Surely he was trying to blot out the memory of that enormous tragedy by plunging into a world of fantasy, of absurdity, of the beautiful and mysterious pirouette which by saying nothing says everything.

The latest edition of these four groups of engravings was made in the midst of the horrors of war, in Madrid in 1937, and may with good reason be called extraordinary. Five copies were made on special Japanese paper as a way of bidding farewell with all due honor to the famous engraved copper. For, as the head of the printing house—La Calcografia Nacional—which had cared for them for some thirty years wrote at the time, the present state of the copper plates does not permit the making of more prints without danger of destroying the engraving.

This work of Goya, together with thirty-nine other prints, carefully reproduced, has been made into a beautiful book by Crown Publishers. In a prologue Aldous Huxley gives us a brilliant impression of Goya, his restless temperament, and the manner in which he made these engravings. It is very laudable that now, when the present bloody regime in Spain has dedicated itself to the destruction of Spanish art and artists—an art and certain artists that are universal—the United States should have undertaken to spread Goya's fame abroad.

LUIS QUINTANILLA

#### Post-War Primers

ROAD TO PEACE AND FREEDOM. By Irving Brant. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.

BUILDING FOR PEACE AT HOME AND ABROAD. By Maxwell S. Stewart. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

DOTH these brief volumes are intended to chart a way out of the maze of inconsistencies and confusion which threatens to entrap the mind of the average American before this war is even won. The first book attempts to solve this dilemma by reducing the world problem to American political terms; the second attempts to solve it by expanding the American problem to world economic terms.

Mr. Brant, basing his argument on what appears to be somewhat hurried research, arrives at the optimistic conclusion that "the only ultimate choice which exists for the United States today is between socialism and capitalism regulated for the benefit of society." His chapters on North Africa, Occupied Europe, and China are too brief to be anything but superficial, but they are fundamentally sound. His chapters on Foreign Policy, State Department, and Russia are much better for being longer.

After surveying the State Department's bungling of our political warfare to date, Mr. Brant, who is the Washington correspondent of the Chicago Sun, concludes that "the department cannot be trusted to make decisions, cannot even be relied upon to furnish the simplest factual information,

in matters most vitally affecting the destiny of the world." I question, however, that our disastrous foreign policy is merely the consequence of an "ideological conflict between the democratic President and his anti-democratic State Department." I think Mr. Brant has too much faith in Mr. Roosevelt's "democratic principles and his understanding of the menace of fascism," and too glibly excuses the President for his share in the shameful political role our government has been playing in North Africa and Italy.

In regard to Russia, he capably synthesizes the many arguments pro and con; and without overlooking the shortcomings of Soviet foreign policy concludes: "The revised record does not prove Soviet Russia's trustworthiness in the postwar world, but it strips away some false ideas of past untrustworthiness, and tends to show that the Russians are not so different from ourselves where the safety of their country is concerned." In attempting to rationalize Russia's territorial ambitions, however, he sometimes ventures a little beyond his depth, as when he states that northern Bukovina was occupied "in 1939 . . . to give Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia a common boundary. . . ." (Actually, Bukovina was not occupied until June 27-30, 1940, when Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist and when the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine had been occupied by Hungary.) In any event, says Mr. Brant, Russia after the war will be so powerful that she "can rule all Europe by force if she so desires." But he doesn't think she will, because her "dependence upon the American machine-tool industry . . . in the ten years following the war will offer a firmer guaranty against revolutionary intrigue than the dissolution of the Comintern."

Mr. Stewart, dealing with less controversial materials than Mr. Brant, proceeds on more solid ground. His book is addressed "to the common man—to 'Jim Hogan,' " and is a summary of the means of attaining "two practical and immediate goals: (1) the provision of jobs for all Americans who want work after the war; and (2) the prevention of World War III."

In discussing the many post-war reemployment programs, he opens some very encouraging vistas. Agricultural acreage, he believes, could and should be doubled, which would ultimately engage or reengage several million workers; at least two million additional men could be employed for years in providing us with adequate housing; and expanded health, education, and recreation projects could easily absorb a million more. But how is it all to be paid for? Mr. Stewart skilfully explodes the many myths which confuse our postwar thinking, among them the myth that governmental fiscal policy has to obey the shibboleths of private finance. He holds with Alvin Hansen of Harvard that post-war depressions can be avoided "by a carefully planned program of combined consumer and public spending," and with Mordecai Ezekiel of the Department of Agriculture that the secret of maintaining employment is to keep wages high and prices low-by means of government subsidies, if necessary -thereby preventing "the accumulation of surplus buying power in the hands of a few." He summarizes and criticizes these and other plans-including those put forward by David Prince of General Electric, the magazine Fortune, and industry's Committee for Economic Development-showing how they can all be combined and rationalized if only the

# ONE VICTORY FOR HITLER?

Of all Hitler's grandiose and megalomanic ambitions, he retains only one—the complete annihilation of the Jews of Europe. All his other ambitions he has had to abandon one by one, under the irresistible onslaught of the victorious armies of the United Nations. In his gloomy New Year's message he announced his intention to win one great victory this year—over the Jews! He declared: "Our whole life, our efforts and our existence must be directed to only one end . . . the complete extermination of Jewry all over Europe."

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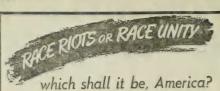
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American public desires post-war security strongly enough to force our politicians to provide it. The extent of our international cooperation after the war, Mr. Stewart believes, will depend largely on how successfully we can put our own house in order. If we succeed, then there will be no insuperable obstacles to our taking the lead, with Britain and Russia, in organizing the world's economy so that a Third World War can be prevented.

The only trouble with this useful little book is a fundamental question which Mr. Stewart himself brings up in his concluding chapter. Will the average American, the "Jim Hogan" to whom Mr. Stewart speaks, be influenced by postwar primers such as these? Mr. Stewart has his doubts. "Experience has shown," he writes, "that [public complacency] is not likely to be jolted by intellectual appeals, whether they be presented in books, pamphlets, on the radio, or in the movies. . . ." In other words, simple, concise, well-reasoned books like these—books that should but won't be read by the common man—are doomed to insignificant sales, and will be read chiefly by persons who, like this reviewer, are already in essential agreement with their authors. And we need stronger meat.

#### Fiction in Review

IANA" by Martha Gellhorn (Scribner's, \$2.50) is for me reminiscent of last year's "Tropic Moon" by the French writer Simenon, not only because both novels are triangular love stories of the French tropics and share a sophisticated concern for the way colored people are treated in the colonies, but because they both manage to achieve an emotional, almost a literary, effect quite beyond their literary merits. Possibly this is the result of their non-intellectuality -or rather, of their perfect blending of intellectual and emotional pitch. There is more atmosphere, for instance, in Miss Gellhorn's book than the author seems to work to produce, and more suggested meaning in the human relationships than characters such as hers usually yield. On the surface, or even several layers down, "Liana" is not much more than another stereotyped, not-so-lush-as-it-could-have-been narrative of tropical miscegenation: the richest white man of the island marries his mulatto mistress and then, neglecting her, loses her to the school teacher, also white but more decent; and even the fact that the novel ends with both white men becoming more interested in each other and in politics than in the girl can scarcely raise it to a level where, say, it would disturb its neighbors in a woman's magazine. Still, there are reverberations from Miss Gellhorn's simple story, as there were reverberations from Simenon's novel, which must be recorded on the credit side of the ledger; it is always a good thing when a novel gives off more effects than can be readily accounted for.

E. Arnot Robertson's "The Signpost" (Macmillan, \$2.50) has the virtue of at least starting out as a war novel of the type which appears to be English bread and butter but which in my experience is not even caviar on the American war menu. I have not come across a single American novel which tries to say a word of truth about this war: those of our novelists who are concerned with the war either write elabo-

rate fictions about this happy land worth dying for or take out their patrioteering in forced re-creations of the past, intended to prove that America through all its history has been whole-woven of the purest idealisms. But even second-string English novelists don't appear to feel the need to protest so much. Accepting their country, they acknowledge its faults, and they dare to speak up in the kind of criticism which novelists in this country seem to think is subversion; they even dare, like Miss Robertson, to uncover doubts in the mind of an R. A. F. flier. But, as I say, this distinction obtains in only the first chapters of Miss Robertson's book; for the rest of a long way "The Signpost" deserts the hear: of England at war for the heart of Ireland in uneasy peace—which is perhaps no less courageous but is certainly, in this instance, less interesting.

If Kay Boyle's "Avalanche" (Simon and Schuster, \$2.50)
—it is extended from a Saturday Evening Post serial—had been content to be only what the slogan on the jacket describes, "a novel of love and espionage," I should be glad to accept it as simply another commercial exploitation of the drama of these hard times. I have never found it in particularly bad taste, nor an offense against the serious truth, that writers should spin adventure stories out of the struggles of the European undergrounds. But Miss Boyle's excursion into French anti-Nazi activities is offensive in the extreme against the serious truth because by the introduction of italicized passages of literary exaltation and by the parade of her whole familiar bundle of literary mannerisms she pretends to more and better than pot-boiling. Reality immediately asserts itself, in all its tragic grandeur, against such an encroachment.

Jesse Stuart's "Taps for Private Tussie" (Dutton, \$2.50), winner of the 1943 Thomas Jefferson Southern Award, came out some weeks ago; it has not only sold many copies but received very special praise for its authentic American character and its ballad flavor. And you will remember Mr. Stuart, author of "Man with the Bull-Tongue Plough," for his reputation as a "native" writer, a poet who refuses to desert his land and its people. Well, to my taste, "Taps for Private Tussie," recounting the adventures of the Tussie clan when on the death of a son in service it inherits his \$10,000 insurance, is an unpleasant comic strip of a book; its chief point seems to be the superiority of Mr. Stuart's reading public to those amusing Kentucky mountaineers who know no better than to live in animal squalor and by animal trickery and to squander their relief subsidies for moonshine. DIANA TRILLING

#### DRAMA

ART, mishandled, has with kickback that with shotgun would envy. And the drubbing that Maxwell Anderson has had from the reviewers of his latest play, "Storm Operation" (Belasco Theater), is as nothing to the beating he has taken from the Muse herself. Reverberations of the encounter came through in the form of newspaper bulletins about rewritings and a postponement. But Mr. Anderson's attempt at appeasement obviously didn't work; the Muse was not amused. Nor did the fact that Mr. Anderson meant well all the time save him, for the Muse is nothing if not vindictive. And the



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NOW ON EXHIBIT . . . DRAWINGS by Taro Yashima in a one-man show at the A.C.A., gallery, 63 E. 57th St., N. Y., through January 29th. ruthlessness with which she trips him up, sends him stumbling into a cul de sac, and leaves him there is something to see.

As I have said, Mr. Anderson meant well. A good many months ago he paid a visit to the front in North Africa. He was greatly moved by his experience, particularly by the sight of plain ordinary American soldiers, in their infinite variety, going about their business in a strange land. Out of this reservoir of feeling and observation he has drawn a few characterizations that are authentic.

To the relatively pure gold of these characterizations Mr. Anderson added the dross of a plot having to do with military operations and a love story involving a sergeant and a nurse. This was legitimate. But Mr. Anderson made the fatal mistake of assuming that he could write a significant play without an idea or a point of view. And that is his undoing. Art, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and since Mr. Anderson had nothing to say, or chose to say nothing, about war in general or this war in particular, it was inevitable that the plot or the "love interest" would fill the void. The "love interest" wins. Instead of being, as it was obviously intended to be, a bit of sugarcoating, it gets completely out of hand and swamps the show. I have seldom heard so much talk about marriage even in a play ostensibly dealing with that great institutionand no play dealing directly with marriage would dare to discuss it on such a simple-minded level of "I'll keep house for you"-"You really want to keep house for me?" The scene of this play is an encampment at the front, but toward the end of the evening everyone on the stage is so engrossed in the marriage of the sergeant and the streamlined nurse that the spectator begins to wonder if the whole cast shouldn't be sent to some quiet sector behind the lines, say Hollywood, and a new one sent up to get on with the war. The final ludicrous impression is that what Maxwell Anderson brought back from his visit to World War II was a new belief inmarriage. No wonder I thought I heard the Muse chuckling in the wings.

There is some accurate reporting, especially in the first act, of the very elementary reactions of American soldiers to their experience, but we have heard them before from newspaper correspondents, and they are not put to any significant use. What is worse, one is never sure they are not Mr. Anderson's reactions, since he establishes no attitude of his own. The level of awareness and intelligence, in other words, is no higher than that of the least naive character in the play, and I find it difficult to decide who that was.

There is a "situation" between the American sergeant and an English captain which is further complicated in the most unlikely fashion by the fact that they are both in love with the nurse. The situation is duly resolved according to a pretty shopworn formula, and in the climactic scene the English captain, who is also a lord, performs the marriage ceremony by virtue of his having once studied for the ministry—which explains why he carries a Bible! There is a Frenchman whose "intensity" about the war is made light of, and an Italian prisoner who is presented in the, to me, infuriating stereotyped guise of an obsequious "wop" coward. Needless to say, he has a brother in America.

In performance "Storm Operation" exercises the same fascination as a slick bad movie. It didn't bore me. The

settings are nicely suited to this exotic Arabian Nights war of Mr. Anderson's. The cast acts well and is in general well cast, though the nurse (Gertrude Musgrove) with her fashionable long back and her incredibly well-tailored and impeccably pressed slacks does seem a little out of place even in this incarnation of the North African theater. Myron McCormick, as the American sergeant who describes himself as a retired steel worker, brings more to the part as actor than he gets out of the script. And I quite fell in love with Cy Howard, whose part is mostly written in double talk. In my opinion he dies in vain. MARGARET MARSHALL

"Over Twenty-one" (Music Box) has become an established hit without the help of this column. It is the sort of play that was sure to succeed in this sort of season. The dialogue is funny-not subtle or witty but just funny. The total absence of plot is artfully concealed behind a lot of diverting activity. Things are always happening, absurd or comic or, just occasionally, rather moving things; and it is only afterward that you realize you have been lured into not noticing how little else the play has to offer. Such trickery is itself, of course, an evidence of superior craftsmanship. Between them, Ruth Gordon, who wrote the play and has the leading role, and George Kaufman, who directed it, know how to perform this kind of stage magic. By every gesture and inflection Ruth Gordon enriches her part. She knows how to be maliciously insinuating at one moment and artfully simple the next; she is at her best when she whirls into sudden violence. Her cast supports her well. The set is perfect—so innocently and nicely awful. Almost anybody would have a good time at "Over Twenty-one."

#### CONTRIBUTORS

JESSE LURIE, New York correspondent of the Palestine Post, worked as a newspaperman in Palestine for many years. At present he is writing a novel based on the experiences of an American soldier in Palestine.

EDITH M. STERN, a housewife and free-lance writer, is working on a manual for attendants in mental hospitals under the sponsorship of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the Commonwealth Fund. It is coming slowly, she reports, for the reasons mentioned in her article.

LUIS QUINTANILLA, eminent Spanish artist, served with the Loyalists during the war in Spain, and has been in this country since it ended. "All the Brave," a book of his war drawings, was published here in 1939.

LEIGH WHITE was a foreign correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1941 and 1942, spending much of his time in the Balkans.

In early issues of The Nation "Persons and Places: The Background of My Life" By George Santayana REVIEWED BY NEWTON ARVIN "Where's the Money Coming From?" By Stuart Chase REVIEWED BY MORDECAI EZEKIEL

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BIRLINGAME

#### FILMS

ROCODILE tears over the alleged decline of Alfred Hitchcock have for years been a favorite cocktail among those who take moving pictures seriously. That has always seemed to me an impatient and cheap attitude to take toward any kind of change, or disturbance, in the work of a good artist. It still does. Nevertheless, because my space is limited, I am going to use it almost exclusively to specify things which strike me as limiting, or disappointing, about "Lifeboat."

The initial idea—a derelict boat and its passengers as microcosm—is itself so artificial that, like the problems set by keeping a story moving for two hours within a gunwale frame, it sets the whole pride and brain too sharply to work on a tour de force for its own sake.

These two handicaps, adequately undertaken, could have become leverages upon great advantages, working like, say, the formal stringencies of a sonnet.

It seems to me that the only way to counteract the basic artificiality and to bring it through to absolute success the more so when you count in the necessary stripping away of the sort of detail of streets, machines, garments which Hitchcock has a genius for putting to work—would have been through (1) an implacable physical and psychological realism, which was not attempted, (2) squeezing the poetic and symbolic power out of the final intensities of this realism—the essence of most good cinema—rather than tempering the realism to the allegory.

As allegory, the film is nicely knit, extensively shaded and detailed, and often fascinating. But the allegory itself is always too carefully slide-ruled. None of it gives off the crazy, more than ambiguous, nascent-oxygen quality of firstrate allegories like those of Shakespeare or Kafka or Joyce. And little of it effloresces into pure human or even pure theatrical emotion; it is too thought-out, too superficial, and too much in thrall to its somewhat sentimental intelligence. Though every performance has, within the limits which seem so arduously and coldly set, fine spirit and propriety, only William Bendix occasionally transcends those limits and becomes an immediate human being.

The handling of the cinematic problems is extremely astute, in spite of a smell of studio about most of it. But since too little was ventured of what

followed as a logical obligation out of the root of the idea, it remains an interesting, disappointing demonstration of possibilities at a second or third remove. What disturbs me is the question whether Hitchcock recognizes this, as I would certainly be inclined to assume: or whether, like too many good but less gifted film artists, he has at last become so engrossed in the solution of pure problems of technique that he has lost some of his sensitiveness toward the purely human aspects of what he is doing. A friend of mine justly remarks that "Lifeboat" is more a Steinbeck picture than a Hitchcock. In "Shadow of a Doubt," too, I felt that Hitchcock was dominated by his writers. In his finest films he has always shown, always cinematically, qualities of judgment and perception which to my mind bring him abreast of all but the few best writers of his time, and which set him far beyond the need, conscious or otherwise, of going to school to anyone. But too many people rock "Lifeboat"; and they lull what had every right and need, if it were undertaken at all, to be a great and terrifying film. JAMES AGER

#### DANCE

THERE is a sharp difference between the utilization of unconscious forces in the creation of a work of art and the facile superimposition of psychoanalytic formulas on the material of art. The latter is a dead-end road which, like the earlier fad of "social significance," is unfortunately being followed by many practitioners of the arts. Its disastrous results in the field of the dance were tellingly demonstrated by Martha Graham's latest program.

If you can imagine three Borgias simultaneously wrestling with their pasts on a psychoanalytic couch, then you have "Deaths and Entrances," the major new offering of the evening, and a grueling exposition of female frustration. In a dumb-show display of case histories, the fury-driven protagonists react to each other on the same level but without any of the intentional irony of Thurber's characters in the War Between Men and Women. What is exhibited ultimately in this composition, as in "Salem Shore," a new and lengthy solo, is the narcissistic enjoyment of individual suffering. Here Miss Graham's fatal error is to confuse the dissection of the neurotic under layer with the discovery of the soul; the former is a clinical procedure, the latter a dynamic process

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that cannot be achieved through the application of therapeutic techniques. Unlike the divine frenzy of the Maenads, Graham's possession derives from individual imbalance, and as it lacks divinity, it also lacks humanity.

Now the business of the choreographer is to create, to be a "maker," not of fragments, but of wholes; to create a form, a milieu in which actions occur, in which feelings are engendered-for the artist is not simply a window dresser filling space with articles of display. Moreover, although a single moment in a given composition may carry the germ of all that follows, in the complexity of a work of art there must be reference and cross-reference, a necessary and inevitable development, so that no isolated moment is complete until the whole is realized. Exhibitionism in the dance, as in the other arts, seeks merely to create an effect by display; it is not concerned with establishing that two-way flow between artist and audience in which a complete experience in a particular medium is communicated, an experience potentially as real as any in the everyday world. It is Miss Graham's indulgence in the exhibition of neurotic conflicts for purposes of display rather than of communication that marks her basic failure as an artist.

To turn to lighter subjects, "Punch and Judy," an earlier composition, has many agreeable moments, most of which are provided by Erick Hawkins's dancing. He alone of the entire company seems to derive pleasure from physical movement, which, all theories aside, is still the stuff of which the dance is prop-VIRGINIA MISHNUN erly made.

#### ART

ECHNICALLY one of the most gifted of all painters, Derain has always suffered from a bad character. His technical accomplishment is not merely a matter of dexterity: it is so solid and profound that it assimilates to itself some of the traits associated with genius. The Chardinesque frying pan in the 1939 "Still Life with Fish" (in the show of his work at the Pierre Matisse Gallery through January 29) is painted with what I can only call a purchase on the resources of his medium that no painter of the age can match. Yet the picture as whole suffers from a heavy matter-of-factness, numbness, which converts it into controlled demonstration of Derain's prowess and maneuver of his vanity. It fails to impress one as an end in itself. But tradition can at times humble Derain by the accumulation of its great examples and force him to paint on his knees in spite of himself. And certain mysterious aspects of nature quell his ego. His forest interiors, with their green-yellow gloom and scaffolding of brown tree boles, where light becomes one solid among others, show the artist mis à nu. The theme compels him to measure himself frankly against the past and to confess how much his art lacks the completeness which can only be attained by an infinity of reverberations. Derain's natural bent is toward an art rationally founded, breathing the sentiment of space defined by massive forms and impermeable surfaces, all organized in a clear, logical system. His most valid feeling is what might be termed the sentimentality of materialism, which Courbet had too. On the other hand, when he mistakenly follows the example of Cézanne, who ventured into a sphere where Cartesian logic and Newtonian physics cannot operate, Derain betrays his disorientation by his failure to concern himself with more than mere surface. His obtuseness is exposed by the very brilliance with which he achieves just what he has set out to do and no more. See the big brittle landscape called "Valley of the Lot at Vers," painted in 1912. As for Derain's portrait heads, much that is good in them is smothered by the ambition to contrive a new thrill out of the solid and the chic.

Derain's place in modern painting, as well as that of Vlaminck and Dunoyer de Ségonzac, has never been fixed satisfactorily. I think it can be said that all three of them are revising the academic or traditional in terms of some of the discoveries made by Cézanne. Abandoning the expanded color ranges they handled while Fanves, though retaining the higher color keys, they go back to the unity of tone of the old masters, whose range of values-or darks and lights-far exceeded their range of color intensities. The gradual transitions from value to value which were axiomatic for the old masters and expressed their sense of the unity of life are replaced by abrupt contrasts and broader and flatter definitions of values-which give the modern sense of the disunity of life and the superior unity of art. For modern art is able, apparently, to reconcile the most violent contrasts, something that politics, philosophy, and religion have been incapable of doing lately. Derain, Vlaminck,



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and Ségonzac are thoroughgoing conservatives in every respect except their art, and even there they are not by any means radicals. The narrowness of their palettes manifests their concern with unity and order. Their painterly virtues lie in the manipulation of values, not of color. They may flavor their painting occasionally with a pinch of intenser color-Vlaminck being the most daring in that he imposes his system of values over two or three intense colors and sometimes even expresses value by intensity-but essentially, they are what can be called, for lack of better terms, "tonalists." CLEMENT GREENBERG

#### MUSIC

CHICAGO reader, who reports that the Chicago Public Library has many of the books of David Ewen and those of Sigmund Spaeth, Charles O'Connell, Deems Taylor, etc., but does not have, among others, Tovey's "Essays in Musical Analysis" and some of Ernest Newman's books, goes on to make this comment: "But the influence of the first group is not permanent. I know; for I devoured all of them, adopted their opinions about music I hadn't heard often or at all, and discarded them just as quickly as I began to use my ears and intelligence." The comment establishes one rather important fact-that the critic is subject to check by his reader, or at any rate by the reader who, in the words of my correspondent, "listens to music with good ears and a sound mind." It is, indeed, from this check that the critic gets or fails to get his authority as critic with his reader. One critic likes Toscanini and not Koussevitzky while another likes Koussevitzky and not Toscanini; the reader then listens for what, in the performances, each critic says he hears and likes or dislikes: he finds it or doesn't find it, agrees with the critic's reasons for liking or disliking it or doesn't agree; and he decides after a sufficient number of instances which critic has and which has not the perception, insight, and understanding that are what give him authority.

When Virgil Thomson remarks that Mitropoulos has taken over the New York Philharmonic like an army of occupation, or that Stella Roman doesn't sing in phrases but only in single notes which she exploits with a spectacular technique of crooning and crescendo, a reader with ears and intelligence can listen to a Mitropoulos or Roman per-

formance and hear what the statement describes; and he will feel pleasure and gratitude for the brilliantly expressed perception which has increased his own understanding. When Mr. Thomson says Toscanini's tempos are a shade fast the reader can sometimes hear confirmation of that. But when Mr. Thomson works out a demonstration that Toscanini's performances have meter but not rhythm, the same reader will listen to a performance and hear the fact that contradicts the demonstration. Or when Mr. Thomson writes that Toscanini's performance of Beethoven's Seventh was a mere highly dramatized outline taken at too fast a pace for the orchestra to execute detail with clarity, and that in the performance of the Missa Solemnis "there was no continuity in dynamic gamut" but instead a constant "unsubtle contrasting of force with weakness," the reader will hear in the one performance the clearly executed detail, in the other the "continuity in dynamic gamut" wherever Beethoven asks for it. And having heard, the reader will decide that there is no profit for him in either the pat schematizations about Toscanini's work as it is in Mr. Thomson's imagination, or the reports of concerts at which Mr. Thomson hears not what happens in Toscanini's performances but what should happen to fit the pat schematizations.

But not all readers have good ears and strong minds; and there are occasions when these are not enough. For example, Mr. Thomson makes the statement that the Boston Symphony, Philadelphia, and New York Philharmonic orchestras

are as different from one another as the cities that created them and forged them slowly into the image of each city's intellectual ideals. Conductors have been had in to aid this formation, and a few of these have left traces of their own taste on that of the cities they have worked for. But chiefly their function has been to care for a precious musical organism . . . and to allow it to mature according to its own nature and . . . its community's particular temperament. . . . [Of] Boston, the intellectually elegant and urbane, [the orchestra] makes thin sounds, like the Paris orchestras, thin and utterly precise, like golden wire and bright enamel. Nothing ever happens that isn't clear. . . . So perfectly turned out is any of its executions that, whether becoming to the work or not, it has way of separating itself from it. It neither conceals the work nor presents it; it walks down the street beside it, rather very much as piece of consummate dressmaking will sometimes do with the lady who thinks she is wearing it . . .

To cope with and evaluate this statement, a reader would have had to hear the completely different sounds, styles, and characters of the 1917 Boston Symphony conducted by Muck, the post-1920 Boston Symphony created and conducted by Monteux, the post-1924 Boston Symphony re-created and conducted by Koussevitzky, or the New York Philharmonic conducted by Toscanini and the same orchestra the next week under another conductor; he would have had to understand from all this a great deal about the functioning and relations of orchestras and conductors: he would. then, have had to know that the 1917 orchestra of Boston did not make thin sounds like golden wire, and that the sounds it did make were dictated by the temperament not of Boston but of Karl Muck. And a reader would need such experience and understanding, in addition to good ears and mind, in the other instances where the general cultural and social background to which Mr. Thomson relates the musical phenomenon under discussion is a magician's hat into which he can put fact and perception, and out of which he then can pull the oddly, amusingly fantastic products of a mind at play that are suitable for tossing about in cocktail-hour chit-chat, or the serious conclusions-in the articles about the New York Philharmonic a couple of years ago, for example-that have no more relation to realities.

Into a discussion of things of this world as they exist and happen Mr. Thomson disconcertingly introduces, as though they were equally real, things from some private world as he would like them to exist and happen. Thus, he writes hard-headedly that the Metropolitan management is paralyzed by its fear of its intellectual inferiors instead of being animated by a fear of its intellectual betters; that the opera house is acoustically poor and inefficient and expensive to operate; but that first-class opera has been given there and can be given there again. But then he adds that first-class opera will be demanded by the nation-wide radio public after the war-this radio public demanding the first-rate being one that exists only in the Thomson world, in which there are American composers ready for a New York Philharmonic five-year plan to build an American repertory for an American audience, and other things of the sort. The mixture of real and unreal is disconcerting; but the worse trouble is that it often takes an experienced reader to be disconcerted.

B. H. HAGGIN

# Letters to the Editors

#### Why Is It?

Dear Sirs: You will be interested in . speech by Dr. Francis E. McMahon delivered on Saturday evening. December 11, 1943, before the Calvert Club, a Catholic organization composed of students of the University of Chicago, to which he was appointed after his ouster from Notre Dame. As closely as I remember them, his words were as follows: ". . . Why is it that so many of our great Catholic thinkers have been so wrong about so many things so much of the time [Franco, Russia, etc.]. whereas periodicals like The Nation and the New Republic, which by no stretch of the imagination may be called in viewpoint Catholic, have been so consistently right in calling the shots? Because our thinkers, given to dealing cleverly and logically in easy generalities like 'Love good and shun evil,' have not developed the knack of evaluating the concrete situation for what it implies here and now the way these periodicals have. It is not enough to state an ideal belief or general truth. The test is in the concrete situation. How will you behave there? How must you evaluate it now? The Nation and New Republic do these things remarkably well. We don't-and err to the great harm of our nation and church.'

Somewhere in Pennsylvania, January 3

#### Hague and Longo

Dear Sirs: Mr. Coleman's splendid article on John Longo and Frank Hague was an indictment of power politics and "party loyalty" not soon to be forgotten. As long as such a situation exists in this country we are in no position to teach democracy to those unfortunate countries which do not know its "blessings."

I deeply regret that the number of persons who read this article will run only into the thousands instead of the millions. The American mind may be politically sluggish; however, it is situation like this that can rouse the public out of its lethargy long enough to demand punishment of all such Gauleiters.

I fail to see how Franklin Roosevelt—party affiliations notwithstanding—can sit idly by and look above and beyond Hague's dictatorship. When I was

in school I was duly impressed by our Bill of Rights. Does it still exist? Apparently not. The President should, if necessary, call into use federal troops and investigators to wipe out Hagueism and all its manifestations. If the government would prepare the case, even Hague's own judges could do nothing but junk the machine.

HERBERT TURMAN Los Angeles, Cal., January 16

#### Locations Given

Dear Sirs: In his review of my book "Georges Seurat" (The Nation, December 25) Clement Greenberg observes that "as a matter of editing, the locations of the works reproduced should have been given." May I say that, as a matter of reviewing, Mr. Greenberg should have studied my book more carefully; he would have found in the List of Illustrations (pp. XI-XVI) not only the locations of the works reproduced, but also their size and medium.

JOHN REWALD

New York, December 27

Guilty.—c. G.

#### One of the Unrecognized

Dear Sirs: As just an unknown one among the "unrecognized allies" I wish to thank you for the publication of Kurt Grossman's article in your issue of December 11.

I am only one among many who have felt deeply hurt ever since Pearl Harbor. We were eager to serve this country in one way or another, and, with the exception of our boys, who are subject to the draft, we were excluded from all activities connected with the war

More recently some fields have been opened even to us, but I for one have lost most of my enthusiasm. Not that I am not doing anything at all: besides buying bonds regularly I have donated one gallon of blood, and I continue to donate regularly. But I am still classified as an enemy of this country, though I left Germany because the Nazis were my enemies and I was theirs.

In this connection I would like to answer an argument which is frequently raised by Americans to whom we present our plight. "But look how the Germans are treating the Americans!" they tell us. I would like to say to that, that the Nazis make very good use of any American whom they find sympathetic to their cause. Fortunately, there are not many of the caliber of Bob Best, but the Nazis are treating them as valuable friends. I am sure that many among us could render services just as valuable to the government of this country if only we were allowed to do so.

In closing I would like to call attention to the fact that even parents whose sons have given their lives do not lose their enemy-alien status.

ALIEN OF ENEMY NATIONALITY Allston, Mass., January 5

#### In Defense of Manualists

Dear Sirs: I yield to no one in my admiration for Mr. Kronenberger's reviews. I still feel that the job he did some years ago on Woollcott's fatuous "Reader" is the most deservedly devastating review I have ever read.

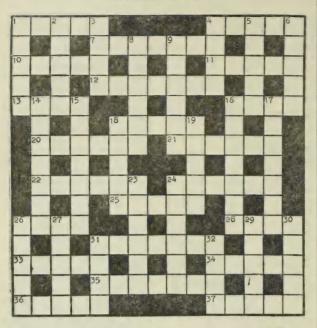
But he was too hard upon the academic handbook writers in the first paragraph of his otherwise excellent review of "The Reader Over Your Shoulder" in The Nation of December 11. Not all of them are such pedants as he insists they are; in fact, some of them are broad-minded and even charming. The perhaps unintentional effect of his review is certainly to place even the worst professional writers of handbooks of composition head and shoulders above such helter-skelter amateurs as Graves and Hodge.

I have room for only one exception to his stern generalization. Foerster and Steadman, in their "Writing and Thinking," list "enthuse" as a colloquialism, or informal English. On page 333 they record the colloquial use of "kind, sort" as plurals. Nowhere do they, or any of their colleagues, stamp colloquial English as bad English. Neither of these competent writers would, I am sure, welcome "motivate" any more willingly than does Mr. Kronenberger. Nor would they confuse "affable" with "friendly." Of course, Mr. Kronenberger has particular culprits in mind, no doubt; but he should choose more convincing examples of pedantry and cease to beat all manualists with the same stick. L. R. LIND

Lawrence, Kan., January 1

# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 48

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 There may be one or two "gees" in this vehicle
- 4 Good at golf-bad at sea
- Its meaning is hard to understand 10 "Golden lads and - - - - all must, As chimney-sweepers come to dust" (Cymbeline)
- 11 That clinches it 12 "A brief summary of the news," perhaps
- Source of a certain kind of beer
- 16 Four letters of introduction 18 A double sheet, but not for a bed 20 People here? No, a stone
- You may get blamed for this
- 22 Steeled
- In the circumstances you can scarcely overlook this
- Held by the merry
- You don't consult an oculist if it is constantly before your eyes A situation for builders
- Tenacious hangers-on
- Tomorrow it will be yesterday
- 34 Common sense
- 35 Tea tile (anag.)
  36 This vision may be armed
  37 Excuses that just fail to satisfy

#### DOWN

- 1 A case of risking the stake for one's convictions
- 2 Dress on nothing! A screen star shows you how
- 3 Follow this guide when in doubt
- 4 Here is what you want
  5 He may lose his heart, but if he loses
  his head it will be all over

- 6 Like every coin in your pocket
- 8 A suit presser
  9 The perfect island state of Sir
  Thomas More's political satire
- 14 The oilman's a Turkish subject, it
- appears A Chinese puzzle
- 16 Weighty gifts
- 17 A peculiar start to a scrap 18 Must consist of at least four men for keeping accounts
- Moist (anag.)
- Face about Sergeant-Major! Choose or choice-with or without the first letter
- Not doomed but made much of
- American author-statesman in residence
- A publication to come out
- These jugs don't sound like mine It kept the hound of old in check
- 32 Requires one or two to make a dance

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 47

ACROSS: - 1 MILLENNIUM; 6 BARN; 10 CACKLES; 11 CHATEAU; 12 INKSTONE; 13 OVATE; 15 YIELD; 17 IN DIALECT; 19 TOLERANCE: 21 ACORN: 23 ROCKS: 24 BASSINET: 27 OARLOCK: 28 NET SALE; 29 SLOE; 30 CROSSWORDS.

DOWN:-1 MACE; 2 LICENSE; 3 EBLIS; 4 NESTORIAN; 5 UNCLE; 7 AVERAGE; 8 NAUSEATING; 9 PANORAMA; 14 MYS-TERIOUS; 16 DERISION; 18 DRESSINGS; 20 LOCARNO; 22 OPEN AIR; 24 BAKER; 25 IN TOW; 26 NEWS.

#### For the Record

Dear Sirs: Unreconstructed newspaper publishers no doubt will get their freedom-of-the-press wind up (and how it can how!!) over an item in In the Wind in The Nation of January 1 which implies that the Newspaper Guild, in retaliation for the dismissal of a "liberal columnist" by the Lynn (Massachusetts) Telegram-News, caused the firing of a purveyor of "anti-New Deal, anti-Semitic, anti-Russian propaganda" by refusing him Guild membership under a "closed-shop contract."

The facts, which too many publishers still do not choose to believe, are that under its constitution the Guild can bar no eligible persons from membership because of anything they may write for publication, no matter how offensive it may be to the Guild or to any of its members. Furthermore, the Lynn contract is a Guild shop contract, under which eligible employees of the paper must be Guild members, but which does not control the publisher's per-

sonnel employment policies.

Frederick W. Enwright, publisher of the Lynn Telegram-News, has himself testified to these facts. In a letter to George A. Harris, New England regional vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, he said, re the piece in In the Wind: "These two individuals submitted features for our Sunday paper . . . [but] were not employees of this company, and their severance had absolutely nothing to do with the Guild or its contract with this management. I also wish to refute the statement in The Nation that the Guild contract is a 'closed-shop' contract and that the Guild 'had served notice on the publisher.' I know full well that I have the right to hire and fire under the contract, and the Guild shop is a modified form of the 'union shop.'"

WILBUR H. BALDINGER, Editor, Guild Reporter

New York, January 7

#### RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Economics of Military Occupation: Selected Programs. By Henry Simon Bloch and Bert F. Hoselitz. Foundation Press, Chicago. \$1.25.

A Preface to Peace. By Harold Callender. Knopf, \$3.

The American House. By Virginia Chase. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.75.

China Handbook, 1937-1943: A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War. Compiled by the Chinese Ministry of Information. Macmillan. \$5.

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Avc., New York 3, N.Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

IF THE INTENTION OF THE SENSATIONAL Pravda report was to test popular feeling in the Allied countries toward a separate peace, the Russians have their answer. The genuinely outraged tone of the English and American press and the tenor of comment, official and unofficial, should suggest to the men in the Kremlin that their suspicions are fantastic. They have been notified, in effect, that Winston Churchill, hero though he is, would be swept out of power in a day if he were to attempt on the eve of victory what Chamberlain did not dare to do on the brink of defeat. This notification-to Germany as well as to Russia-is a net gain no matter what motive inspired the Pravda story. As for the motive itself, we would welcome an end to speculation, and we prefer to do no guessing of our own. We can take with a bag of salt the official Russian protestation that the government had no prior knowledge of the Pravda report and nevertheless accept this explanation as a tacit admission that the Soviet government would like now to minimize the whole affair. It was a foolish and disruptive move, but if the Russians really want to bury the incident, their allies should do nothing to postpone the interment.

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THE POSSIBILITY OF FAVORABLE ACTION IN Congress on the President's five-point program is, if anything, weaker than it was at the time his message was delivered. The Administration seems to be in process of winning some concessions on the renegotiation bill. The Senate Finance Committee has eliminated two of the provisions to which the President took exception-that exempting all standard commercial articles from renegotiation and that allowing court review of all contracts renegotiated. It remains to be seen what will happen on the Senate floor and in conference committee. On costof-living subsidies, the Administration has suffered a severe defeat in the ten-to-nine vote by which the Senate Finance Committee favorably reported the Bankhead bill after rejecting subsidy measures by Maloney and Taft. Maloney's bill would have allowed the expenditure of \$1,500,000,000 on cost-of-living subsidies. After its rejection, Taft offered a compromise which would have made available \$1,000,000,000 for food subsidies. The Bankhead bill is not an anti-subsidy measure. It would

forbid subsidies to help hold down the cost of living but would continue special-interest subsidies to keep up the profits of the sugar growers and the producers of vegetable-oil seeds and fats. Prospects for a decent tax program are also black.

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THE U. S. S. R. AND POLAND HAVE A JOINT interest in checking once and for all Germany's aggressive urge to expand eastward. Both countries need a prolonged period of peace to recover from their wounds and to carry out the colossal tasks of reconstruction. They have, therefore, as Louis Witold points out on page 125, a common interest in reaching a permanent settlement of their historic dispute. But such a settlement must be one that the public opinion of the world will ratify. It cannot be an imposed settlement, for the mortar of force is the least durable of cements. In the light of such considerations we are bound to deplore the recent tactics of the Soviet government. The power and prestige of the Russian state are now unassailable; the validity of its claims to a large part of the disputed territory cannot be denied; its disgust with the conduct of the Polish government in exile, and the shadow Cabinet of militarists which largely controls that regime, is understandable. Nevertheless, we believe that Moscow has weakened a strong case by its attempts to dictate a solution. Surely, it would have buttressed its position if in reply to the latest Polish declaration it had stated that, since it had not been able to reestablish diplomatic relations with the Polish government, it was willing to accept Anglo-American mediation on the border question, provided that the Curzon Line was agreed upon as the basis of negotiation. But instead of forcing the Poles off the fence it indulged in rhetorical denunciations of their bad faith and rejected by implication the proffered good offices of the Western powers. Thus it increased the suspicion that it intends to settle the Polish question by installing a government of its own choice. We should be sorry to see the Soviets imitating our own North African experiments in puppetry.

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IN NORTH AFRICA THE BEST-LAID PLANS OF mice and diplomats appear to be suffering their proverbial fate. For more than three years American and British statesmen plotted the political elimination of General De Gaulle, resorting to every trick in the diplomatic code to discredit him, and a few tricks outside the code. Yet never have the General's prospects looked as bright as they do at this moment. So cordial was his conference with Churchill at Marrakesh last week that Algiers is rife with reports that the British are prepared to extend greater degree of recognition to the Committee of National Liberation. The return to Washington of Edwin C. Wilson, American diplomatic representative

to the Committee, is interpreted as a preliminary move to obtain American agreement. Two factors stand out in the sudden reversal of policy. First, information from France has convinced the Allied leaders that no alternative group within the country has the prestige to govern even provisionally, once the armies of liberation march in; and, second, if an attempt is made to foist any other administration upon the French people, in the name of expediency, civil war is inevitable, with at least local Communist successes practically assured. This last possibility may go far, incidentally, to explain the coolness that has arisen between the Communists and the Committee in Algiers. Churchill is said to have remarked jokingly to De Gaulle at Marrakesh: "I see you have now become a parliamentarian." The change may lie with De Gaulle-or then again it may be that Churchill's vision has grown more acute. The point can be left to historians as long as the breach is healed, but this calls for a change of heart in Washington as well as in London.

ON APRIL 1 NEXT, BARRING SOME ACTION by the British government, Palestine will become forbidden territory for thousands of Jews. Under the terms of the White Paper of 1939, the transitional five-year period during which 75,000 immigrants were to be admitted will then expire, and the Arab community will thenceforth be able to exercise a veto power on the entry of further Jewish settlers. The fact that some 30,000 of the 75,000 permits are still to be issued affords a hope of temporary relief but it does not affect the vicious principle formulated by the White Paper. That principle is in total opposition to those of the League of Nations Mandate under which Britain governs Palestine and it is condemned by all sections of Jewry, Zionist and non-Zionist alike. The latest proof of this fact is offered by the memorandum presented last week to Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in Washington, by the American Jewish Committee. This organization is not, as its statement made clear, an advocate of a Jewish state. But it insists that Palestine must be kept open as a haven for the Jews and that the sole criterion for Jewish immigration must be the principle laid down by the Mandate -the economic absorptive capacity of the country. The American Jewish Committee has also reminded the British government that Article 15 of the Mandate prohibits discrimination of any kind between the inhabitants of Palestine, while under the White Paper discrimination is being practiced against Jews in the matter of land purchase as well as immigration. Prime Minister Churchill knows that the White Paper was a breach of faith; his strong condemnation of it is a matter of record. But while he allows a clique of reactionary colonial officials to decide the policy of his government he cannot escape responsibility.

IN "THE CASE OF THE HOPKINS LETTER" A big-name cast is being shamefully wasted on a distinctly Class B mystery. The heavy-handed plot revolves about a letter from Harry Hopkins to Dr. Umphrey Lee, president of Southern Methodist University and supposedly an aspirant to Tom Connally's seat in the Senate. The letter, which falls into the hands of C. Nelson Sparks, a McCormick Republican and sworn enemy of Mr. Willkie, informs Lee that Willkie is to be the 1944 Republican choice and promises Lee "good cooperation from that quarter." Sparks and Senator Langer read in this message a conspiracy to rig the next election so that both parties will present "internationalist" candidates, and incidentally to send Texas Republicans into the Democratic primary in order to purge Connally. Langer harangues the Senate on this diabolical plot, which he interprets more fundamentally as a British attempt to reverse the outcome of the Revolutionary War. In the meantime Hopkins, with the aid of the Department of Justice, has exposed the letter as a forgery, and the Sparks-Langer crowd, in an uncomfortable position, try to pin the crime on Harold Ickes, who, Sparks reveals, harbors a burning grudge against his New Deal colleague, Mr. Hopkins. The plot grows sicker as Sparks produces letters addressed to him by George N. Briggs, one of Ickes's aides, who, it turns out, worked with Sparks in 1940 in behalf of the ultra-reactionary Frank Gannett. We won't tell you how the mystery ends, first, because we don't know yet, and, secondly, because the story is going down hill pretty fast. The solution now seems to revolve about the genuineness of certain letters alleged to have been addressed to Sparks by Briggs in which the writer remarks, "The forty bucks reached me. ... I am within a hundred bucks of my goal now." Which, in terms of melodrama, is a far cry from a conspiracy by George VI to snatch back the Thirteen Colonies.

CARLO TRESCA, TO HIS HONOR, WAS A political character. His assassination a year ago on January 11 was undoubtedly a political crime. And there is no question in our minds that the failure of the authorities to hunt down his assassin with the vigor and determination that they would devote, say, to finding the murderer of an Italian-American gangster has political significance. Carlo's overt enemies were fascists and neofascists, local, national, and foreign, who are still the objects of appeasement at home and abroad. We have no proof, of course, that this is the reason why his assassin has not been caught. But when an anti-fascist can be killed with impunity in the middle of New York City, we have a right to be suspicious, and the burden of proof rests not on us but on the officials charged with administering the American justice that Carlo Tresca fought so hard to make real.

# Bankers and Smugglers

A TTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS BIDDLE is to be commended on his courage in obtaining the indictment of the Chase National Bank and a prominent Belgian-Dutch diamond merchant. They are accused of participating in transactions which made it possible to smuggle industrial diamonds from Brazil and Venezuela to Japan, Italy, and Germany before Pearl Harbor. Transactions of this kind were violations of the Tradingwith-the-Enemy Act. Industrial diamonds are a strategic material of the greatest importance in war. Their exceptional and unequaled durability and cutting power make them ideal for the tips and surfaces of cutting tools and dies. Their use for this purpose serves immensely to speed operations in the manufacture of many weapons and other materials of war. The export of industrial diamonds without a license was forbidden by Presidential order under the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act in July, 1940. The funds used in the transactions which figure in these indictments had been frozen by Presidential order in May of 1940. In the light of these facts, the statement offered by Winthrop W. Aldrich in defense of the Chase Bank is hardly to the point. He said the transactions occurred before Pearl Harbor. This is merely to paraphrase the indictment, not to rebut it.

One aspect of these indictments has hardly been touched upon in the press. This diamond smuggling soon became known to every agency in Washington dealing with Latin American matters, though there seems to have been insufficient evidence for legal action. One of the agencies which were apprised of the facts was the Coordinator's Office for Inter-American Affairs. The head of this was and is Nelson Rockefeller, son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the dominant figure in the Chase Bank, Nelson is also the nephew of Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase board. Nelson's principal adviser in the Coordinator's Office was Joseph T. Rovensky, who has just resigned to resume his duties as a vice-president of the Chase National Bank. What we cannot understand is why these men were not asked to use their influence with the Chase Bank, either to answer the reports being made by intelligence agencies or to end the financial transactions which made the diamond smuggling possible.

This is the second such case brought to light. The other was that of the Lati Air Line, last Axis link with the New World before Pearl Harbor, a carrier to the Americas of spies, propaganda, and valuables stolen by the Nazis in their conquest of the Low Countries. The operations of this line were possible only because a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey continued to supply it with aviation gas in Brazil. Repeated requests from the State Department that sale of aviation gas to

the Lati Air Line be discontinued were of no avail. Here again one wonders why Nelson Rockefeller could not have been requested to use his influence with his father, the dominant figure in Standard of New Jersey, to end this form of aid to the Axis. Similar questions were asked about Rovensky after the Catavi massacre in Bolivia, for Rovensky was a director of the Patino enterprises and is very close to the Bolivian tin magnate.

The jesuitical reply commonly given in "off-therecord" discussions with such people is that as government officials they must divorce themselves from their private interests. But anyone who knows Washington knows how profitably public office and private interest are mingled in the case of many dollar-a-year and other war-time officials. We make no such accusation against Rockefeller and Rovensky. We ask only that occasionally private influence be used for the government rather than against it. We find hard to stomach, and we should think Nelson Rockefeller would, too, a situation in which the left hand of the Rockefeller family is engaged in helping to fight the Axis while its right hand is accused of helping the Axis. The final piquant touch of the Chase Bank diamond story is that the bank has asked for a postponement of trial because its key witness, a vice-president, is in Spain doing preclusive buying for the Foreign Economic Administration, a post to which he was assigned under the old Board of Economic Warfare. This vice-president was in charge of the exchange transactions of which the government complains.

## Franco in Modern Dress

IN RECENT weeks, unfortunately, we have seen too much uncoordinated thinking among the United Nations for anyone to be surprised by the contradictions and absurdities of which they have been guilty in regard to Spain. In one issue of the New York Times (January 20) we read a statement, on the first page, by British Foreign Secretary Eden, protesting the unneutral assistance still being rendered by Franco to Hitler in his war against Russia; and on an inside page, eulogies by Harold Denny of the triumphs recently achieved by the Allies in Madrid.

The American reader must make his choice. He can base his conclusions upon the categorical statement of the Soviet Embassy on which we commented last week, and on the energetic warning of the British Foreign Secretary. Or he can take Mr. Denny as his guide. For our part, we do not accept Mr. Denny. On the contrary, we believe that his series of articles could well compete with the declarations of Archbishop Spellman as the grossest misinformation published since the end of the Spanish War.

The Times correspondent supports the view that a

subtle and inspired diplomacy has won Franco over to the United Nations with four, for him decisive, pieces of evidence: (1) General Franco's speech on the day of the Epiphany (January 6), praising the Yugoslav guerrillas and hinting that should Hitler try to halt Spain's evolution toward liberalism, Franco would become a second Tito. (2) A new influx of German agents into Spain to save a situation which has turned against the Axis. (3) The increasing power of Foreign Minister Jordana, whom certain Allied circles might use as a Spanish Badoglio should the hopes placed in a liberal Franco prove exaggerated. (4) The progress of Allied propaganda as against the bankruptcy of German propaganda, whose chief in Madrid, Lazar, has been shoved into a corner.

Every one of these great discoveries amounts to exactly zero. The only real discovery was made several weeks ago: that Franco, encouraged by the Allies' confidence in his final conversion, has decided to play the pro-Allied liberal while praying in his heart for a contrary turn in the war. Mr. Denny's attempts to prove that his shift is the result not of military developments but of the far-sighted policy of appeasement applied by the long-suffering State Department and the British Foreign Office is ridiculous, though it is not unprecedented. Happily, there is little danger that the imminent invasion from the west will suffer a disastrous set-back. But should that eventuality arise, Franco's reactions will be interesting to watch.

The speech of the Epiphany is full of "liberal" phrases, but more convincing would be the withdrawal of the Spanish legionnaires who, according to the Soviet Embassy communiqué, are still fighting on one of the sectors of the Volkhov front.

General Jordana may seem strong and promising to those who are counting on him to bring Don Juan to the Spanish throne and to create a moderate regime in Spain after the war. In reality, every elder officer of the Spanish army can inform Mr. Denny that Jordana is considered one of the weakest of the generals who surround the Dictator.

In Madrid, the Chief of German propaganda, Lazar, may have been advised to keep in the shadows for a while, but Spanish broadcasts to Latin America still show his inimitable style.

No one denies that the prospect of a Hitler defeat has obliged Franco to try to improve his position with the United Nations and, without too greatly annoying the Germans who still infest Spain, to prepare for a quick last-moment leap onto the Allied caboose. He must adopt the guise of a liberal in order to win the confidence of Western diplomats and people like Mr. Denny. But did the distinguished Times correspondent expect Franco to welcome him wearing the Iron Cross, and with "Mein Kampf" open on his desk?

# Fotich Should Resign

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE long narrative in the Political War section this week is described by its author as "the story of a government that has been overthrown but pretends not to know it." But Mr. Raditsa's account of his progressive disillusionment as press chief in the Yugoslav Information Service is also the story of a man with a political conscience. In days like these, when the very outcome of the war depends upon the willingness of government officials to make clear-cut decisions, such a story is encouraging. Neither in high nor in low places have we been favored with enough examples of this particular kind of integrity.

The policy of the world is being made in large part by little men or scared men or confused men or by subtly dishonest men serving other interests than those for which they are supposed to fight. We have seen their maneuvers in our own government. This country's conduct of the political war against the Axis offers painful examples of the infinite capacity of officials to prefer immediate advantage—or what looks like it—to great objectives. Yugoslavia itself is an excellent illustration of the timidity and conservatism which have combined to make the political strategy of the western Allies the stumbling, uncoordinated thing it is today. For Yugoslavia has conclusively demonstrated the futility of depending upon political elements which represent the interests, national and social, of a limited ruling class.

One cannot help feeling some sympathy for Mihailovich and the government of King Peter. Never did any regime fit more neatly into the concept of legitimism, conservatism, and nationalism encouraged by the highest authorities in Whitehall and the State Department. The only earthly trouble with them was that they couldn't deliver effective blows against the Axis. It was the brutal logic of events, not any interest in a "popular" uprising or a democratic government in Yugoslavia, that forced the Western powers to switch their affections from the Royal Government in Exile to Tito's forces. The Mihailovich guerrillas were not fighting the Germans; the Partisans were. Russian support had gone to Tito from the time his battalions were formed, partly, one must assume, because he was a Communist and favored a close relationship with the Soviet Union. But Stalin's readiness to back any elements that offer real resistance to Hitler is well known; if the army of Mihailovich had been useful, it would have been used.

But the British and Americans were slow to see that only a movement from which the ordinary people could hope for a better future offered a basis for genuine resistance. Why should they see it in Yugoslavia when the fact had escaped them everywhere else? They stuck to the Mihailovich-Peter regime until Partisan successes and the imminence of an Allied invasion of the Balkans thrust upon them the necessity of supporting Tito. But while one must sympathize with the old-style Yugoslav diplomats who today feel shocked by the defection of their allies, one cannot allow one's sympathies to obscure the fact that the Royal Yugoslav Government in Exile is today only a shell. Its heart, if it had one, is dead. Its functions have moved to Yugoslavia. Its ministers of state and lesser officials are ghosts.

The facts revealed by Raditsa in this issue should cause Ambassador Fotich to resign. He doubtless will not resign because very few officials voluntarily give up power and position. But his job is ended and he can only go through the motions of representing his country in Washington. The initiative in ending this pretense must come from the United States and Britain. Both governments must withdraw recognition from King Peter's regime and establish relations with the provisional government set up at Jajce. And even before a formal break occurs, the Treasury must take steps to guard the gold reserve of Yugoslavia deposited in the United States. This reserve is held in custody on behalf of the Yugoslav people under war-time freezing orders. Every draft upon it has to be authorized by our government. Naturally, as long as the Yugoslav government-in-exile was in the same position as the Norwegian or Dutch governments, as long as it could be reasonably regarded as the accredited representative of the Yugoslav people, its drafts upon the reserve were authorized without question. While legally it can claim the same status now, it can no longer claim it in fact. The new provisional government, functioning on Yugoslav soil, is a challenge to its pretensions. The legality of further heavy expenditures out of the funds held in trust by the United States for the people of Yugoslavia will eventually, without any doubt, be questioned by the new government. Until the political situation is cleared, the Treasury should scrutinize with particular care the financial operations of the Yugoslav authorities in Wash-

We are very pleased to have the opportunity of publishing Mr. Raditsa's illuminating document. He has not only given up his position, but has risked his career, to tell the truth about the government he served. If more of the key men among Yugoslavia's ruling group cared as he does for the honor of their country and for its future as a democratic, unified state, the bitter internal struggle that today divides it might never have taken place. And if, in our ruling group, more people recognized the strategic necessity of working with the democratic elements in every occupied country, the diplomatic decision now facing the State Department would have been made long ago. Mr. Raditsa's story is a lesson in the elements of political warfare.

# The Plot Against Yugoslavia

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

[This story, part of a much longer account of Mr. Raditsa's experiences, was organized and prepared for publication by Robert Bendiner.]

THIS is the story of a government that has been overthrown but pretends not to know it, a government without a country. Only incidentally is it the story of my modest connection with that regime, a connection which was important chiefly because it enabled me to observe at first hand the workings of the Royal Yugoslav government.

On the shameful day of March 25, 1941, I was in Washington as chief of the press service of the Yugoslav legation—now an embassy—a post I had assumed in 1940. When news reached us that the Belgrade government had signed the infamous Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, most of us in Washington were ready to resign in a body. But two days later, before we had had time to get our bearings, the collaborationist government of Premier Cvetkovich was overthrown, and within ten days Nazi bombers were raining devastation on Yugoslav cities. A blow had been struck which, as time would show, was destined to remake completely the nation of the Southern Slavs.

The attempt of the Cvetkovich government to drag Yugoslavia into the New Order, shocking as it was, had not been unexpected. Events were moving rapidly in that direction in the spring of 1940. I had just been appointed foreign press chief in Belgrade and was about to take over my duties at the time of the French collapse. Before I could do so I was given to understand that my appointment had been protested by Foreign Ministers Ribbentrop and Ciano because of anti-fascist sentiments I had expressed at Geneva. Ciano even threatened to withdraw Italian newspapermen from Belgrade if I was not removed. In an audience with Prince Paul I was asked by the Regent not to press the matter, and my assignment to Washington was suggested. In this repudiation of his own appointment under pressure from the Axis I saw the first of a series of larger and larger concessions, which were in the end to bring the Regent to complete capitulation. It was dark in Prince Paul's study when I left him late in the afternoon, and I came away with the gloomy conviction that the man had lost not only what courage he had possessed but the will to resist. Yugoslavia, he clearly felt, could consider itself fortunate not to be drawn into the war even if peace were purchased at the price of slavery to Germany.

At the same time I knew that the Regent's defeatism

was not shared by the average Yugoslav. There was a widespread conviction among the people that because the Soviet Union was not yet involved, the war somehow had not really got under way. Only a small minority, including the rulers of the country, felt that Germany's victory was assured and were prepared to accept Hitler's rule over the whole of Europe. I was convinced of this gulf that separated the government from the country, and so was my wife, who upon our arrival in the United States on October 23, 1940, said to reporters: "If Germany tries to make a protectorate out of Yugoslavia, then Yugoslavia will fight, because we know what German protection really means."

This statement, far from eliciting enthusiastic support from our legation in Washington, brought me for the first time into conflict with Minister, now Ambassador, Constantin Fotich. No sooner had we reached our hotel in New York than the telephone rang and a glacial voice from Washington ordered us to give out no more public statements on Yugoslavia that might embarrass the government in its dealings with the Axis.

#### "A TIME OF SEPARATION"

When I arrived in Washington I reported at once to Fotich. I told him how tense the situation appeared to be in the country and predicted that a showdown with the Axis would come in the spring of 1941. I even took the liberty of adding my impression that Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovich would eventually be used as a tool in the hands of the Germans, that Prince Paul was losing his grip on the situation, and that our hope lay in the people, in whom we should have complete faith.

None of these sentiments proved in the least palatable to the Minister, and I should have known as much. I had first come in contact with Mr. Fotich in Geneva, where the phrase most frequently applied to him was fin, faux, et fourbe. Belonging to the charchija, Serbia's small ruling oligarchy, he had little sympathy with the Serb-Croat agreement of 1939, which for the first time granted the Croats a real measure of autonomy. He had even less consciousness of the widening gulf between the tiny ruling group and the mass of the Yugoslav people, or of the deep resentment that existed in the country toward the government itself, particularly the Foreign Office, which was widely regarded as a sort of fifth column within the administration.

The surrender to the Axis—which was precisely what the Tripartite Pact signed at Vienna amounted to should have served to embarrass Serb chauvinism, since the government that signed the agreement was clearly dominated by Serbs—Prince Paul, Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovich, and Prime Minister Cvetkovich. In taking the fatal step this trio had the advice and support of the army command, and it is worth noting that of the roughly three hundred generals in the Yugoslav army fewer than ten were Croats. From the immediate political consequences of their act the Serb chauvinists were saved by the overthrow of the regime, which occurred two days later.

The government of General Simovich, set up on March 27 to repudiate the linking of Yugoslavia to the Axis, was closer to a popular regime than the country had ever enjoyed. It constituted a genuine national coalition representing all parties, and although it included members whose extremely reactionary records exposed them to popular distrust, it was nevertheless a remarkable effort in the direction of Yugoslav unity.

Unfortunately the diehard Serb chauvinists, particularly those who operated in Washington, did not view matters in this light. From the day the new government took power, the atmosphere in the legation grew steadily more strained. Some of us hoped that the country's imminent involvement in the war would at last compel the unity so desperately needed. But the reverse proved true. The Minister and all the Serbian employees not only became markedly reserved toward their Croat colleagues but displayed undisguised coolness toward the whole conception of a Yugoslav nation.

Now that the "revolution" had occurred, they seemed to be taking all the credit for it, while at the same time

ignoring the role of those Serb leaders who had promulgated the very pact which provoked the overthrow. So high did the tide of Serbian chauvinism rise in the legation that on the very eve of the German assault an official, in the presence of the Minister, bluntly told me: "After all, this is a time of separation. We Serbs can no longer accept Croatian autonomy and decentralization. The Croats have never been independent; they have never had a state, a history, or an individual national life. All Croatian history is an illusion. We do not want a division of power or collaboration. From now on we Serbs will conduct our own state affairs, and we will permit nobody else to mix in or hold responsible positions." As

well as I knew Fotich, I could not understand his choosing this moment, when more than ever in our history we needed unity, to have me informed that separation or Serb domination were the alternatives.

I was soon to learn what Fotich had in mind and to understand that his aide was speaking not for himself alone but for the dominant clique within the government which was soon to go into exile. The Serb chauvinists had a threefold objective. First, they had to clear themselves of responsibility for the military disaster which in twelve days engulfed the country. Second, they sought to realize their dream of scrapping the whole concept of Yugoslavia in favor of a Greater Serbia, from which Croatia and Slovenia would be excluded or in which they would be subordinated. Third, they aimed to keep tight control over the popular forces which would inevitably emerge in the struggle against the invader, and which if unchecked would seriously threaten the corrupt economy that spelled social supremacy for a handful of Serbian families. In all the maneuverings of the Yugoslav government in exile, and especially in those of its Washington representative, this three-point program is plainly discernible. I had a unique opportunity to watch it in operation.

#### "BLAME THE CROATS"

From the devastation and horror that the Nazis brought to Yugoslavia there rose the inevitable puppet states and Quislings. Division was naturally a German policy, just as it was unnaturally a policy of the Greater Serbians. The country was dismembered, in theory at least, and among its seven Axis-organized remnants the most



important were a puppet Croatia under Ante Pavelich and a puppet Serbia under the nominal rule of General Milan Nedich. It would have been an obvious act of statesmanship on the part of all anti-Axis Yugoslavs to condemn the traitors in both camps and to forge a unity of all nationals for the purpose of repelling the invader. This task was ultimately to be fulfilled by the Partisans, but until their emergence the Serbs—at least some of the leaders in exile—seemed bent on outdoing even the Germans in their effort to widen the gap between themselves and the Croats.

In the first place, certain high Serb officials, while rightly excoriating the criminal Pavelich and his fascist Ustachi movement, were loath to condemn their own General Nedich. In their eyes he could not be a traitor because he was a Serb. The government in exile itself had unearthed a revealing memorandum which Nedich had submitted to Prince Paul before his dismissal as Minister of War on November 1, 1940. The memorandum proposed that the Yugoslavs occupy Salonika jointly with the Germans at the moment when the Greeks were engaged in a desperate struggle with the Italians. Under this great Serb patriot a large section of the Chetniks, famous Serbian guerrilla fighters, were placed at the disposal of the enemy. They were installed in the same Belgrade building that houses the Gestapo. From these joint headquarters, once the Yugoslav Ministry of Justice, the Chetnik flag today floats side by side with the swastika. Nevertheless, two weeks after the German invasion, when Nedich's treason was out in the open, the Yugoslav Minister in Washington felt called upon to write to the New York Times in defense of the Nazi puppet, who happens to be Fotich's cousin. "The Minister of War, General Nedich," he said, "was a true exponent of the national spirit and tradition."

From this moment on, my work at the legation became progressively paralyzed. It was one of my duties to edit the official bulletin, and I soon discovered that every reference to Nedich as "puppet" or a "traitor" was strictly censored by Fotich, even when the words were quoted from the American press. As late as September 18, 1941, I was forced to publish a communiqué to the effect that "news concerning the 'government' of General Nedich, who is called Marshal, is false propaganda shrewdly spread by the Nazis in order to misrepresent the true state of affairs. Nothing has been changed in Belgrade, where the occupation authorities continue to rule exclusively. General Nedich and other heads of departments are merely executives of the occupying authority." As though that were not bad enough!

At the same time a gigantic campaign was in the making to throw the entire blame for the defeat on the Croats, as well as to hold them responsible for deepening the gulf between themselves and the Serbs. The search

for a scapegoat began simultaneously with the flight of the government. As soon at the leaders of the regime reached Athens an official communiqué was prepared placing all responsibility for the collapse on the Croats. Fortunately this pronouncement was withheld on the protest of a few democratic Serbian members, particularly Sava Kosanovich, Minister of Supply. In private, however, there was no restraint.

The truth of the matter is that, both politically and militarily, all but the avowed fascist elements in the Croat population had clearly demonstrated their solidarity with the new Yugoslav government. On April 3, when the Germans had whipped to a frenzy their efforts to split the country, we received at the legation the following cable from Foreign Minister Nincich in Belgrade:

In connection with false reports which have been distributed during the past few days over the radio and through newspapers abroad concerning alleged disagreements between the authorities and the leaders of the Croat Peasant Party, I wish to state for your information and use: (1) Two important conferences were held yesterday in Zagreb by the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party. The outcome of these conferences is that Croats and Serbs remain united whether at peace or at war. (2) Dr. Koshutich, vice-president of the Croatian Party, has reached a complete agreement with the Prime Minister, General Simovich, on all questions. Dr. Machek arrives in Belgrade tomorrow evening.

This was by no means the first time that Machek had demonstrated his loyalty to Yugoslavia and his enmity for the Axis powers. Nor was it to be the last. Rejecting exile, he said to a group of associates: "I am going to stay with my people and share their fate. I can die only once. You must continue to collaborate inside the Yugoslav government in exile and with our great allies. I shall never disavow you."

Again and again in the months that followed, Machek was offered power if only he would collaborate with the invader. Again and again he refused. He has been in and out of prisons and concentration camps for two years and would surely have been killed but for the extraordinary hold he has on the Croatian people. This is the man whom irresponsible Serb elements have branded at a traitor to Yugoslavia.

It must be remembered, moreover, that while democratic Croats were thus aligning themselves with the regime, some pan-Serb ministers of the government, reconstructed though it was, were still desperately trying to come to terms with the Axis powers. On taking office the government had declared its determination to abide by the terms of the Vienna Tripartite Pact, as long as they did "not impair our vital interests." Foreign Minister Nincich was all set to fly to Berlin for further talks, and Vice-Premier Slobodan Jovanovich to undertake a similar mission to Rome.

As for the military aspect of the picture, the first decisive breaks in the Yugoslav front occurred not in Croatia but at Kashanik Pass and at Skoplje in southern Serbia, where General Nedich was in command. It was there that the break-through occurred which was to lose the war. It is true that the army of the north was dissolved, on April 9 and 10, at the frontier of Croatia, but this disastrous step was taken on the orders of Serbian generals. The General Staff had capitulated without the knowledge of the Cabinet, as Jovanovich was later to confirm. The Prime Minister himself had given the order to General Kalafatovich without informing his colleagues.

These facts are a matter of record, but they did not stop the professional promoters of Greater Serbia from carrying on. In the summer of 1941 a delegation of Serb officials who had escaped from Belgrade arrived in Washington with the wife of General Simovich. They spread the story far and wide that the military collapse of the highly touted Serbian army in twelve days had been brought about by Croatian treachery. The General's Chief of Cabinet unwittingly revealed the real purpose of this wholesale slander when he remarked that Yugoslavia could be restored only under Serb hegemony.

#### THE MASSACRE AND THE "SRBOBRAN"

Propaganda against the Croats demanded something more solid than these thin allegations, however, and something more solid was soon made available. It came in the form of the notorious Dönkelmann report concerning the massacre of Serbs which took place in Croatia and Bosnia in the summer of 1941.

In discussing this dreadful event I wish to say first of all, as a human being and as a Croat, that I cannot find words to express my horror and my condemnation of those outlaws among my countrymen who perpetrated this monstrous crime. I do not know how many Serbs lost their lives in the massacre, but the number certainly ran into the thousands. What was almost as outrageous as the act itself, however, was the criminal way in which the tragedy was exploited by the enemies of a restored Yugoslavia.

The massacre was the work of the Ustachi, Ante Pavelich's band of fascist assassins, working hand in glove with the Nazi invaders who had brought them to power. The Ustachi no doubt needed little urging, but what prodding had to be done was done gladly by the Germans, since any deepening of the Serb-Croat gulf was all to their advantage. What was unforgivable was the enthusiastic way in which the Serb chauvinists leaped at this opportunity to make disunity irrevocable. R. W. Seton-Watson, perhaps the foremost British authority on Yugoslav affairs, pointed out that despite their deep grievance, "the Serbs have spoiled their case by enormous exaggeration of the number of victims, and seem incapable of realizing the extent to which they are playing into the hands of the Germans by a persistent and



Mihailovich Opens & Second Front

unjust identification of two such utterly different concepts as 'Croat' and 'Ustachi.' "

Official word of the massacre reached the legation in October, 1941, in the form of a lengthy memorandum addressed to General Dönkelmann, commander-in-chief of the German occupation forces in Serbia, by Valerian, the Orthodox Bishop of Budim. Ostensibly the document was a plea to Dönkelmann to stop the slaughter, but whatever its original purpose it was immediately seized upon by the government in exile, then in London, as a perfect weapon for anti-Croatian propaganda. Professor Seton-Watson condemned the report as a "tendencious document" designed to lead the reader "to the conclusion that an unbridgeable gulf of blood must henceforth separate Serbs and Croats and render impossible the revival of Yugoslavia."

This viciously distorted memorandum was forwarded to Mr. Fotich by Prime Minister Simovich. The London government, it should be noted, had never felt called upon to publicize the sufferings of the Croats and the Slovenes at the hands of the Axis and its puppets, or the slaughter of anti-Axis Serbs by General Nedich. When I read the document I communicated at once to Mr. Fotich my conviction that this was a device whereby the Axis hoped to divide Serbs and Croats forever and make the resurrection of Yugoslavia impossible. I suggested that the memorandum should be published in our official bulletin provided it was set in its true perspective and accompanied by the fullest explanation and by a sincere effort to find in the enormous suffering of innocent people, both Serb and Croat, a new element on which to build the unity of the nation.

Fotich categorically refused. Yugoslavia, he said, was no longer important; after what had happened it would never be rebuilt. But he did not resign as Yugoslav ambassador. The document was to be used, Fotich made it clear, not to promote but to prevent a restoration of Yugoslavia. The Serbs, he said, had now not only been betrayed by the Croats but slaughtered by them as well. The sufferings of the Yugoslav people were to be used for the building of Serb dominance and the destruction of the Croat position in its entirety.

As a Serb and as an individual, Mr. Fotich is of course entitled to his own political views. But he is in this country not in the capacity of a private citizen or Serb propagandist; he is here as ambassador of the Yugoslav nation. He is paid out of the national treasury to represent the interests of all the peoples of Yugoslavia—Croats and Slovenes as well as Serbs. Yet he has not once risen to defend the Croats against the violent campaign of abuse which has been waged against them by Serb and Serb American elements in this country whose one great aim is to prevent the restoration of the nation which Fotich supposedly represents.

Not only has the Ambassador never repudiated the

slandering of the Croats, but he has given substantial aid and encouragement to the campaign; he has used his position deliberately to deepen the division between the constituent parts of his nation; and he has carried on these activities in a country which has granted him the courtesies and immunities of diplomacy.

For his purposes Fotich found a ready-made weapon in the Amerikanski Srbobran, a daily newspaper published in Pittsburgh, with a weekly English edition, by the Serb National Federation. It was to this Serb organ that Fotich chose to send the notorious Dönkelmann memorandum, unaccompanied by the slightest suggestion that it be presented in proper perspective, that its gross exaggerations and their purpose be pointed out, and that care be taken to emphasize the distinction between Croat and Ustachi. On the contrary, Fotich unhesitatingly gave the signal for an unbridled campaign to divide his country.

Incensed by Fotich's conduct, Sava Kosanovich, a Serb and a Minister of State, addressed in March, 1942, a blistering note to the government in London. Some excerpts follow:

Yugoslav diplomats with sadistic pleasure are making the most harmful use of this tragedy [the Croatian massacre]. . . . In North America, for instance, Mr. Fotich, on November 2, 1941, in the Yugoslav legation personally delivered to the secretary of the Srbobran a copy of this memorandum . . . demanding that it be published "because that is necessary for the government." I have in my hand a paper marked "Confidential, Number 500, October 3, 1941," which Fotich originally sent to the Srbobran in order to launch the most repulsive campaign against the Croats, the government, and Yugoslavia. This campaign could not possibly have been better conceived from their own point of view by Hitler, Mussolini, and the Hapsburgs. The arguments inevitably arising out of this tragedy have been augmented by the addition of outrageous material and interpretations directed against the whole concept of Yugoslavia, and, what is worse, offered as the views prevailing in the Cabinet. . . .

Let me say in conclusion that for many months material most harmful to the cause of Yugoslavia has been published in the *Srbobran*. Through this newspaper the Serbian National Defense is being organized for the creation of a Serbia as against Yugoslavia, against the Croats, and against the Slovenes. This campaign was undertaken by the *Srbobran* at the direct instigation of Envoy Fotich and with his assistance.

As soon as it is indicated that the government in London does not approve of what the *Srbobran* is doing, such writings will lose all their appeal. I can assure you, in fact, that they will stop altogether. . . . Had Fotich even once during these past six months demanded on behalf of the government in London that this campaign cease, it would immediately have been discontinued, but he has not seen fit to do so.

[Continued on page 138]

# Facts for Mr. Stimson

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 20

THE testimony of Secretary of War Stimson deserves the most respectful consideration. He has, in the course of his long public and private career, amply demonstrated his devotion to democratic ideals. I think we are fortunate to have a man of his high character at the head of the War Department, and what he has to recommend is not lightly to be dismissed. His advice on a national-service act cannot, however, be exempted from careful analysis and thoroughgoing discussion, and I am sure he would not want it to be. It is with this apology that I must say that I did not find his statement to the Senate Military Affairs Committee persuasive

I agree with his basic proposition: "The nation has no less right to require a man to make weapons than it has to require another man to fight with those weapons." I think he was giving labor and its leaders a warning they must heed if they are prepared, as I believe most of them are, to put long-range considerations involving the future of free government in America ahead of petty irritation or advantage. From all I can see and hear there is plenty of evidence for the Secretary's statement that "the industrial unrest and lack of sense of patriotic responsibility" it indicates "has aroused a strong feeling of resentment and injustice among the men of the armed forces." There was the tone of statesman-like appeal and not of threat in his warning: "I believe it is hazardous to belittle the effect which such a situation will have upon the ultimate welfare of our democracy." But it seems to me that what this adds up to is the strongest of arguments for maintenance of labor's nostrike pledge. Neither these statements nor the rest of the Secretary's testimony seemed to me to make out a case for a national-service act. For that is not a matter of emotional appeal, of however lofty and patriotic a character, but simply of how the job can best be done.

Secretary Stimson was arguing most to the point when he said that the war "is not almost over," that "we are approaching its most critical and difficult period," and that in this period "we shall require not only a large but flexible production." This reference to the need for "flexible" production is of the greatest importance. The Secretary explained what it meant when he said that this was the period "when we are likely to be confronted with new weapons of the enemy which will change the method of combat and require new weapons for ourselves." The ability to make quick shifts in the size

of a gun, the design of a tank, or the form of a landing barge, not only in response to enemy changes but ahead of them, may spell the difference between victory and defeat in a whole campaign, Effective man-power mobilization is essential for those quick changes. But in justice to labor it must be said that the record of the last two years shows that the technological conservatism of the War and Navy departments and the reluctance of industry to acknowledge defects and make production changes have been the principal obstacles to such shifts. Even today we permit a situation in which we have three different types of engines in our medium tanks, enormously complicating the problem of parts' replacement and repair, and adding to the difficulties of production. because the three big automobile companies are too jealous of each other to permit choice of one engine. I might add that it was a labor leader, Walter Reuther, who first called attention to this more than two years ago.

I am not sure that the Secretary's advisers have fully informed him as to the facts. The Secretary said the army had to furlough soldiers to replace Montana copper miners and California airplane-factory workers who left their jobs for better pay. "Think of the waste of such a situation," the Secretary said, "taking soldiers from training for combat because they are the only persons who can be directed to stay where they are put!" With all due respect to the Secretary, this is neither correctly nor fairly expressed. I single it out not because I think it incorrect and unfair but because I think it indicates how poorly the War Department grasps the problem. It was not a shortage of workers, it was a shortage of workers with special skills, that forced us to furlough certain copper miners and aircraft mechanics and return them to industry. The pity and the waste are that specially skilled workers of this kind should have been drafted in the first place. The fault does not lie with labor. The fault lies with the failure of the War Department, Selective Service, and the War Manpower Commission, three poorly integrated and still conflicting agencies, to work out a program of occupational deferments. To paraphrase the Secretary, it may be no less important for one man to make weapons than for another to fight with those weapons. The men in charge of man-power-and the real authority here has rested and will continue to rest in the War Department-have never shown the patience, the knowledge, or the organizing ability to work out an orderly and sensible program of total manpower mobilization, military and civilian.

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If the reader will look up the Baruch report on West Coast Aircraft Man-Power Problems, as made public last September 18, he will see that the statements I have just made are fully supported by that report, as they are by every Congressional committee which has looked into the man-power situation. "Proper handling of manpower," the Baruch report said, "has been made impossible by the failure of government agencies to work as a team with a clearly defined program." One of Baruch's principal recommendations was that "all necessary aircraft workers on the West Coast definitely be assured of deferment . . . so that war production is not jeopardized by disruptive drawing of workers into the army." And Baruch, it must be remembered, is a man who has usually taken the side of the military as against the civilian agencies in the controversies between them in this war.

Just how far the Secretary's statement falls short of providing the true picture may be seen if one goes on to read Baruch's discussion of labor hoarding. For side by side with this shortage of irreplaceable skilled labor Baruch found "much labor . . . being hoarded or poorly utilized" not only on the West Coast but "all through the country." He blamed "prevailing cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts," and responsibility for these rests squarely on army-navy procurement. The point is not the use of these contracts; a strong case can be made out for them in many instances. The point is that, having made them, it is up to army-navy procurement to see that they are not abused. As Baruch said, it is time not only to focus on the 5, 10, or 15 cents of the production dollar that goes into profits but to reduce "the 85, 90, or 95 cents of the production dollar represented by costs." This is of first importance, not to save money, but to save labor.

Here we arrive at the heart of the national-service problem, a system of inspecting and controlling labor utilization in the factory. This is part of what the Baruch report meant when it said man-power problems "cannot be solved by thinking solely in terms of labor controls. Control over production is equally important." What is needed is, first of all, a centralized and coordinated control in Washington of production, procurement, and man-power so that consistent and understandable directives can be given to the local agencies which must play a major part in any total mobilization. To this the army-navy bureaucracy and Byrnes have been strongly opposed. What is needed, secondly, is a labormanagement works council in the plant, from which alone can be obtained the detailed information necessary for effective inspection of labor utilization. The army-navy bureaucracy, generally speaking, dislikes both labor-management set-ups and anything that smacks of interference with the sacred prerogatives of management, including that of wasting labor. Without steps of this kind, national service would serve only to embitter labor by adding compulsion to confusion.

## 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE NEWS FROM GERMANY changes from day to day, and the hope of an early restoration of general order and the development of a stable government is still dim. . . . The whole situation is the more disturbing because of the near approach of the peace conference, and the apparent disposition of France and England, not to mention other countries, to insist upon heavy indemnities and the imposition of a long period of tutelage.—January 4, 1919.

WE ASK THAT THE GOVERNMENT of the United States bring pressure to bear upon the Allies to abandon their present policy in Russia and secure, under threat, if need be, of complete dissociation from their plans, the withdrawal of all Allied troops. We ask that representatives of the Soviet government be admitted to the peace conference. We ask the prompt dispatch, in cooperation with the Soviet government, of food and clothing and necessary industrial and agricultural machinery. . . . We ask these things for the Russian Revolution and the starving people of Russia; but even more we ask these things in order that the United States may for its own sake share in righting an intolerable wrong.—January 4, 1919.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Nation:* Sir: For some time I have looked forward to the arrival of your paper each week with real pleasure, but you are getting too Bolshevik for me. My family arrived in Philadelphia with William Penn and has been here ever since. . . You will do me I favor by canceling my subscription to *The Nation* I soon as possible.

—M. M. S., January 4, 1919.

IF THE POLICY which M. Clemenceau has championed . . . and by which he has declared that he intends to be guided if he is permitted to represent France at the peace conference prevails, the conference which is about to meet will be only another Congress of Vienna.—January 11, 1919.

LITERARY NOTE: An eyewitness's account of the Russian Revolution is soon to be published by Boni and Liveright in John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World."—
January 11, 1919.

TO LAY THE BLAME for unemployment, both actual and threatened, on the public authorities has become a common practice.—January 18, 1919.

ONE OF THE SOREST SPOTS in a world still full of wounds is the seaport town of Fiume. Out of all proportion to its size or general importance Fiume has managed to center upon itself the troubled attention of the diplomats of the world..., The Italian Cabinet is in the hands of the most complete irreconcilables.... The Yugoslavs show an equal determination to attain their "ancient rights."—

January 25, 1919.

# A Settlement for Poland

BY LOUIS WITOLD

FOG of prejudice envelops the Russo-Polish issue on all sides. And yet the essential facts are not difficult to state. The two parties to the dispute have much in common. Both desire to get the Germans quickly out of Poland and to have their general staffs act in harmony. Indeed, the loyalist Polish underground movement must either work with the advancing Soviet forces or be disarmed by them: it cannot stay neutral in a battle zone. The U. S. S. R. needs a speedy settlement, and so does the Polish government in exile, which is anxious to prevent the emergence of a rival administration when the Soviet advance reaches a political center within Poland.

Both peoples are determined to prevent reemergence after the war of the German military menace. By accepting the Soviet offer to support the transfer to a "strong and independent" Poland of most of East Prussia and of Silesia up to the Oder, Poland would become dependent on Russian assistance, but it would gain a Russian commitment replacing the perennial menace of a Russo-German anti-Polish deal such as was consummated in 1939. The transfer of territory would also help Poland to solve its main domestic problem—by absorbing in a vast industrial development and in new settlements in the north the mass of its landless, or nearly landless, peasantty.

A negotiated settlement of the border dispute along the lines proposed by Russia would largely legalize the Soviet Union's seizure of land and people in 1939 and 1940. Poland would be strengthened both east and west by bringing all Poles within its borders, provided it obtained Lwow and the natural resources of Galicia, including oil. This would of course necessitate an agreed vast transfer of populations.

Both the U. S. S. R. and Poland want freedom from fear and from want. Both face a tremendous job of reconstruction. Soviet soldiers are likely to demand for their families the standards they themselves enjoyed during the war. Polish peasants, once they are in control of their government at home, will refuse to endure much longer their life of unremitting poverty. The two countries grimly realize that no freedom can be enjoyed if war is to break out soon again. They are equally in need of peaceful intercourse and trade with foreign lands. The Soviet Union is as nearly self-sufficient as a great power can be; yet it cannot reconstruct its shattered economy without some ten billion dollars' worth of imports from the United States, in addition to lesser purchases from other countries. For Poland, whose welfare

is so largely dependent on foreign trade, free commercial intercourse is requisite to its national existence.

For twenty-five years, indeed until Teheran (*Pravda* notwithstanding), the U. S. S. R. was haunted by either the reality or the specter of foreign intervention. For twenty-five years Poland wasted 40 per cent of its expenditures on defense against Germany and Russia. A relationship of mutual friendship and assistance between Poland and Russia within the promised "international community" would permit both countries to concentrate on internal development.

But on this point grave differences have arisen. The U. S. S. R. evidently proposes to "take care" of its neighbors by proclaiming a Monroe Doctrine of its own in Central and Southern Europe east of Germany. It may or may not actually incorporate some of these nations in its union. Its present federal system is capable of infinite elasticity. The venerable Jan Smuts called for more elasticity within the British Commonwealth when he recently invited Holland and Belgium into a common union. May not Stalin be tempted to invite into the Soviet Union two or three of the neighbors in the sphere of his Monroe Doctrine? Stalin's invitation might prove much less popular than Smuts's. The European underground, including both the loyalist and the partisan groups in Poland, craves freedom as it is practiced in the Western democratic world.

Enjoyment of freedom in Russia, non-existent under the Czars, who were overthrown barely twenty-six years ago, is slowly developing. Young Soviet citizens point proudly to a progressive increase in their human rights. The Poles enjoyed political freedom during the first seven years of independence; it was severely curtailed from 1926 to 1939, but not to such an extent as in the U. S. S. R. The Czechoslovaks have always had it, and vet Benes signed in Moscow without misgivings a treaty of mutual assistance which involved agreement not only on foreign and military but also on economic policy. Before 1939 Czechoslovakia traded mainly with Germany; now its chief market will be the Soviet area. Its national economy is to be reshaped, its railroads, highways, and airways rebuilt accordingly. But like Poland, it can renounce neither its trade with other lands nor its close ties with Western civilization. A united Europe would suit Czechoslovakia best, but having been a victim of power politics in 1938, it intends to become a beneficiary if power politics regain control after

Can Poland do the same? Poland fought both Russia

and Germany, depending exclusively on the West for support. The entry of Russian troops into Warsaw cannot but evoke memories of the past, of Imperial armies before 1915 and of Communist forces in 1920. Hence the suspicion which pervades all parties behind the government in exile. Premier Mikolajczyk is a cooperative-minded, well-to-do farmer-politician from Poznania, sharing Benes's hatred of Germany and his readiness to come to terms with Russia. His People's Party has a large following of farmers and is led by right-wingers sympathizing with the "green international." \* But it includes very advanced peasant youth and claims to defend both rich and landless peasants as a class distinct from the squirearchy which for centuries ruled Poland. The Polish Socialist Party, with its tradition of opposition to the Czars, is essentially led by a romantic intelligentsia in control of pre-war trade unions and social-security machinery; intransigent on the issue of full national independence and passionately hostile to communism, it is influential throughout the country and shares with Mikolajczyk the control of the government machinery. To the extent indicated, the government in exile is a coalition of "peasants and workers."

But power in Poland before 1940 was in the hands of a military clique. At no time was power exercised in the interests of peasants or workers. The middle class was ruined by the Russian Revolution, the collapse of Austria, and the post-war inflation. The landed gentry lost its capital and most of its estates. Another fifteen years would have seen the disappearance of all land available for distribution. Deprived of its economic foundation, the gentry swarmed into the army as officers and seized power on behalf of Pilsudski. After Pilsudski's death their rule was legalized by an authoritarian constitution which is still in force. During the two or three years preceding the war a mass movement of protest was gaining in strength; municipal elections were won by the Socialist and Peasant parties, but power continued to be shared by the President-responsible, in terms of the constitution, only to God and history-and the commander of the army, Marshal Rydz-Smigly. They, together with Foreign Minister Beck, were "the government," dreaming dreams of Poland as a "great power," convinced of the inevitable downfall of the Western democracies and the advent of "strong government," Italian style, hostile to Czechoslovakia and to a Russia of whatever complexion. Having previously declined, two to one, a German alliance against Russia, they were compelled by pressure from below to stand up to the German challenge.

This regime collapsed in September, 1939. After an unsuccessful last-minute plot to maintain itself abroad, it was succeeded by a coalition of parties which for thirteen years had been excluded from office and which

never in fact exercised power—men of the day before yesterday thrust into a situation which required vision and great political courage.

Since Sikorski was the one outstanding military man who had favored, in and out of season, the French and British connection and recognized the necessity of fighting Germany, he naturally took over. Unfortunately his officers belonged to the old regime. Interested mainly in their return to power, they kept their powder dry and their pens furiously working in an atmosphere of utter unreality, convinced of the inevitability of a clash between Russia and the Western powers.

Sikorski's policy of conciliation with Russia was blocked by them at every turn. Not that the Soviet Union facilitated an agreement. All Poles resident in Russia in 1941 were proclaimed Soviet citizens on the ground that they either belonged in areas in which plebiscites had been held or by their mere presence testified to their preference for Russia; tens of thousands of Poles were forcibly evacuated to Russia. After endless wrangling a lame compromise was in sight when the Katyn bombshell wrecked everything. Most Poles believed that the thousands of officers whose bodies were found were slain by the Soviet secret police when, after the fall of France, Russia decided to divide Poland with Germany. Despite this belief the people were in general eager for a reconciliation with Russia and considered the Sikorski appeal to the International Red Cross to investigate the massacre a tragic blunder.

Thus while Benes had a clear road toward a pact, the Poles are hindered by their uneasy past relations with Russia and by recent mutual recriminations and suspicion.

Both Poland and Czechoslovakia have learned that alliances will not prevent disaster. Both need security against Germany, but security requires the relinquishment of many sovereign rights in exchange for some kind of "super-national" machinery. Which is it to be? A three-power pact with the Soviet Union, or the "integrated Europe" suggested vaguely in the Churchill broadcast of March, 1943, and apparently coldly received by Washington? Or will it be the "international authority" announced at Moscow and Teheran and then left at that? No one today can say.

The Russian-Polish issue has raised many other European and world issues. How can certain German areas be transferred in the absence of a general Allied plan? How can individual countries agree on economic policies without an Allied decision about German industries? How can they enter into permanent security pacts before the foundations of a European and inter-continental structure have been laid? Poland may have blundered and the U. S. S. R. have been particularly heavy-handed, but no valid settlement can be effected until a coherent policy has been agreed on by the United States and the United Kingdom.

# Rank-and-File Kilowatts

BY MCALISTER COLEMAN

EMEMBER the jokes about the salmon going up the ladders of the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River that circulated when the dam was opened in 1937? Remember how the stout boys of the right grew apoplectic about the still bigger dam farther up the river, Grand Coulee? That was the "biggest boondoggle of them all," and all the dams along the Columbia were "white elephants in a wilderness." Why spend our taxes to produce cheap and abundant power 'way out there in the woods, with no industries around to use it? As recently as March, 1941, when the first generator turned over at Grand Coulee, even the most ardent New Dealers expressed their private doubts as to the immediate usefulness of the mighty projects. Maybe they would be valuable for irrigation, they said; Coulee would eventually irrigate an area as large as all Connecticut. But power? Well, that was something else again. How were the taxpayers going to get back the \$174,000,000 for the Coulee dam and power plant, to say nothing of the \$394,000,000 that would be spent in the next twenty-five to fifty years for all the contemplated reclamation, conservation, and power projects?

Pearl Harbor put a sudden stop to all talk of that sort. To be sure, there are signs that it will soon be resumed, but today critics of public power in the Northwest are silent before this formula: Grand Coulee plus Bonneville produces 1,250,000 kilowatts per day. And the bulk of those million and a quarter kilowatts is powering war plants in Washington and Oregon whose products will play an important part in the big push against Japan, as indeed they are vital today in the preliminary moves. Right now 40 per cent of all the aluminum used in the war effort is made with juice from the big Columbia River dams. And these are also energizing magnesium, electro-chemical, and electro-metallurgical works, shipbuilding and lumbering, military establishments, cooperatives, public-utility districts, and publicly owned municipal utilities. New generators at both Bonneville and Grand Coulee will provide still more power for the ever-increasing demands of our war industries. The Bonneville Advisory Board has recommended construction of storage dams at Albeni Falls and Cabinet Gorge on the Clark Fork of the Columbia River in Idaho, and at Hungry Horse on the Flathead River in Montana. Contract sheets for power from Bonneville and Coulee grow larger every day. And the salmon are getting up the ladders all right without benefit of "free" enterprise.

This is not to say that public power has won so sweep-

ing a victory in our "Inland Empire"—Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana—that its champions can rest on their laurels. Under the banners of "free enterprise," the privateers are launching a nation-wide assault upon the people's ownership and use of their own resources. In the Northwest two related campaigns are under way in the free enterprisers' current attempt at a glorious comeback. In one, private ownership is fighting public ownership in the field of electric light and power; in the other, private ownership is fighting public ownership over the disposition of the new war plants that have sprung up around the great dams.

The fight on the power front is at its hottest right now in Washington, where the public-power people are working for a referendum permitting the fast-growing Public-Utility Districts in the state to acquire and operate entire electrical systems, instead of being compelled as at present to operate only small portions of systems using Bonneville-Coulee power. A statement of Pacific Northwest labor men-C. I. O., A. F. of L., and railroaders-urging the passage of the Public-Utility District measure reads as follows: "The huge Alcoa plant at Vancouver, the Reynolds plant at Longview, the Olin Aluminum plant at Wenatchee—all of these are accomplishments of public power. Without public power, shipbuilding and airplane manufacture would still be bawling infants instead of the young giants they now are." These labor men are looking forward with lively apprehension to the situation which the Northwest must face immediately after the war, and at the same time they are combating the propaganda of what Amos Pinchot once called "the kilowatt klan."

A recent example of such propaganda was the sprawling advertisement of the Puget Sound Power and Light Company in the Seattle papers. This privately owned concern has long been a thorn in the side of City Light, Seattle's great publicly owned hydroelectric development, which has given the town its reputation as "America's best-lighted city." By order of the SEC and a Massachusetts court the Puget Sound Company was compelled the other day to hold an election for a new board of directors -one on which Eastern financial interests would not be so conspicuous as formerly. In the advertisement a picture of a number of substantial-looking citizens sitting chummily around a directors' table was accompanied by this blurb: "This is free enterprise in action . . . chance for progress in the American Way. This is public ownership, honest-to-goodness American style, with business management under government regulation. With Puget

Power it is a case of pooling the money and talents of a lot of people for mutual benefit in the rendering of a valuable public service. We are working and will be working with you as partners in the building of an evergreater state of Washington—which, it can be truly said, has a future bright with promise."

Old-time battlers for City Light smiled sardonically when they read this, remembering how desperately and with what dubious tactics Puget Power had fought to destroy both the municipally owned plant and its fearless superintendent, the late James Delmage Ross, the Northwest's beloved "J. D." With a certain pride they pointed out that only in such a strongly held public domain as theirs would a private company attempt to sell itself as an "honest-to-goodness" public-ownership enterprise.

A more familiar argument along the old lines of "Pin the Bolshevik label on 'em" was used in this "stuffer" inclosed in the bills of a privately owned company: "Let's fight and work to keep our business system in the hands of free men. Let us turn a deaf ear to those who, under cover of war emergency, would lead us into a system of national socialism, which is the slavery typified by NAZI."

In Seattle at any rate, where residential consumers are enjoying the use of three times the national average of light and power at a cost of around one cent a kilowatt hour, the outcries of the private companies fall on deaf ears. When the Seattle owner of an "all-electric home" receives from City Light a monthly bill of only \$5 for juice that runs an electric range and an automatic hot-water tank, in addition to his lighting and a number of electrical gadgets, he is not likely to be impressed with the "American Way" of free enterprise. Nor is the citizen of neighboring Tacoma, where the publicly owned plant charges the lowest rates in the country, or of the twenty or so other towns throughout the state that own their plants. Not long ago the Seattle City Council, by no stretch of the imagination a radical body, voted unanimously not to grant a franchise to Puget Power after its present franchise expires in 1952, thereby setting a precedent which future councils will find it difficult to ignore.

#### THE P. U. D.'s

Outside the cities, out in the grass roots and tall timber of the Northwest, the struggle continues. Here it is the rapid growth of Washington's "Public-Utility Districts" and Oregon's "People's Utility Districts" which the private interests are seeking to strangle. In Washington, which has one-fifth of the nation's hydroelectric power, with an aggregate potential of more than ten million horse-power, the Public-Utility Districts came into being as the result of an initiative enacted in 1930. The districts may buy and sell power inside and outside their limits, which are usually those of the county, and have the right of eminent domain—they may buy, condemn, or

lease properties. Three commissioners elected by the district's voters run its affairs. Washington now has fifteen Public-Utility Districts in highly successful operation, saving customers huge sums in rates and making cheap and abundant power easily accessible to thousands of farmers and small home-owners. These P. U. D.'s are developing new types of public servants, who understand the problems of our future industrial and agricultural civilization. Instead of being high-pressure salesmen for Eastern holding companies, like the officials of privately owned utilities, the P. U. D. commissioners are farmers, workingmen, and small business men, responsive to the needs of the community.

Commissioner J. N. Erlandsen of Everett, Washington, for example, is an active unionist who has just announced that the Public-Utility District of Snohomish County will now proceed to construct its own system. He explains that this step is necessary in order to derive full benefit from cheap Bonneville power rates. The privately owned power company in the county wanted \$13,500,000 for the properties involved in the condemnation suit, whereas the P. U. D.'s engineers valued them at no more than \$4,000,000. Incidentally, the assessed value of the properties, on which the private company pays taxes, is but \$900,000. Commissioner Doyle, of the militant Cowlitz County district, is a member of the Machinists' Union and former president of his local. Commissioner Marshall of Thurston County is a member of the United Mine Workers of America. It is significant that one of the first acts of the Washington Commissioners' Association was to insist that all Public-Utility Districts bargain collectively with unions.

While farmers are naturally more interested in the irrigation than in the power possibilities of the big dams, they too are strong for public power. The usually conservative Grange in both Oregon and Washington supports it wholeheartedly.

It was good to talk to those rugged men of the rank and file after a session with the watered-down descendants of the pioneers, city slickers calling themselves "free enterprisers." One district commissioner, a member of the C. I. O. Woodworkers' Union, said: "These private fellers can't get up enough enterprise, free or otherwise, to bring cheap juice from Bonneville right down the line. So we've got to get it for ourselves. We figure that's enterprising for everybody's good, the way it was out here in the early days. And we are appeasing nobody." This last was a reference to what many of the rank-andfile public-power men believe to be the over-cautious policies of some top men in the Bonneville administration. The commissioners don't accept the idea that we are heading for a reactionary regime after the war and so what's the use of fighting the privateers? Some would welcome the organization of a militant farmer-labor alliance for independent political action.

#### THE FIGHT LOOMS

Some sort of effective action in the political u well as the economic field must be taken-and soon-if there is not to be that mass exodus from the Northwest which forward-looking citizens fear when the curtain finally drops on the war. The plans of the capitalists in both old parties are plain enough, and the Northwestern delegation in Congress-which includes the progressive Homer T. Bone in the Senate and Representative John Coffee in the House—is now girding its loins against their political maneuverings. Evidently they hope to reduce the Northwest to its former subordinate position in the national economy, with shipping, lumber, and fishing its main enterprises. Indeed, S. W. Murphy, president of the Electric Bond and Share Company, has gone so far as to suggest that after the war Bonneville and Grand Coulee, together with the TVA, be sold to private interests for the purpose of "reducing the public debt." At a public meeting in December Henry Kaiser said that within a year after the war there would not be employment for more than 5 per cent of the workers now employed in his Portland shipyards. Behind the scenes there are moves to nip in the bud the hopeful start of a steel industry near the dams; though the coal in the region is mostly sub-bituminous or lowly lignite, geologists and engineers say that it could be put to productive use. Naturally the Alcoa crowd discourages the project of making aluminum from native clays in Oregon.

Already, through Jesse Jones's Defense Plant Corporation, the government has invested more than \$170,-000,000 in the plants at the big dams, as compared with private industry's \$27,000,000. The two chief products are aluminum and magnesium, the light metals of which tomorrow's world, according to the advertisements, will be fabricated. Nothing, of course, would please the ineffable Jones more than to give back the governmentsubsidized plants to the indicted Indians of Alcoa and Dow Chemical the minute the guns cease firing overseas. The erstwhile aluminum and magnesium monopolists are anguished to see Uncle Sam owning 70 per cent of the nation's aluminum-production facilities and 94 per cent of the magnesium facilities, and obtaining the power which is so large a factor in the production of both metals from publicly owned dams at \$17.50 a kilowatt year-Bonneville's wholesale industrial rate.

The labor men whom I quoted above say that "thanks to public power the future of the Northwest is brighter than it has ever been before. Public power is cheap power, and cheap power is a strong industrial magnet." Hope for a continued high level of employment, they say, must be based on "the full utilization of the resources of the region. The most vital of these resources and the peculiar advantage of the Northwest is its hydroelectric energy, which exceeds that of any area of similar size on the continent." Here, they believe, "is the foun-

dation for a post-war expansion unrivaled elsewhere on earth."

It is no private fight that is going on out there in our Inland Empire. We are all in it. If the present drive for a return to free enterprise succeeds in destroying the publicly owned projects in the Northwest, it will destroy the most hopeful opportunity in the United States for achieving full employment, production for use, and genuine industrial democracy.

## In the Wind

REPRESENTATIVE MARCANTONIO of New York, attacking supporters of anti-poll-tax bills other than his own, has characterized one such opponent as "poll-taxer Dubinsky." The reference is not taken seriously by Mr. Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, but it must be sacrilege to the ears of Representative Rankin of Mississippi, who combines a fanatic devotion to the poll tax with a lively taste for anti-Semitism.

FROM THE NEW YORK Times account of a radio program whitewashing the record of the New York City police department in dealing with anti-Semitic violence: "Mayor LaGuardia declared that it was 'heartbreaking' that recent discussions have created the impression that there is racial or religious discord in the city."

THIS STATEMENT appeared not in *PM* but in the irreproachably conservative *Printers' Ink*, a magazine devoted to advertising and selling: "One huge defense plant has about four hundred Negro women in one separate division, mostly housewives. In effectiveness they outclass the main plant."

ON THE DISMISSAL of Dr. Francis E. McMahon from the faculty of Notre Dame University, the Catholic Herald-Citizen of Milwaukee has this to say: "Multiple harm to the church and to Catholic education is bound to result from such a happening. The smoldering forces of prejudice and anti-Catholic feeling existing in secular academic circles have been furnished ammunition for the favorite charge that Catholic education is purely authoritarian and basically in the fascist pattern."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The German Armaments Ministry reports that Allied air raids are keeping a million brick-layers busy on m full-time basis... The illegal newspaper La Libre Belgique reports that food prices have risen 350 to 750 per cent... Four Norwegian patriots called on m Quisling follower one evening recently, stripped him naked, carried him into the back yard, and stuffed him into his own garbage can.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—Editors the nation.]

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### ART YOUNG

#### BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THERE was something old-fashioned about Art Young, about his personality, his humor, his art, his radicalism. All were indigenous in the best sense of the word; all seemed to hail from a simpler, pre-industrial America, where individualism was personal, not political, where humor was broad, art was not a private language, and radicalism consisted of the moral conviction that all men are created equal and that it isn't fair for some people to have a lot while others have nothing.

This impression is reinforced by a reading of his autobiography. He grew up in the small town of Monroe, Wisconsin, where his father ran the local store. He began drawing pictures as soon as he could manage a pencil. And curiously enough, neither his parents nor the townspeople thought it was queer. On the contrary, he was praised and encouraged, in and out of school, and in his 'teens he held his first one-man show in the local post office. "There's a blank wall goin' to waste," said Bill Hoesly, the postmaster. "I guess Uncle Sam wouldn't object if you tacked up some of your masterpieces."

In Art's boyhood—he left the town in 1883—Monroe probably had more in common with the earlier America of itinerant painters than with the then burgeoning America of traveling salesmen. Money-grubbing was only beginning to be the national obsession. Artisans commanded more respect, and the distinction between artisans and artists was not so fiercely insisted upon; the fact that Art Young's mother was Pennsylvania Dutch may have contributed to the tolerance of art in the house. Then, of course, Art's subjects were the neighbors, and they were entertained by his pictures of them.

At seventeen, with no recorded opposition, he went to Chicago to make his way as an artist. He earned only a bare living, but he earned it doing what he wanted to do, and perhaps because of his early experience of being accepted on his own terms he seems never to have had the sense of being cut off from the general run of Americans or of being subject to any special hazards because he was an artist.

This uncomplicated assumption that there was nothing queer or sad about being an artist in America seems to me apparent in his work—in the direct, simple, self-confident line, the pleasure and spontaneity in attack, the absence of anything resembling personal bitterness, and the joyous inclusion of his well-rounded self in his cartoons.

His radicalism had the same healthy qualities. To him there seemed nothing queer or sad about being a radical either, and his attitude is perfectly illustrated in his picture of himself falling asleep at his own trial for "treason." He became a radical not because he had been hurt personally



To a leading lawyer of the village I expressed myself on the subject of war and militarism. I spoke particularly of the ex-soldiers sleeping in hallways and alleys of the cities—homeless and jobless.

"Oh!" said he, as if to dismiss the subject, "that happens after every war—it happened after the Civil War."

I was impressed as usual when reminded of a perfectly good precedent and a well-established custom.

but because what he saw going on didn't square either with his own feelings toward the next fellow, whoever that might be, or with the principles he had been brought up on in Monroe, Wisconsin. His "social consciousness," as we would say now, developed late—it began when he found out the truth about the Haymarket case—but it stayed put because it was an organic and indigenous growth. He was a Jeffersonian socialist, if I may coin a label. There was nothing exotic about Art Young.

I stress this fact because I'm tired of hearing the myth that socialism and internationalism are incompatible with the "American way." To Art Young they seemed a logical extension of the American way if the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights mean what they say. And he was right.



The drawings reproduced here first appeared in these pages. Art Young began to draw for *The Nation* in 1922 when Oswald Garrison Villard asked him to contribute



Art Young Gets Busy

monthly page of his cartoons. It was called Looking On, and Art chose his own subjects. That was the beginning of collaboration and a friendship that never ended, though in his later years his work appeared all too seldom in our columns. I doubt very much that any of Art's thousand and one friendships ever ended, for his love of human beings was as irreversible as his hatred of the evils they invent.

#### Santayana's Memoirs

PERSONS AND PLACES: THE BACKGROUND OF MY LIFE. By George Santayana, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

THE philosopher who is also his own biographer—the metaphysician as memorialist—is not a familiar figure, not a classic type, in the history of literature; there are, of course, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, but unless Rousseau is a kind of exception, it is not very easy to think of others. Time was when one might have generalized against the possible union in one mind of a genius for dialectics and the autobiographer's gift of self-revelation; the editors of recent series-the "Library of Living Philosophies"have been undeterred by any such doubts, and the introductory personal essays in these volumes by men like Whitehead and G. E. Moore would seem to vindicate their confidence, for these essays are full of juice. In a similar volume, Irwin Edman's excellent edition of "The Philosophy of Santayana," there appeared A Brief History of My Opinions by Santayana himself, a vigorous fragment of autobiography which made one wonder what Epicurus or Spinoza would have done with a similar assignment; and now comes, by mysterious messengers from Rome, the first volume of what is apparently to be a very full memoir by Santayana—the story, this, of his childhood, boyhood, and college years.

It is an extraordinarily rich and delicate piece of writing: Santayana turns out to be a memorialist in the great tradition. The form, unlike that of the novel, is one in which he moves comfortably and with grace, and the qualities one failed to find in "The Last Puritan"—itself "A Memoir in the Form of a Novel"—qualities of vitality, of spontaneity, of naturalness and charitable humor—are abundantly here. In "The Last Puritan," one felt, Santayana was paying off too many old scores: they are paid now, presumably, and

his spirit is free to expatiate over the past without acrimony, or with only the mild infusion of acrimony needful to give such work savor and character. There was an awkward disequilibrium in his novel between the writer's senses and his sentiments, between his perceptions of the outer world and his habitual abstractions; here, on the contrary, the two are polarized as they ought to be, and Santayana moves back and forth with an effortless irony and tenderness between the rather Goyaesque drawings he makes of Avila in his childhood and the "feeling" story of his early religiosity, between the jerry-built Back Bay of the seventies and the youthful origins of his pessimism, between a handed-down dress of his sister Susana's ("elaborate with a looped overskirt, yellow satin bow-knots, and scalloped edges") and the handed-down culture, as he saw it, of the Boston into which he was so traumatically flung at the very risky age of eight.

There is no doubt that it was a trauma, this shock of transplantation from his father's impecunious but slow-paced Old World household in Castilian Avila to the raw new mansions of Beacon Street and the improved methods of Miss Welchman's Kindergarten. The rather violent conflicts of direction and attachment that it produced have given poignancy and a rather stately pathos to all of Santayana's life as well as to his philosophy; a loss was suffered which he himself does not blink: "There was a terrible moral disinheritance involved," he says, "an emotional and intellec-



Saved Again

tual chill, a pertiness and practicality of outlook and ambition, which I should not have encountered amid the complex passions and intrigues of a Spanish environment." But he adds that if his fate had been in one sense happier, and Spain or southern Europe his permanent home, he would not have been "the person that I am now"; he would certainly not have been the writer he ended by being, and the unique interest of his work as a philosopher-its curious, ambiguous, Mediterranean-Yankee unity in disparity-would have been replaced by something more acceptably uniform, perhaps, but surely less complex, less various, less vitally paradoxical. It was the tension between Santayana's Spanish heritage, his Spanish infancy, and that sensationally contrarious world of the Boston Latin School and Harvard under President Eliot that made possible "The Life of Reason" and "Realms of Being." We might have profited less from more coherent philosopher: we have after all, to that end, Unamuno-or William James.

Except for William James, as he remarked in A Brief History, Santayana's thought would never have taken just

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the turn it did, and one cannot read this new book without feeling in how many ways the discomforts, the antagonisms, even the denials of Santayana's long life in this country kept his senses on the alert and his wits on the stretch: perhaps the all but literally Portuguese Jew Spinoza gained some such good from Amsterdam and The Hague. It is true that, from Santayana's point of view, America had a mainly negative and astringent value for him, and a deep-rooted American will not feel that either "The Last Puritan" or "Persons and Places" does justice to what was most creative in America even in the years they cover-to that perfection which, as Santayana says here and elsewhere, every form of life has in its own fashion. He missed rather more than he saw, or he would hardly have thought J. S. Sargent one of "the two most creditable living Americans." What he missed is perhaps, as Henry James once put it, the American's secret-"his joke, as one may say"-and during this dark night of the European soul, with the spectacle of Europe's tragic failure and ruin before us, we can be neither vainglorious nor cringing on that score. American readers of these books can make their own reservations, mainly in silence, and meanwhile there is much to be learned from them. No one but Santayana could have seen just what he saw in the New England of the Age of Howells: his memories of those decades have a fictional sharpness, a precision of imagery, a piercing psychological quality that one finds in few comparable American autobiographies. NEWTON ARVIN

#### Lend-Lease Saga

LEND-LEASE, WEAPON FOR VICTORY. By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

T END-LEASE is a misnomer. The term served well enough, perhaps, in the adolescent days when we were talking of a "defense program" in terms of "cash-and-carry neutrality" and "aid to Britain" and "measures short of war." It had its origin in the President's famous pressconference parable about lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. But once the conflagration reached our own house, we ceased to be lenders or leasers and became instead full partners in a great community effort to extinguish the blaze.

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., who managed this mechanism with distinguished effectiveness, has written a compact and sometimes exciting chronicle of its accomplishments. The story of lend-lease is, in essence, the story of this country's slow response to the threat of Axis aggression, its miraculous marshaling of its strength, and its adaptation to problems of coalition warfare on a planetary scale. The book provides, perhaps, the best short history of the American war effort yet published.

In 1939 American shipyards turned out 28 ocean-going vessels; our airplane factories produced 2,100 military planes, most of them trainers; tank production was practically nonexistent. We lacked shipyard and plant facilities to do much more than this. The facilities were created in large part by French and British orders placed in 1939 and 1940-paid for by British cash on the barrelhead until that cash was virtually exhausted. Without this prodding of American production we should have been greatly retarded in meeting our own emergency when it came upon us at the end of 1941.

He recalls those feverish days when American industry was beginning to flex its muscles. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau was delegated to channel the foreign purchasing and did so with imaginative awareness of its importance to us. Our own army and navy demands, piled on top of foreign orders, swamped the factories. The President laid down his rule of thumb for the equal division of weapons between the British and ourselves. Destroyers were swapped for island bases. France fell, and the British purchasing officials over here made the tough decision to take over all French commitments. After Dunkirk, with all its modern equipment lost, Britain stood in imminent danger of invasion. President Roosevelt rounded up World War I weapons stored away in American arsenals, most of them more or less obsolete-Enfield rifles, 75's, an assortment of machineguns-and ordered them rushed to Gravesend Bay, where they were loaded on British freighters. To do this within the fiction of neutrality, it was necessary to go through the ritual of selling the arms to the United States Steel Export Company, which, in turn, as a private enterpriser sold them at cost to the British government. "For weeks," says Mr. Stettinius, "while England's war factories worked night and day to make up the losses in Flanders, there were few guns in all of Britain that could stop a tank besides the nine hundred 75's from America. The 80,000 Lewis, Marlin, Browning, and Vickers machine-guns strengthened the defenses of every threatened beachhead and every road leading in from the coast."

Lend-lease itself, when it was finally adopted in March, 1941, started as a trickle; most of our munitions were still "on order." But it has grown to a torrent. Mr. Stettinius's later chapters detail the enormous obstacles overcome in getting food and arms across dangerous seas to Britain, China, and the Soviet Union. For the casual reader the account is perhaps overstudded with statistics. But even these are enlivened and made meaningful by a set of brilliantly original maps and pictographs designed by Irving Geis.

Lend-lease provided an essential weapon for victory. But in Mr. Stettinius's view it provided something even more important—the pattern by which victory was to be achieved, the pattern of the United Nations. It implemented coalition warfare, integrated the resources of the Allies. Mr. Stettinius went to England in the summer of 1942 and saw how our war efforts had intermingled. He saw Lancasters made in part out of lend-lease aluminum, Spitfires flown by American crews, and Flying Fortresses based on landing fields built out of reverse lend-lease funds. Sometimes the R. A. F. and the U. S. A. A. F. occupied air bases jointly. The conclusion that Mr. Stettinius reached was this: "It is all the same war. Who can say which of us has given most of what we had to give? We cannot measure their lives against our dollars, or their pounds or rubles against our lives. We cannot balance the cost of a ruined city against the cost of a thousand tanks, or the courage of the underground in Europe against the courage of American boys in New Guinea and the courage of their mothers at home. It would be impossible, indeed a sacrilege, to attempt to balance such a ledger."

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man has learned from two and a half years at the helm of lend-lease operations. It is a lesson which still needs to be learned among his countrymen—a lesson which the President has shied away from teaching.

ALAN BARTH

#### Polls Versus Elections

ASSIGNMENT: U. S. A. By Selden Menefee. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

If YOU have been out of the country since Pearl Harbor you will be brought completely up to date by Selden Menefee's "liberal's-eye" view of America at war. He covered 15,000 miles for Princeton's Office of Public Opinion Research. Most of his specific observations, but not all, would cause little disagreement among liberals. Exceptions would include his blanket indorsement of the incentive-pay plan for industry, which was overwhelmingly opposed by the recent United Automobile Workers' convention, and his opinion that after the hoped-for repeal of the pol! tax the hundreds of thousands of new voters "will vote against those Congressmen who have opposed all liberal reforms." Most students of the South are much less sure that this will be the result, at least until after a long period of education.

Menefee's direct personal observations are buttressed by a summary of the findings of the professional opinion testers. Their joint conclusion is not only encouraging but often so optimistic as to seem somewhat naive to those concerned with concrete political problems. The American people, according to Menefee and the opinion testers, are ready for any sacrifice necessary to win the war. Furthermore, while they may be misinformed on some issues and at times inconsistent in their opinions, "they are basically in agreement on all major democratic aims of the war and for the peace to come. This is in a very real sense a people's war, and our citizens are determined that it shall be followed by

people's peace, both at home and abroad."

If this conclusion is fully justified, the American people are, indeed, the least articulate people in the world and have the least control over their elected representatives. The emasculation of price control and other war agencies, the assassination of the National Resources Planning Board, the almost complete burial of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for social security, the reelection of most of the Congressional obstructionists and the defeat of many liberal representatives, these and countless other recent events can hardly be passed over as minor errors in the expression of popular opinion. The polls Menefee cites prove only that most of our citizens are well-intentioned but generally unaware of the problems facing the country and consequently inconsistent in their own convictions. Overwhelmingly agreed on the necessity of America's participation in world affairs and on the need for real sacrifices to insure the peace, our people nevertheless expect payment for lend-lease materials, are unwilling to give up our military establishment even if other nations do likewise, will insist on reparations payments and on the continuation of tariff barriers. While few Americans want us to annex territory after victory, "six-sevenths of us think we should have more military bases outside the country than we had before the war." Although the polls show

a deep concern regarding post-war unemployment, four-fifths of all those now employed are convinced that they will retain their present jobs, and of the remaining fifth only one in twenty expects trouble in finding another job. Seventy per cent of those who have heard of the NRPB proposals favor them, but only a third of the people want "changes" after the war and 58 per cent favor the status quo.

All of which adds up to the fact that anything can be proved—and usually is—by public-opinion polls. The widest discrepancies often exist between the results of opinion polls and elections, as Dr. Gallup found out in 1942. An extreme example is cited by Menefee: While most farmers felt in early 1943 that the Administration had given labor more of the breaks, 45 per cent of the farmers preferred a Congress dominated by labor to one controlled by big business and only 25 per cent were of the opposite opinion. Compare this with the election results of 1942 and 1943! It becomes abundantly clear that Dr. Gallup and his colleagues could get us a more liberal government than the traditional elections have brought forth. The difference is apathy. Dr. Gallup is a simplified voting machine that comes around to your front door. But widespread apathy is a danger sign in a democracy.

No one could question Mr. Menefee's findings that the American people are behind this war, as proved by their enthusiastic enlistments, their purchases of war bonds, and their participation in civilian defense activities. Undoubtedly former America Firsters, with some exceptions in the lunatic fringe, have participated as wholeheartedly as former Fighters for Freedom. But this is to be expected in any country where national pride is intact. To conclude from this patriotic enthusiasm that the American people share Mr. Menefee's liberal interpretation of the meaning of the war and will follow through on the implications of that interpretation seems unwarranted. The tendency to over-optimism detracts only slightly from an otherwise competent job of reporting and analysis.

JAMES LOEB, JR.

#### Fiction in Review

EVEN at the risk of personal confession, I want to men-tion, for the light it may throw on an aspect of the contemporary literary scene which has not been spoken of very frankly, the reason for my three months' delay in reviewing Christine Weston's "Indigo" (Scribner's, \$2.50). Mrs. Weston's novel is outstandingly good, by all odds the most satisfactory novel I have read in the last year and a half of reviewing. It starts poorly, however, and after the first twenty or thirty pages, which I read shortly after publication, I set it aside in favor of a score of books which have since proved to be of infinitely less merit. But my indifference was not only a response to the novel's own lack of initial interest. If "Indigo" had been one of those books which has to make its way without encouragement from either publisher or critics, I'm sure I would have read it through at once, despite its poor start, in the hope of uncovering neglected talent. But "Indigo" came to me as a Literary Guild selection, slated for a large audience, and already praised by the popular reviewers in the usual amorphous, inconsequential terms; and I allowed its apparent popular appeal to confirm me in the

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impression—later to be shown so mistaken—that it was only another of the bad books which sell well.

If this were merely a private snobbery it would scarcely be worth speaking of. But I know it reflects the common attitude among people who take literature seriously. Obviously, this section of literary opinion is not wholly, or even primarily, responsible for its aloofness from the popular: it has grown so accustomed to having books which are praised in superlatives and bought in the hundred thousands turn out to be valueless that it reacts violently from popular judgment; and after all, when the popular reviewers do hit a really good book, like "Indigo," their praise makes no distinction between it and the last book they admired. But there is implicit in our caste feelings-and this is the dangerous snobbery—the assumption that no book which is popular can possibly be either good or interesting; we see this point of view exemplified, for instance, in the ungrounded and unthoughtful way in which the reviewer for the New Republic dismissed Marquand's last novel, or in the restricted choice of books for even unfavorable comment

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RUTH GORDON in OVER TWENTY-ONE

in the serious literary quarterlies. We seem to forget that, in their day, half the very great novels were also great popular successes, and even more important, we foster, by dissociating the serious from the popular, a tragic parochialism in our serious writers.

Like all good novels, Mrs. Weston's book is addressed to many different levels of audience, welcoming the reader's own supplement of awarene's and creativity. It is full of the color of its setting, India; it is extremely well written in a relaxed, informed, commentative prose, and it is thick with modulations and insights. It has a constantly absorbing plot; it even has violence and melodrama, though its most dramatic moment is beautifully still, a matter of the quiet reading of a letter. Best of all, it has the most attractive characters I have come across in a contemporary novel.

The three main characters, whom we meet in their early boyhood and follow into maturity—the novel ends after the start of the last war-are Jacques, the son of a bigoted Frenchwoman; Hardyal, the son of an assimilated Indian lawyer; and Macbeth, son of an English army officer. In youth the three boys love each other very much. But Mrs. Weston knows that without the right political conditions for love, love can be destroyed, and her history of the three friends works out to be the tragic record of three political victims. Not that "Indigo," because it deals with the Indian problem, is a schematic study in racial and political conflicts: with the true novelist's instinct for knowing how to deal with social questions, Mrs. Weston doesn't raise issues; she sets them vibrating out of human situations, and she is far too subtle to resolve people into symbols for political groups. But just as surely as Mrs. Weston knows that youth has its peculiar generosity and that only in such rare cases as that of Mrs. Lyttleton, Jacques's eccentric old friend, or of Jacques himself, whose loyalty to Hardyal is as luminous and ineffectual as everything else in his character, is it preserved into maturity, she knows that her characters are the victims of the special Indian fate. "Indigo" is as informative about India as E. M. Forster's "A Passage to India"-a novel it may not equal in emotional force but one with which it can well stand comparison; and like Forster's novel, it is in the business of asking questions, not answering them. There is this important difference between them, however, and it is perhaps the best clue I can give, in such brief space, to the particular charm of Mrs. Weston's book: if "A Passage to India" asks whether for lack of love an empire will be lost, "Indigo" asks whether because of empire all these wonderful possibilities of love will be lost.

Mrs. Weston resembles Forster in the quality of her novelistic intelligence. Like him, she has what looks so mild and is really so courageous—the ability to modulate character, even to allow character to peter out of existence: thus, Gisèle, Jacques's sister, disappears from the story leaving behind her only a trailing scent of iniquity, and Mrs. Lyttleton, the less grand but more endearing counterpart of Forster's Mrs. Moore, loses her grip on the book long before she actually dies. But "Indigo" is full of beautifully conceived details to isolate for comment. It affirms what so much present-day fiction seems to conspire to deny—the wonderful pleasure of reading a good novel.

DIANA TRILLING

#### MUSIC

THE Short Symphony by Aaron Copland that Stokowski played at an N. B. C. Symphony broadcast proved to be one of the ugly works that Copland was turning out a number of years ago. His latest piece, the Sonata for violin and piano that he played with Ruth Posselt at a Boosey and Hawkes concert, began Andante semplice with melodic fragments and chord progressions reminiscent of "Billy the Kid" and "Rodeo" which led one to think for a moment that these works had established an idiom for all his writing. But once the Sonata got going Allegro there was a change to thematic substance that was astringent and arid and rhythmically spastic, and that was kept going with Copland's tremendous professional competence and efficiency and assurance.

On the afternoon that Stokowski played the Short Symphony the Budapest Quartet played a new quartet by Hindemith at the Frick Collection. This work—in sound, in what the sound conveyed—was a horror; and as I listened I kept thinking it was bad enough that anyone had to write something like that himself, but appalling that such a person was teaching young Americans with talent for composition and influencing them to write in the same way.

This may be the point at which to speak of the extremely bad transmission of the Frick Collection concerts in WNYC's broadcasts, evidently because of poor equipment. In addition it has been interesting to observe the carrying over of some of the presentation practices of American commercial broadcasting into the broadcasts of this completely non-commercial station. This is the first year, for example, that WNYC has broadcast the Frick concerts in their entirety; previously it cut them off at 4:00, as though it were WIZ cutting off the New Friends of Music concert at 6:30 because the time was sold. Moreover WNYC can no more trust its audience to listen to music without endless and useless talk than N. B. C. or C. B. S. or WQXR; and just as N. B. C.'s announcer must tell us a last time that "Arturo Toscanini now conducts the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra in Beethoven's Symphony No. 1" even if he has to talk it right into the performance, so WNYC's announcer talked his chatter right into performances by Schnabel and Landowska,

To go on with music and perform-

ances: I got a great deal of pleasure from a rehearing of Beethoven's wonderful last Sonata for violin and piano. Opus 96, and from a rehearing of the playing-that is, the technical competence and fine musicianship—of Orrea Pernel, who performed the work with Bruce Simonds. And I got more of the same kind of pleasure from the great Chaconne of Bach's D minor Partita ... it was played by young Isaac Sternwith simplicity and yet with warmth, with temperament and yet with a sense for plastic contour and coherence that produced a beautifully integrated and superbly effective statement of the piece.

I also spent an hour at one of Eddie Condon's Saturday afternoon jazz concerts in Town Hall, where the participants included good players like Miff Mole and Billy Butterfield and some who were less good and "Pee Wee" Russell who I think is terrible, and where some of the performances were exciting and others merely pounded along.

Don't miss Winthrop Sargeant's article on Toscanini in the January 17 issue of Life. And if you want an authoritative account of the life of Tchaikovsky you will find it in Herbert Weinstock's biography (Knopf, \$5). What you will find in Richard Anthony Leonard's "The Stream of Music" (Doubleday, Doran, \$4.50) you may have had to listen to in Toscanini's broadcasts but you can refuse to read.

B. H. HAGGIN

#### FILMS

CINCE nothing is more repugnant to me than the pseudo-religious, I went to "The Song of Bernadette" gritting my teeth against my advance loathing. But since, also, many of the deepest resonances of my childhood are Catholic; and since I intensely suspect and fear the implacable pieties of those who deny the rationally inexplicable even when they are being beaten over the head with it; and since, accordingly, I feel a triumphant pride in the work or mere existence of true artists and of the truly experienced in religion, I was unexpectedly and greatly moved by great many things in the film. I owe this somewhat indecently subjective preface because I doubt that the film can be strongly recommended to anyone whose mind and emotions lack some similar shape. I can add only that the

picture is unusually well made—within limits.

The limits are those of middle-class twentieth-century genteelism, . fungus which by now all but chokes the life out of any hope from Hollywood and which threatens any vivid appetite in Hollywood's audience. In proportion to the excellence any given film achieves within these limits-which can be considerable-I suppose it is the more pernicious. If that is so, "Bernadette" is a champion enemy. For within those genteel limits I have seldom seen so tender and exact an attention to mood, to over-all tone, to cutting, to the edging of an emotion, and to giving vitality, sometimes radiance, in terms of the image and the sound more than of the character, the story, the line, the music. Jennifer Jones especially, as Bernadette, whether through Henry King's direction or her own ability, impossibly combines the waxen circumspections of convent school with abrupt salients of emotion of which Dostoevski himself need not have been ashamed.

But Bernadette Soubirous and the cruel, ridiculous, and unfathomable concentrics which spread from her naive ecstasy composed one of the most appalling and instructive events of our time; to the reproduction of which only an almost unimaginably brilliant film could have been adequate. What you have here, instead, is a tamed and pretty image, highly varnished, sensitively lighted, and exhibited behind immaculate glass, the window at once of a shrine and of a box-office.

JAMES AGEB

#### CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS WITOLD is the pseudonym of an influential European whose advice on political and technical questions was highly regarded in Geneva in the years after the last war.

McALISTER COLEMAN is a journalist who has long been active in the fight for lower electric rates and public control of the industry. He is head of the information bureau of the Utility Users' Protection League of New Jersey.

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JAMES LOEB, JR., is executive secretary of the Union for Democratic Action.

#### The Plot Against Yugoslavia

[Continued from page 122]

Kosanovich was far from being a lone voice. Within a month from the day the Srbobran launched its campaign, Ivan Subasich, the Governor of Croatia, who was then on a visit to the United States, was shocked by the attitude of the paper and its adherents. Protesting against the appointment of Fotich as ambassador against the majority opinion of the Cabinet, he cabled Premier Simovich on December 10, 1941, as follows:

It is evident that the legation has identified itself with the writings of Srbobran. The government has taken no steps against the legation, and this fact is interpreted by Yugoslavs in America to mean that the government approves. Our representatives in the United States have carried matters so far at Consul V. Mirkovich openly stated at a meeting in Chicago that from now on he is a consul of Serbia only, and no longer of Yugoslavia.

And again on February 19, 1942, he cabled to Slobodan Jovanovich, who had succeeded General Simovich as Premier:

Everybody here who has m feeling for Yugoslavia considers Srbobran's activity m weapon for destroying the last ties of Yugoslavia and for establishing only a Great Serbia, with Serb hegemony over the Balkans. This activity is led by Minister Jovan Douchich and the Episcopate of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the United States. And it is openly approved by the Royal Yugoslav embassy in Washington.

Fotich took no chance of failure when he selected the Srbobran for his purposes. So great is that paper's devotion to Serbs of all kinds that as recently as May 18, 1943, it still refused to condemn the Quisling regime of General Nedich: "It has not yet been proved whether Nedich is a traitor or = 'practical man' . . . we do not defend Nedich since we do not know what his role is in occupied Serbia." In any event, the Srbobran was not slow in taking up the Fotich view, and from November 16, 1941, to the present it has been unremitting in its vituperation against all things Croatian and against the whole idea of a restored Yugoslavia. The following quotations are offered to give the reader a faint idea of the intensity with which the spokesman of the Greater Serbians in America addressed itself to the task of undermining my country and, whether he acknowledges it or not, the country of Ambassador

... only people of political ignorance or bad faith can dream of the possibility that Serbs and Croats can meet again to conclude new agreement. (November 14, 1941.)

... the unbridgeable events in our country have forever designated the Serbs as Chetniks and the Croats as Ustachi. (*November 28*, 1941.)

Yugoslavia is an abortive child of megalomaniacs. (April 7, 1941.)

. . . since it is impossible to establish "brotherhood" between the Serbs and the Croats after all that has happened . . no one has the right to request the restoration of the former Yugoslavia. That such a Yugoslavia will never again be restored, a guaranty is being given to those in Zagreb by the Chetniks who are fighting with Draja Mihailovich. (July 9, 1942.)

. . . the establishment of Yugoslavia proved to be a tragic failure. Because of that fatal error the Serbs have so far lost many hundreds of thousands of lives at the hands of their enemies within the common state. (March 24, 1943.)

. . . in all crimes against the Serbs the Catholic church has actively participated. (November 4, 1941.)

We know that the absolute majority of Croats, . . . have a common irrepressible hatred for Serbianism, Orthodoxy, and the Serbs in general. . . The Croats did not massacre the Serbs because of their own or Serbian nationality, since the Croats have no nationality. They killed the Serbs and are still doing so for one reason only—because of their own religious intolerance. (March 22, 1943.)

It was this journal that enjoyed the favor of the Yugoslav embassy in Washington to the extent that when King Peter visited the United States, Fotich arranged to have him photographed with a copy of the Srbobran. Posed with the King were all the leading officials of the Serb National Federation, distinguished for their untiring efforts to destroy the unity of Yugoslavia. It is worth noting in connection with the embassy's relations with the Srbobran that a number of articles of an inflammatory character which had originally appeared anonymously were reprinted after the death of Jovan Douchich, former minister to Franco Spain. On their second appearance these bitterly anti-Croat pieces carried the signature of Douchich, who at the time he wrote them was on the pay roll of the Yugoslav government.

Similarly, the embassy extended its blessing to the Serbian National Defense Council, the personnel of which is closely linked to the Srbobran. Colonel Dragutin Savich, chief of the Royal Yugoslav military mission in Canada, and Consul Voislav Mirkovich were both present at the council's congress

in Chicago, at which the following declaration was adopted:

The state of Yugoslavia was a Versailles experiment built on the well-meant but erroneous belief that similarity of blood can itself create unity. . . Yugoslavia must not and never will be reestablished, since it could be of advantage only to the Croats. . . We respectfully but urgently call upon His Majesty King Peter II . . . to take his stand at the side of the loyal Serbs, to dismiss his Croat advisers, and to announce himself what his famous and democratic grandfather Peter I was proud to be—King of Serbia.

It was no wonder that Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, feared the extent to which such propaganda might undermine morale by precipitating trouble among Yugoslav workers in war plants. In a special release dated June 1, 1943, Mr. Davis said:

For some time several branches of the United States government, including the OWI, the Department of Justice, and the Department of State, have watched with concern the policies of the American Steboran. Its violent attacks upon all people of Croatian extraction and their clergy, its strong anti-Catholic articles, and its veiled efforts to defend the Quisling Nedich... have the effect of aiding the Nazi campaign of race intolerance and hate, and are damaging the American war effort.

#### MIHAILOVICH

When word first reached us, in the fall of 1941, that a resistance movement had crystallized about the person of Draja Mihailovich, there was general rejoicing at the legation, though none of us knew exactly who the hero was, and even our military attaché wasn't sure of his correct name. It was enough for us to know that Yugoslavs were still in the field against the enemy, and from left to right the Yugoslav Americans hailed Mihailovich as the symbol of resurrection. Fotich and some of his pan-Serb aides were a little doubtful when it developed that Mihailovich was a clever young colonel who had never displayed much fondness for the generals, but they soon discovered that he meant to operate in the framework of the old Serb Chetnik tradition and they lost their uneasiness. And so, favored on all sides, Mihailovich in that winter of 1941-42 grew to legendary stature and came to rank in glamour with Mac-Arthur and Timoshenko.

The pan-Serbian clique sitting in London were not long in recognizing Mihailovich as their natural savior. In January, 1942, the government in exile underwent its first major crisis. The extremists had long hoped to unseat Simovich as Prime Minister. Public

opinion at home held him and his colleagues chiefly responsible for the capitulation. The Serbian military clique sadly needed rehabilitation. What could be better than to unseat Simovich and focus attention on the young Serb officer who provided exactly the aura of heroism required to refurbish the tarnished tradition of fighting Serbia-and who incidentally was too far off to create political complications in the government. Simovich was ousted in favor of Slobodan Iovanovich, a mildly liberal historian, and Mihailovich was made Minister of War. This was the peak of the hero's career and the beginning of his downfall.

From the day he accepted Cabinet rank Mihailovich became more and more the exclusive representative of the Serbian tradition, committed, like the colleagues who had promoted him, to a Greater Serbia rather than a restored Yugoslavia. In January, 1943, Nova Hrvatska, organ of the Croat puppet regime, printed a map purporting to have been captured from Mihailovich detachment and showing a postwar Greater Serbia, with Croatia reduced to the proportions of a county. A map showing remarkably similar boundaries appeared six months later in the Srbobran as the avowed objective of the Greater Serbs. In all their speeches and propaganda the pan-Serb clique, particularly Nincich, Milan Gavrilovich, and Fotich, harped on Serbian resistance, the Serbian people, the Serbian Minister of War, and the wonderful fight he was putting up in the Serbian mountains.

All political, military, and administrative power in the liberated areas filtered down from London by way of Mihailovich, and the process was dangerous. In a country composed of three peoples this concentration of power in the hands of one man—a separatist at that—was bound to have the gravest consequences. Since the times were far from normal and the country dismembered, with communications woefully lacking, the attempt to impose one-man rule from abroad promised only civil war—and the promise was soon fulfilled.

#### THE INFORMATION CENTER

In the fall of 1941 a Royal Government mission arrived in the United States for the purpose of keeping this country informed of developments in stricken Yugoslavia. It was felt, correctly, that distorted news from a Pavelich-ridden Croatia and Nedichridden Serbia might cause dangerous

repercussions in the large Yugoslav population here, to say nothing of confusion in American official circles. After some months of preliminary work, the mission established in New York a Royal Yugoslav Information Center, and I was transferred from Washington to take charge of the press service.

The atmosphere in the center was completely different from that of the embassy, as the legation had now become. The men who composed the mission were, to begin with, openly and sincerely pro-Yugoslavia. They wanted the country restored, they were free of the chauvinist sectional passions that prevailed at the embassy, and their watchword was unity. The problems that beset the government in London were thrashed out in a genuine effort to achieve solutions beneficial to the country as a whole, and in a completely democratic spirit. By and large the Croats were represented on the mission by Dr. I. Subasich, the Serbs by Sava Kosanovich, and the Slovenes by Franc

From the very launching of the project, the center was regarded by the embassy and the Srbobran with scorn and hostility, Kosanovich, Subasich, Boris Furlan, Nicola Mirkovich, and myself being special targets for their abuse. The Srbobran attacked us all anti-Serbian, Ustachi-fascist, or Communist, depending on the prevailing mood of its editors. It occasionally converted the contraction "Yugocenter," by which we were commonly known, to "Judocenter," revealing more of its own nature than of ours. The embassy crowd sneered at us as "gentlemen traveling through the United States, doing nothing but spending government money."



Fotich did everything possible to paralyze our efforts at promoting unity, watching us like a hawk and reporting in detail to London.

For four months we enjoyed harmony at least among ourselves at the center, although one member of the mission, Bogoljub Jevtich, lost little time in jockeying himself into a dictatorial position. Formerly Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jevtich differed from Fotich in that he wanted reconstituted Yugoslavia, but he favored high degree of centralized and dictatorial rule and actively opposed the democratic inclinations of the rest of us. He once told us that "if General Mihailovich did not exist, it would have been necessary to invent him." His attitude, however, did not prevent us from doing as useful a job as the Washington diplomats allowed, and we would have continued to work with effectiveness had not a development occurred which was to affect Yugoslavs even more profoundly, and more significantly, than the Serb-Croat division.

#### CHETNIK-AXIS WAR ON THE PARTISANS

Until midsummer of 1942 if there was one point of agreement among all Yugoslavs in exile it was support for Mihailovich. Not having been in my native land since the war broke out, I cannot pretend to first-hand knowledge of Mihaikovich's conduct, and it is not my purpose here to repeat the extremely able accounts and analyses of the struggle between Chetniks and Partisans which have appeared elsewhere. The story has been particularly well told by Louis Adamic in his "My Native Land" and more recently by C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times of December 22, 1943. My function is merely to show in general how that struggle was reflected in Yugoslav government circles and in particular how it prevented the government in exile from frustrating the will of its own people.

My first intimation that all was not well came with the visit of Foreign Minister Nincich in June, 1942. Taking me aside, he advised me, much to my astonishment, that I was to do all I could to defend Mihailovich among liberal and leftist groups and papers in this country. I told him there was no need for such insistence inasmuch Mihailovich already enjoyed great prestige in all circles here and had an excellent press. He emphasized the point repeatedly, however, and all but exacted pledge from me.

A month later the meaning of this

strange talk became perfectly clear. Word reached us, by way of the Inter-Continent News, that a manifesto had been issued in Montenegro by seventyfive representatives of the various democratic Yugoslav parties denouncing Mihailovich for collaborating with the enemy. From that time on, evidence accumulated showing the lengths to which Mihailovich allowed himself to go in his frantic attempt to suppress anti-Axis forces more representative of the Yugoslav people than his own tradition-bound Chetniks. From reports smuggled out of the country and confirmed several times over we learned bit by bit that Mihailovich had shifted his attention from fighting the invader to conducting a terrific internal war against those independent guerrilla groups which had gradually merged their forces under the leadership of the mysterious "General Tito." I will mention here only a few evidences of this

In March, 1943, the People's Army of Liberation, as Tito's Partisans officially called themselves, captured a field post in which several documents were left behind by the retreating Chetniks. One of them was an agreement, concluded the preceding September, between one of Mihailovich's officers, Dobroslav Jevdjevich, and the Italian general Mario Roatta, who was responsible for the Fascist campaign of atrocities in the Balkans. The agreement constituted a pledge by the Italian command to supply Mihailovich's Chetniks with arms, provisions, and money to cover army wages, "which will be increased and equaled to the salary of the Italian soldiers." Belated confirmation of this report came in the form of a United Press dispatch on November 12, 1943, in which a Budapest correspondent of the Swiss Neue Zürcher Zeitung was quoted as saying that an agreement for "maintenance of order" had been reached on September 29, 1942, by General Mihailovich's commander in eastern Bosnia and the Italian commander in Yugoslavia. The Italians, it appeared, realized they would have to fight the Partisans and were delighted to have the Chetniks on their side to whatever extent was possible. When news of the understanding leaked out, the correspondent reported, many of Mihailovich's followers left the Chetnik ranks and joined Tito.

Another high Chetnik officer, Major Dangich, went even farther. Presumably with the knowledge of his superiors, he went to Belgrade and entered into discussions with General Nedich, the puppet Premier, concerning autonomy for Bosnia. Dangich had previously been cited for promotion by Mihailovich, and the government in exile was bestowing a colonelcy on him at the moment that the Nazi-controlled press of Belgrade was hailing him as the "heroic commander of the national brigades in the struggle against the Partisans." When news of his deal with Nedich became generally known in London, however, the indignation of some members of the Cabinet was so great that Dangich had to be dismissed.

No such action was taken in connection with Jevdjevich. In January, 1943, that Chetnik officer issued the following proclamation:

We declare once and forever that the Italian general is the only responsible official for Mostar [a town in Herzegovina] and for the neighboring villages, and that only his orders are valid. We have a definite agreement with the Italian Empire and there is no possibility of disloyalty. The soldiers will continue to fulfil their obligations and the citizens will be obedient and peaceloving.

In another statement, issued a month later, Jevdjevich revealed his fundamental purpose. Referring to a local defeat of the Partisans by his own men and the Italians, he proclaimed: "The criminal and communistic band has been exterminated."

At a Chetnik rally in the town of Trebinye in July, 1942, a newspaperman named Shantic told his audience:

Our collaboration with the Italians has been approved by Draja [Mihailovich]...
They helped us consolidate our forces and defeat the Partisans... The Italians also give us weapons and ammunition, to say nothing of 5,000 loaves of bread a day...
Draja has said, "Accept arms from anybody who offers them."

By the fall of 1942 the government in exile was making no effort to conceal the new use to which the Chetniks were being put by Draja Mihailovich. In a confidential report dated October 20 the Military Cabinet stated:

The Chetniks, like the whole people, are decidedly against the Partisans ever since the Partisans started claiming that they were fighting for a Yugoslav Republic which would be under the protectorate of Soviet Russia.

The underground paper Dalmatinshis Partisan in September, 1942, reprinted, as an exposé, a recruiting appeal by Italian Fascist authorities in Dalmatia for an "anti-Communist" army of volunteers to fight the Partisans. Each recruit was called on, according to the paper, to take an oath that "if need be

he will sacrifice his life to the destruction of communism, fighting it with arms in hand and under the command of the Italian government, in order to give to Italian Dalmatia peace and progress under Fascist law and order." The appeal was signed by a Serbian Orthodox priest, Momcilo Djuich, a Chetnik who carried decorations conferred on him by the government in exile. At the same time the government decreed that all officers who had joined the National Army of Liberation were to be regarded as deserters.

#### THE LIGHT DAWNS

In the year and a half after the Partisan-Chetnik breach first came into the open, we received many such evidences of Mihailovich's collaboration with the enemy, but I will content myself here with two additional documents, both of which impressed me greatly because of the standing of their authors. The first was a letter addressed to Dr. Boris Furlan, a Slovenian liberal leader now in exile, by Josip Vidmar, chairman of the Slovenian Liberation Front. Explaining that with the collapse of Italy the Front took power "with the consent of all political groups except the traitors," Vidmar wrote of the clash between the Chetniks and the popular forces, which resulted in the capture by the Partisans of 500 men and a staff of 30 officers. "One of them," he continued, "Marija Sternisha by name, admitted that their work had been detrimental to Slovenia and Yugoslavia and had helped only the enemy. Before being shot he appealed to the youth to support the Liberation Front. Those of Mihailovich's men who escaped . . . went over to the Germans."

The other document, also a letter, was written by a Catholic priest whom I know well and for whose integrity I can youch. This is what he wrote:

They [the Yugoslav government] call on the people to join Mihailovich. Where is he? All we know is that in Abbazia there are many Chetniks under the protection of the Italians, and many more in Split and Dubrovnik. In Lika and Gorski-Kotar the Italians and Chetniks collaborate against the Partisans, among whom less than 15 per cent are Communists. The Croatian Partisans, for the most part, are peasants who escaped to the woods to save their heads. ... Some of the Chetniks in Bosnia collaborate with the Germans . . . in Bosnia the Chetniks, with the help of the Germans, have killed Partisans, Serbs, Croats, and Moslems.

Bit by bit, these reports and letters coupled with the ominous failure of the Chetniks to come to grips with the invader on the battlefield, opened the

eyes of many of us at the center concerning the true state of affairs. As we pooled our information we began to get a picture something like this: The superficial difference between Mihailovich and the Partisans is a difference in strategy. He prefers to withhold his strength for the Allied landing rather than dissipate it in large-scale guerrilla warfare, whereas the Partisans, perhaps with one eye on Russia, want to pin down as many German divisions as possible through major operations, extensive sabotage, and general turmoil. But this difference is secondary and relatively unimportant. The real split is ideological.

The slogan of the Partisans is "Death to fascism, liberty to the people!" Their leaders have given them a democratic goal in a country which has never really enjoyed democracy. And, equally important, they look forward to a Yugoslav nation in which the ancient feud between Serb and Croat, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Serb, will be liquidated once and for all in a federation of culturally autonomous states administered jointly by a popular government based on equality and mutual respect.

Mihailovich, by way of contrast, symbolizes the power of Serbia alone, and represents within Serbia the small clique of wealthy families who for generations have governed in their own narrow interest. The struggle between Chetnik and Partisan is, in short, a civil war involving separatism versus federation and oligarchy versus democracy.

#### DIVISION AT THE CENTER

Like Yugoslavs everywhere we members of the Information Center soon found ourselves divided on the question of the Partisans. Generally speaking, officials like Subasich and Kosanovich, and staff workers like Furlan, Mirkovich, and myself sympathized with Tito, while Jevtich and Snoj headed the group which continued to side with Mihailovich. (Snoj's son, incidentally, is working with the Partisans in Yugoslavia, and so is the daughter of Foreign Minister Nincich.)

It was clear from the start that the position of those of us who favored the Partisans would soon be untenable. As early as August 21, 1942, the embassy issued a statement that "both King Peter II and the Yugoslav government in London have the most implicit confidence in the loyalty and patriotism of General Mihailovich, leader of the Chetniks, who recently has been the subject of attack by Communist elements

in the homeland." This was the signal for a campaign of deception and abuse which more than matched the earlier propaganda onslaught on the Croats.

In September three majors of the Yugoslav Military Cabinet, dubbed the



King Peter II

"Three Musketeers," embarked on a series of broadcasts from London in which they pretended to believe that Tito and his Partisans were confederates of the Germans, planted in strategic spots in order to make trouble for the Chetniks. The following excerpts are typical:

The Serbian people, who are loyal to the Allies, and especially friendly toward Russia, have rushed to fight with these new so-called Partisan detachments, which are in reality nothing but Gestapo camouflaged detachments. The Serbian people are convinced that the fight must be made against our only real enemy, the German invader. But these Gestapo men, sent from the communistic centers of Vienna and Budapest, have no intention of fighting against the Germans or of helping the Allies and Russia. They want only to do in Serbia what has already been done in Pavelich's gangster state, that is, to exterminate all Serbs, to kill peaceful inhabitants, industrious landowners, and honest nationalists. They are trying to provoke hate between Serbs and Russians and make them quarrel. But the Serbs have quickly grasped this devilish German design. They have risen against these men sent to Serbia by the Gestapo, disguised by Communist leadership.

This fantastically awkward bit of deception was soon discounted by the open sympathy displayed by the Soviet Union for the Partisan cause. But the pan-Serbs then found other approaches. Instead of pretending that the Partisans were Gestapo men in disguise, they decided to forget their own sudden

"friendship" for Russia and attack the Partisans as a straight Communist movement. In this design they were aided by the revelation of Tito's identity as Josip Broz, a Croatian who had aided the Loyalists in the Spanish war and who is unquestionably a Communist. The Srbobran treated itself to a field day:

The people themselves then arose against the Communist Partisans and for all the evil, all the bloody injustices, and all the cruelty inflicted upon them, proclaimed the Partisans for always their first and worst enemies.

. The leader of the Partisans is convict Josip Broz (Tito), listed in the Zagreb police record under number 10434.

. Today they are increasing their forces by accepting into their ranks the worst Ustachl criminals and murderes. (October 10, 1943.)

"Criminal band" was the mildest phrase applied to the Partisans by the Royal government in the fall of 1943, and by Srbobran, though it is worth noting that another Serbian American paper, Slobodna Rech, has worked consistently for Yugoslav unity and is now supporting Tito. But all the time the Partisans grew in strength, and the British and American military authorities, recognizing their power and their future, sent officers to work with them and increasingly gave them aid and supplies. The editors of the Srbobran grew frantic and hysterical, threatening the British with "loss of the prestige and esteem they have enjoyed in the Balkans." But facts are stubborn, particularly military facts, and the New York Times reported in December that Tito's forces were estimated at 250,000, whereas Mihailovich's army is thought to number something between 6,000 and 20,000.

In this country feeling among Yugoslav Americans mounted steadily. At a meeting in California Governor Subasich of Croatia was cheered for saying:

My stand on the question of Yugoslav guerrillas is clear. All those who are fighting against Hitler have deserved well of their Fatherland and the Allies. I condemn without reservation all those who provoke internecine troubles within the ranks of Yugoslav guerrillas. . . As Croatian governor, responsible to the people and the Crown, I warn from this platform certain of our diplomats and their chiefs in London. I demand a clear and unambiguous statement of policy on the part of the Yugoslav government. The time is short.

At American congresses of Slovenes and Croatians the delegates failed to send greetings either to the King or to his government in exile. And on more than one occasion Ambassador Fotich was booed by Yugoslav audiences. From the other side, the Information Center came in for more than its share at

abuse. "The poison coming from the kitchen of the Judocenter," said the Srbobran delicately, "is serving dark and low interests, which means anti-Serb, anti-national, Croat, and treacherous interests."

The climax in the long struggle was reached at the end of 1943. On December 4 the Free Yugoslav radio station announced that Dr. Ivan Ribar, a prominent Croatian lawyer and leader of the liberal Democratic Party, had formed a Yugoslav provisional government. Broz. who had been made a marshal, became president and chairman of the Committee for National Defense. Aside from him, only one other Communist was given a post in the government, which was composed of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; Roman Catholics, Moslems, Jews, and Orthodox Serbs, including a Serb priest who was given the post of Minister of the Interior.

The exile regime, now in Cairo, of course attacked the Provisional Government, but the Allies were decidedly friendly. On December 8 Richard K. Law told the House of Commons that the British were giving more aid to the Partisans than to Mihailovich for the simple reason that the Partisans were doing more of the fighting. And on the following day Secretary of State Hull told newspapermen that it was the policy of the United States to furnish supplies to any group which was effectively fighting the Germans.

#### EXIT: CENTER AND AUTHOR

With the deepening of the struggle between Mihailovich and the Partisans, my own position became more and more clearly defined, and my relations with the government more and more strained. In December, 1942, I had cabled to the Information Department at London:

All well-informed circles believe Yugoslavia's situation must be cleared by an understanding between the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. . . . The split between Mihailovich and the Partisans is believed to be the result of our had policy. For months our diplomats in this country exploited Mihailovich as the symbol of Greater Serbia, thus paralyzing the Yugoslav idea and offending the Croats and Slovenes. . . . The fact that our pan-Serbian diplomats continue to champion Mihailovich serves to compromise rather than help him. Our relations with Soviet Russia are considered by all our friends to be very poor just at the moment when people are looking to Russia with great hope. Never has Yugoslavia's cause heen presented to the public so inadequately, with the result that our enemies, the Hapsburgs and others, have been greatly encouraged. All responsible people here look to the government for a complete and drastic change of policy in the near future.

The result of this open declaration was that every favorable reference to the Partisans in the American press was attributed to me or those of my associates who took the same position. Snoj began to work closely with Fotich and, joined by Jevtich, carried on an unceasing campaign against the Partisans. By May, 1943, the Srbobran was clamoring for the closing of the center. "Realistic members of the government" were called upon to do their duty and "immediately destroy the anti-Serbian Judocenter and the enemies within the government itself and put them in the Allied concentration camps where they belong."

I was fully convinced by this time that the real and vital Yugoslavia had little in common with the government in exile which, from the safety of Cairo, was daily attacking the best elements and bravest fighters in my country as "terroristic bands," "criminals," and "traitors." Communiqués of this character were released by the center under orders from Jevtich, but I refused to have any part in them. It was quite apparent that this situation could not continue long. Fotich had for some time been urging Prime Minister Jovanovich to close the center, but the deed was left to his successor, Dr. Bozidar Purich. On September 15, 1943, I was transferred by the embassy to the office of the consul general in New York, "without authority for cables or propaganda, which will be transferred to the embassy.'

I cabled at once to the Prime Minister that this move would deprive the government of any possibility of receiving reliable information concerning Yugoslav affairs in this country. To the Association of Yugoslav Journalists in London I cabled the following message:

Yugocenter will close October 1. I am transferred consulate general but denied function send cables and information to government. New propaganda service will be opened in embassy under control of diplomatic service which for three years has been carrying on open activity against democratic Yugoslavia, the National Liberation Movement, and the whole Croatian people. . . . Press service will be in hands of anti-democratic and anti-Yugoslav persons at the very moment when the first signs of liberation appear on the shores of the Adriatic Long live the democratic peoples of Yugoslavia. Long live freedom of the press.

Unable to inform Americans officially concerning developments in my country, I prepared an article on Tito and the Partisans for The Nation's issue of October 2. Immediately after its publication I received an order transfer-

ring me to Buenos Aires, where a stringent fascist regime would render any further efforts on my part utterly useless. I declined the offer and through the consulate general addressed a request to the Cairo government to put me on the retired list. The request was refused; whereupon I addressed another letter to the Prime Minister, in which I said:

My personal situation as an anti-fascist intellectual worker . . . prevents my going to Argentina. I am informed that it would be impossible for me to carry on any activity there and that my family would be endangered, as it was by Axis interests in Belgrade in 1940. . . . Your decision is political persecution as my transfer from the United States is the result of requests by the American Srbobran and the Serbian National Defense. The only Croat employee of Yugoslav convictions here, I am ordered transferred while all Serbian employees actively and openly anti-Yugoslav remain in their positions. Therefore I ask you to rescind undeserved punishment for my sincere work on behalf of Yugoslavia and enable me to continue the defense of Yugoslavia's vital post-war interests here.

My letter never reached Prime Minister Purich, for the reason that Ambassador Fotich refused to let it go through.

Thus concludes my connection with the Royal Yugoslav government, but not, I am certain, with Yugoslavia.

The old Yugoslavia disappeared on the battlefield, and a new one has arisen -a federation based on political, religious, and social equality. With this Yugoslavia the government in exile has nothing in common. That government serves only to stimulate, among the people it professes to serve, the fear that after the war it will attempt to restore the old order, with its Chetniks, gendarmes, and political tyrants, bent on avenging themselves on an entire population. If this government succeeds in returning, it will arrive, as one of its leaders told me, "with bread in one hand and tanks in the other."

Should that attempt be made, or should Mihailovich try to impose his will on the free government of the Partisans, the effort will fail after a useless and bloody civil war, because the Partisans have given the common people of Yugoslavia a vision which has already enabled them to work miracles. Against terrible odds and among the physical ruins of their country, they have rebuilt their scattered armies and astonished the world with their spirit of unity, self-discipline, and enormous courage. As one humble worker, I feel that my support belongs to them, because on their banners rest the hopes of my country.





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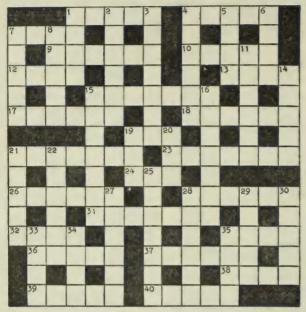
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## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 49

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- Flowers often trodden underfoot I am among many to get | lift
- Goes round the table and finishes with you, so to speak 9 "O, no, sir!" (anag.)
- 10 One may get a glare from such a personage
- 12 How Essex addressed his queen, per-
- chance, before he lost his head 13 Horace turned out some pretty good
- 15 Old mice are musical
- 17 A reformed rascal makes good sailor
- This sea voyage sounds the same as those who undertake it
- 19 In Lausanne, but in the New World also
- 21 There's at least one costume in this place of abode
- 23 East Indies island
- Are back in time
- Raise aloft
- Rebellious Wat's mate, perhaps
- A sun snot
- Never seen without a couple of flappers
- 35 Some nerve?
- An old saw
- One kind of relief
- 38 Superfluous advice to miser
- Land ships, as they were once called 40 It just happens

#### DOWN

- Animals have the use of them first You want the solution! This may solve the conundrum
- 8 They are in a class by themselves

- 4 Oh, Eric, how changed a noble epithet!
- A Shakespeare villain
- So the story goes It's the girl to blame for a change
- Outstanding human features
- A chronic drug-taker, perhaps Associated with heer in the Bible 15 Back Samuel! Its tail looks quarrel-
- 16 Cruel M. P. (anag.)
- American Indian
- 20 Name for a gum
- Have you the time? We seem to have 22 Everybody's in bad, so why make a song about it?
- Lean foreign queen about 150
- 27 Deserving persons 28 The right hammer to crack tough
- 29 Diadem
- 30 Scope for good shots here
- 33 Change your seat 34 Material that grows again after it's
- 35 It is put before war in some cases

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 48

ACROSS—I WAGON: 4 HOLED; 7 OB-SCURE; 10 GIRLS; 11 SILVET; 12 EFF-TOMB: 18 ROOT: 16 TROD; 18 FOLIO; 29 MENHIR; 21 AMBLED; 22 NERVED; 23 STANCE; 25 STIDES; 26 FILM; 28 SITE; 31 LIMPETS; 33 TODAT; 34 TASTE; 35 ALLETTE; 36 DREAM; 37 PLEAS.

DOWN:-1 WAGER; 2 GARBO; 3 NOSE; # HERE; 5 LOVER; 9 DATED; 8 SUITOR; 9 UTOPIA: 13 OSMANL; 15 TAKRRAM; 16 TALENTS; 17 ODDMENT; 18 FILES; 19 OMITS; 23 DISMA: 23 SELECT; 26 FETED; 27 LODGE; 29 ISSUE; 30 EWERS; 31 LYAM; 28 STEF.

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THE NATION, 65 Fith Aee, New York 3, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy, By subscription—Domestics to prevent St. Tree years \$11. Canadian, \$2. The years \$11. Canadian, \$3. The Price 16 Canadian, \$3. The Price 16 Canadian, \$3. The Nation is indexed in Resdert Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Hofomation Service, Dramatic Index, Two weeks notice and the old address as well as the new was required for change of address.

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · FEBRUARY 5, 1944

NUMBER 6

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act

# The Shape of Things

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS CLOSED THE door on mediation in the Polish boundary dispute but has not bolted it. In a polite reply to the American offer it expressed appreciation but said that in the Russian view conditions had not yet ripened to the point where good offices could be utilized to advantage. The suggestion that conditions could still ripen to an extent that would make it possible to negotiate the problem is perhaps a hint to the Polish government to make some gesture of good-will before it is too late. An opportunity arose following the report of the Russian experts on the victims of the Katyn massacre. A party of American newspapermen taken to the scene were shown various proofs of the Soviet contention that this wholesale slaughter of Polish soldiers was carried out by the Germans. Unfortunately the Polish government, whose uncritical acceptance of the German version of the Katyn tragedy caused the breach of diplomatic relations with Moscow last year, has not seen fit to seize this occasion to withdraw its allegations against Russia. Nor is there any sign of a reshuffle in the Polish government which would permit the shedding of those members who are not merely unfriendly but actively hostile to the Soviets. In some quarters Mr. Eden's statement in the House of Commons last week is regarded as encouraging the Poles to maintain a stiff attitude. We doubt that this was the Foreign Secretary's intention, although his rather ambiguous phraseology lent itself to misinterpretation. The point of his remarks was that Britain was unwilling to recognize a territorial change accomplished by unilateral action. That is a principle that believers in collective security cannot afford to dispute.



THE REPUBLICAN HOWLS WHICH SHOOK THE Capitol's dome after the President sent his message to Congress on the soldier vote issue denoted pain as well as anger. For the G. O. P. leaders suddenly realized that they had been busy sawing themselves off a limb. Mr. Roosevelt, by voicing the increasingly insistent public demand that service-men should not be deprived of their rights as citizens, had merely given the branch a final tug. In their opposition to the original Lucas bill at the end of last year the Republicans had to some extent kept behind a screen of vociferous Southern Demo-

crats. But in the new session, emboldened by their success, they took over the banner of "states' rights" and led the attack on the new Green-Lucas bill which provides a practical method of recording soldier votes while meeting the more legitimate objections to the original measure. Nevertheless they were sufficiently conscious of the dangerous ground over which they were advancing to seek a method of avoiding a record vote in the House. The President's demand that they "stand up and be counted" together with a Democratic move to upset the rule by which a voice vote could be taken makes it unlikely that the soldier ballot can now be stifled anonymously. No wonder many Democrats who previously had opposed the bill are slipping back into the fold. In their anger Republican spokesmen have blurted out their real reason for trying to limit soldier voting. Debate on the bill would cease at once, said Senator Holman of Oregon, "if the President would remove himself from his unfair and advantageous position as candidate." Republican devotion to "states' rights" is the by-product of a fear that Spangler is wrong and that most soldiers want Roosevelt.

IN GRANTING MUSTERING-OUT PAY OF \$100 up to \$300 to the veterans of this war Congress has taken a first step toward meeting the inevitable difficulties of the transition period from war to peace. The bill as finally passed cut the scale of pay from the \$200 to \$500 originally proposed by the Senate. This cut could probably be justified if mustering-out pay were part of a comprehensive government scheme for aiding service men and stimulating post-war employment. So far, however, Congress has done little to encourage belief that it will be ready with a rounded post-war program by the time hostilities cease. The President's request for an appropriation to finance a retraining and general educational program for the veterans of this war has not as vet been acted upon. Nor has anything been done to make the veterans eligible for social-security benefits. Although several Congressional committees have been considering public-works projects for many months, none of these plans has yet reached the floor in either house.

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NO CHANGE IN THIS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE toward post-war planning is likely to result from the appointment by Speaker Sam Rayburn of an eighteenman bi-partisan committee on post-war economic policy. In the first place the new group is not asked to formulate legislation but merely to act as a clearing house for ideas. Considering its composition, we should, perhaps, be thankful for this limitation. For the majority of the members the Speaker has named are outright reactionaries. The chairman is William H. Colmer of Mississippi, a poll-taxer with a consistent anti-New Deal

record, while its ranking Republican member is that epitome of obscurantism-Hamilton Fish. A handful of comparatively liberal members such as Representatives Voorhis of California and Fogarty of Rhode Island can hardly hope to make much headway against the rooted prejudices of the majority of the committee. We note, for instance, that only seven out of the eighteen voted to support the Rural Electrification program last June; only six voted to allocate funds for the roll-back of prices; only six voted against the Smith-Connally Bill. In Chicago recently Speaker Rayburn spoke eloquently of the need for a "people's planning board." But his selection of members of this committee indicates either an appalling ignorance of the problems such a board must tackle or a stupid contempt for the people's vital interest in a post-war economic system in which full employment will enjoy priority over the sacred rights of private enterprise. Speaker Rayburn has recently been touted as a vice-presidential candidate. This revealing action should insure redoubled efforts by liberals and labor to retain Henry Wallace.

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C. NELSON SPARKS, AUTHOR OF "ONE MAN—Wendell Willkie," has been cleared by the grand jury investigating the Hopkins Letter case of any part in the forgery of that document, but its indictment of his correspondent, George N. Briggs, exposes him as America's champion sucker. In the face of the most emphatic denials of the letter's authenticity by Harry Hopkins and its alleged recipient, Dr. Umphrey Lee, Sparks persisted in trumpeting his "perfect confidence" that it was genuine. Now the grenade he aimed with malicious credulity, hoping it would cripple both Hopkins and Willkie, has exploded in his face.

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THE DIES COMMITTEE IN ITS CUSTOMARY New Year burst of activity has announced its intention to investigate the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, the Civil Service Commission, alleged Japanese activities on the Pacific Coast, and "Peace Now," an organization urging a negotiated peace. With its customary gullibility, the House has voted an additional \$75,000 to defray the "expenses" of the committee for 1944. The nature of Mr. Dies's study of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee has not been disclosed. But we doubt that he expects to uncover Nazi or Japanese spies within the organization. It is more likely that after months of "investigation" he will suddenly spring upon a startled world the disclosure that the C. I. O. is seeking the defeat of Congressmen Smith of Virginia, Rankin of Mississippi, and (sedition!) Dies of Texas. The promised inquiry into the activities of "Peace Now" and the Japanese would seem a legitimate enterprise if we did not have an efficient FBI already operating in that field

and if the committee had not made similar gestures every January, only to sink into an inexplicable torpor until the moment for the next appropriation came along. There was a time when the Dies committee was a crude but rather effective private Gestapo; it has become merely a clumsy instrument for wasting of taxpayers' money.

THE REMARRIAGE OF JOHN L. LEWIS TO THE A. F. of L. has once more been postponed. The bride had forgiven the groom for running away with the C. I. O. in 1936, and she was pleasantly anticipating a cut of the substantial income he is now earning. But she could not stomach the spite-child John had acquired in his years of wandering-young District 50, the apple of its father's eye. To drop the metaphor, the A. F. of L. executive council meeting at Miami rejected for the second time Lewis's demand that the United Mine Workers should be taken back "as is." Instead, it proposed that the union return with the same jurisdiction it had in 1936, after which a committee headed by Dan Tobin would meet with the miners to "clarify" unsettled questions. In support of this stand George Meany, secretarytreasurer of the A. F. of L., had previously sent Lewis details of thirty complaints of trespass by District 50, the U. M. W.'s catch-all subsidiary, filed by member unions. Lewis is said to have replied by yielding his claims to railroad and building-construction employees but insisting on retention of the chemical workers. A believer in the coming chemical age, he wants to be in on the ground floor of this industry after the war. But the A. F. of L., with several unions chartered in the same field, feels impelled to follow its constitutional rules against poaching. Mr. Lewis, kept waiting at the church, is reported to be incensed. After all, he proposed nearly nine months ago and he is not a man to take snubs philosophically.

THE MOST CHEERFUL NEWS OF THE PAST week was the passage by the House of the bill to authorize a \$1,135,000,000 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The vote, 338 to 54, showed the world how unrepresentative of American opinion were the ugly super-isolationist attacks made upon the UNRRA from the floor of the House during its consideration. We are also gratified that the House, by a vote of 217 to 175, rejected the Vorys amendment, which would have placed UNRRA funds in the hands of the State Department rather than the President, Constitutionally, this amendment was unprecedented and unsound. Politically, it was a slap at the President. We are also happy to note that the House adopted an amendment by Representative Karl E. Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota, extending the jurisdiction of the UNRRA to any areas that may be stricken with famine or disease.

This was intended, and we hope will serve, to permit aid to India.

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WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE WAS AN OLD-TIME American individualist, with a great gusto for life and people, who never made a fetish of consistency and rather enjoyed admitting his mistakes. The secret of his success as The Small-Town Editor lay perhaps in the fact that he combined the often contradictory qualities that Americans like and was never so far out in front of popular opinion as to antagonize-or lose touch with -his readers. He was independent and liberal, and a Republican all his life. He was hard-headed, and he was also sentimental. He was a genial fellow, and he was a prohibitionist and a puritan. He was a practical man who fulfilled the journalist's dream of owning a smalltown newspaper, and not only made it pay but became famous to boot. The success story of William Allen White will be the subject of an article in a later issue.

# Organized Sadism

EVERY American has been shocked and sickened by the army-navy report on the Japanese treatment of American and Filipino defenders of Bataan and Corregidor. We should have been prepared for the disclosure by similar atrocities at Nanking and Hongkong but no one ever quite appreciates the horror of such barbarity until his own people are involved. It is difficult to believe that even the Japanese would shoot the sick and wounded, would deprive their captives of food and water, and deny them all medical assistance. The occasional brutality of a guard or individual soldier can be understood. Excesses of this type happen in any army. But the cruelty inflicted on the American and Filipino captives was not the work of a few sadistic individuals; it was calculated cruelty ordered, or at least condoned, by high Japanese military authorities.

It is probably impossible to understand the complex workings of the Japanese mind sufficiently to explain why the military authorities should permit such license among troops supposedly highly disciplined. It cannot be set down to utter depravity, for the Japanese treatment of civilian prisoners has been on a higher level. This may be due to the fact that we hold large numbers of Japanese civilians in this country whereas we have taken less than three hundred Japanese as prisoners of war. It is doubtful whether this distinction would appear important to the Japanese. Nor can the brutality toward our men be attributed merely to Japanese resentment against slights at the hands of the white race. After the capture of Nanking the Japanese tortured and killed a hundred Chinese for every American soldier killed

after the fall of Bataan and Corregidor. Moreover, the Filipinos appear to have suffered even more than the Americans. It would appear rather that the excesses are a regular part of Japanese policy. In each instance—at Nanking in 1937, at Hongkong in 1941, and in the Philippines in 1942—the worst brutality occurred in the days immediately following a military victory—a cold-blooded method of exterminating as many of the enemy possible without regard to race or color or circumstance.

We are relieved to note that the publication of the report on the latest Japanese atrocities has not provoked any general demand for reprisals in this country. Reprisals could be justified only as a means of forcing Japan to live up to the terms of the Geneva convention in its treatment of prisoners of war. But there are no reprisals available to us which could achieve this result. Any punishment meted out to Japanese civilians still in our hands would only lead to retaliation against American civilians in Japanese prison camps. There is no way of punishing the military authorities responsible for these outrages until Japan has been forced into unconditional surrender. But if there was ever any question regarding the wisdom of the harsh terms for Japan drawn up at the Cairo conference, that hesitancy has now disappeared. For it is amply evident that there can be no peace or security in the Pacific until Japanese militarism has been uprooted and destroyed.

## Dishonest and Dangerous

IT IS difficult to imagine a more dishonest and dangerous report than that submitted by the Smith committee of the House of Representatives on the War Labor Board. The character of the majority report was to be expected from the character of the Congressmen dominating it. The chairman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, has been the leading spokesman of anti-labor interests in the House. Of his colleagues, two, Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan and Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey, are outstanding rightists. The former's inflammatory attacks on labor have long disgusted decent conservatives as well as liberals, and the best that can be said of Hartley is that he is a bird-brained Republican from North Jersey, who has been a faithful member of the Dies committee.

The principal effect of the report is to make it appear that the War Labor Board exceeds its powers in ordering maintenance-of-membership agreements. The best answer to this may be found in the facts presented by Jerry Voorhis and John J. Delaney, who submitted a minority report. The Connally-Smith War Labor Disputes Act—the Smith is the same Howard W. Smith—gave the WLB power "to decide the dispute and provide by order

the wages-and-hours and all other terms and conditions (customarily included in collective bargaining agreements.)" The parenthesis is part of the original. At the time the act was passed, the WLB had been in existence for a year and a half and ordered maintenance-of-membership agreements in 165 cases. When the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes bill was before the House, the same Howard W. Smith offered an amendment from the floor specifically denying the WLB the right to include maintenance of membership in its orders. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 204 to 73. On the Senate side the Military Affairs Committee rejected a provision outlawing maintenance of membership before reporting the bill to the Senate. These facts fully warrant the designation of the Smith report as dishonest.

Maintenance-of-membership agreements seem to us a fair compromise between the wishes of employers, who wanted a war-enforced open shop, and the wishes of the unions, which felt strong enough in many cases to demand a union or closed shop. Maintenance of membership accords fully with the President's statement at the time of the "no-strike" conference between labor and management after Pearl Harbor. The President expressed the hope that neither side would seek "undue advantage" from the circumstances of the no-strike pledge. If any advantage has been taken, it has not been from the side of labor.

The Smith-committee majority seeks by a typical bit of corporation-lawyer jesuitry to prove that maintenance-of-membership agreements violate the National Labor Relations Act. But Section 8 of that act, on which the Smith committee relies, deals with anti-labor practices by employers, and the act itself specifically provides that Section 8 shall not be construed to prohibit or prevent employers and labor organizations from entering into maintenance-of-membership or even closed-shop agreements. This is another example of the committee's dishonest handling of the facts.

If reform is needed in the War Labor Board, and it is, the reform is in the direction of speeding and tightening up the settlement of grievance and wage disputes. There is ample evidence that many employers have taken advantage of the no-strike pledge to ignore grievance machinery, and the unrest created has been intensified by the board's cumbersome and dilatory procedures. It is at this point that the board needs strengthening. The recommendations of the Smith committee would add to our labor troubles by further weakening our principal agency for the peaceful adjudication of labor disputes.

#### To Nation Newsstand Readers-

Because of a change in the schedule of the American News Company, *The Nation* hereafter will be put on sale in New York City on Fridays instead of Thursdays. In other cities there will be no change.

# Spain and Argentina By FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS best to speak plainly about Argentina's break with Hitler. Already the meaning of the act is being smeared over with the usual opaque coating of official pronouncements and inspired, simplified interpretations. The New York Times on Sunday printed what was doubtless the State Department's version in a Washington dispatch by Bertram D. Hulen. After a review of past difficulties between Argentina and the United States, and an optimistic prediction of cordial relations in these words: "In the event that Bolivia cleans house and Argentina takes sufficient measures in carrying out the spirit of her action in severing relations, the entire Western Hemisphere will be sealed to the Axis."

The Argentine government has explained the break in similarly ingenuous terms. It was the sudden, shocking discovery of a widespread network of Nazi plotting and espionage, growing out of the arrest in Trinidad of an Argentine consul, Osmar Alberto Hellmuth, on charges of German espionage, that forced the government to take immediate steps to protect the sovereignty and security of Argentina. According to another *Times* correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, cabling from Buenos Aires, the Argentine government was "sincerely indignant when investigations that followed Hellmuth's arrest revealed the extent of German illicit activities." Thereupon Argentina decided to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan.

Such official and near-official "explanations" so blatantly insult public intelligence that perhaps they do little harm. Unfortunately the truth comes through slowly, and piecemeal. Behind the break is Ramirez's consistent record of collaboration with Hitler and his efforts, directly and through Nazi and Phalangist agents, to build up a fascist anti-United Nations bloc in Latin America. German penetration in Argentina and German espionage reaching out from Argentina through the hemisphere are of course an old story. The attempt to link their "discovery" with the Hellmuth arrest is not likely to deceive anyone but Mr. Cortesi. But it was the intimate collaboration of the Ramirez regime and the German embassy at Buenos Aires in engineering the Bolivian revolt that finally moved Washington to act. The recall of Ambassador Armour from Buenos Aires was decided upon, after the facts had been fully assembled, and the British and American governments were completing joint plans for applying economic sanctions against Ramirez. Before they could be carried out, Ramirez himself acted.

The struggle within the Argentine regime over this decision was severe. The GOU (Grupo Oficiales Unidos), made up of the extreme nationalist and pro-

Axis officers who had put Ramirez in power, acquiesced in the break only after a bitter fight. Some of them not only opposed the government's decision but demanded a break with the United States instead. The government held up its announcement until it had won the group over. And even then, in publishing his decision, Ramirez warned the press "not to give exaggerated importance to the act." The pro-Allied newspaper Critica was suspended for recalling the fact that Nazi espionage had existed before the Hellmuth arrest, thus raking up "old charges" against a country which until the day before had been "friendly." The Ramirez regime, while yielding to the Allies, was careful at the same time to conciliate the Axis and its friends in Argentina.

How far the Argentine government will have to go "in carrying out the spirit of her action in severing relations," as the *Times* put it, depends upon the pressure brought in Washington and London. The State Department will at least demand a general clean-up, and the most notorious enemy agents will undoubtedly disappear from view with the closing of the Axis embassies and consulates. But the Western Hemisphere will never be "scaled to the Axis" as long as the Argentine regime remains fascist in purpose and method—and as long as Franco's agents, there and throughout Latin America, serve as listening posts and propaganda centers for the fascist revolution.

The role prepared for Spain in the future plans of the Fascist International is well described by Dorothy Thompson on another page of this issue. Franco is Hitler's key man in Latin America. It was the clerk of the Spanish legation in La Paz who acted as paymaster for German and Argentine agents in arranging the Bolivian coup. Every Spanish embassy, legation, and consular office in the Western Hemisphere, whether in a back-country district of Paraguay or in Washington, D. C., is a Nazi headquarters. In some countries, as in Uruguay, where the Spanish legation officially represents German interests, Nazi activities can be, and are, carried on under cover of diplomatic immunity. But even where no such convenient cover exists, Spanish fascist agents do Hitler's work almost as effectively.

It would be foolish to doubt that our government knows all this. It knows, but until now it has chosen to believe that more benefit than harm has resulted from our continued friendly relations with Spain. Today things appear to be changing. The stiff note addressed to Franco last week seemed to imply that even the iron-clad patience of British-American diplomacy was wearing thin. It would be rash to assume that this protest is the forerunner of a break with Franco. He, too, has learned how to yield just enough to forestall drastic action from the Allies, and hold open Hitler's pipe-line to the Americas. But one fact is clear: while Franco holds power in Spain Hitler's work goes on in Latin America.

# Anti-Labor Field Day

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 28

THE campaign for national-service legislation is beginning to take on the most serious aspect. Whatever the intentions of Secretary Stimson and Under Secretary Patterson, the drive they are leading has become a concerted attack upon labor. It is hurting the morale of workers, and it is not helping the morale of soldiers. On the contrary, recent speeches seem designed to drive a wedge between labor and the army and to build up a dangerous antagonism between them for the postwar period. The campaign is also becoming an attempt to build up an alibi for the lag in war production, and perhaps also, as General Marshall's off-the-record press conference indicated, for possible military reverses in the field.

This campaign seems to stem from two sources. One is the military bureaucracy. The other is the small group of corporation lawyers who framed the Austin-Wadsworth bill, a measure which shows little if any understanding of the problem of mobilizing man-power in a total war and would convert American industry into one vast open shop. The most important men in this group seem to be Grenville Clark, of Root, Clark, Buckner, and Ballantine, and Douglas Arant, whose firm represents the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Clark is an old friend and Harvard classmate of the President's. The group has access to the Secretary of War through his special assistant, Goldthwaite H. Dorr. Their contact man with the Senate Military Affairs Committee and their principal Congressional lobbyist is Colonel Lewis H. Sanders, a gentleman who repeatedly announces that "surveys" show the need for a national-service act but who rarely, if ever, turns up with any concrete figures

It is the military who are the dominant power in Washington today, and the fact was demonstrated anew in the Presidential message recommending national service as part of a five-point program. Some of the civilians closest to the President have told friends that national service was not in the final draft of the message the night before its delivery. Director of War Mobilization James F. Byrnes, who is second in command to the President, claims that he did not know national service was to be recommended until he saw the mimeographed advance copy of the message the morning of its delivery. National service is said on good authority to have gone in and out of the message several times. Some people believe a factor in the last-minute change was the President's desire to have General Marshall as a running-mate

if the Republicans nominate General MacArthur for Vice-President.

From all I can learn, the advice of the War Production Board as well as of the War Manpower Commission was against national service, and there is good reason to believe that this was also the advice of Baruch. I am also told that Under Secretary Patterson, despite an impassioned appeal, met with a cool reception from the Navy Department's top civilian officials. This seems to be a War Department show, and in running it the War Department has completely dropped the rest of the President's five-point program. The War Department seems to want national service and nothing else. Secretary Stimson has gone on the air with an intemperate and unfair attack on labor. Perhaps the most effective answer to it is the admission made the very next day to the Senate Military Affairs Committee by his own Under Secretary. "It would be unfair and untrue," Judge Patterson said, "to give any impression that strikes have generally prevented the fulfilment of War Department production schedules." Yet that was exactly the impression Secretary Stimson gave. I would call attention to one other statement made by the Under Secretary. "A national-service act will not stop all strikes. . . . The no-strike pledge of labor must remain, as in the past, the cornerstone of our program." Unfair attacks upon labor, the War Department needs to be reminded, will not make it easier for labor leaders to keep that pledge.

I have the highest respect for the Under Secretary of War. We are fortunate to have so fine and honorable a man in so important a position. He has consistently opposed anti-labor legislation in the past, and he has been courageous on many occasions in dealing with big business. But anyone who spends a day at the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission checking the Under Secretary's testimony on man-power and production lags will not come away impressed. I have not the space to go into detail, but I want to take up one instance. The Under Secretary mentioned ball bearings. This is one of the last of the so-called "critical components" which is still critical. Ball bearings are vital to the war program. Patterson told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that the lag in producing ball bearings was due to "inability to get enough workers." He said there were "plenty of people living in the vicinity" of the plants, but "some of them would rather make hats, toys, artificial flowers, or gadgets. . . . " I beg the Under Secretary of War to brush aside the brass hats and look into this situation for himself. It will open his eyes, not merely to the facts about ball bearings, but to a typical situation in war production and to the quality of the advice he has been getting.

The Under Secretary will find that the ball-bearings industry has difficulty recruiting workers because its wages are low, its working conditions bad, and its labor relations archaic. He will find that the War Labor Board has been slow in permitting wage adjustments. He will find that his own procurement officers, despite countless directives, are still putting contracts for civilian-type requirements, easily obtained elsewhere, into areas where there is a shortage of labor for ball bearings. Two hundred new war contracts, many of this type, have but recently been placed in central Connecticut, hub of the ball-bearings industry. The Under Secretary will also find that consistent production scheduling has yet to be introduced into the industry; no real attempt has been made to rearrange orders so that plants can concentrate on one style of ball bearings instead of shifting from one to another. He will also find that the ball-bearings industry has just begun to take two of the most obvious and elementary steps required to speed production. One is to share its patents and know-how, and the other is to teach smaller shops enough of its jealously guarded processes to make wider farming out possible. Ball bearings, like every one of the other specific cases discussed by the Under Secretary, is much more than a simple manpower problem.

I do not deny that man-power is a problem too, but it is only a problem as regards skilled workers in crucial areas. I think it is labor's duty to work out special programs, perhaps in the shape of mobile battalions of skilled workers, to meet this need. But all I have heard from Stimson, Patterson, and Marshall convinces me that the military bureaucracy, whose control of procurement gives it final control of man-power mobilization, lacks the competence to administer national service effectively. With sharply growing unemployment just ahead of us, to place compulsion in the hands of the military would serve only to upset production and embitter labor.

# Germany at Bay

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

NENERAL EISENHOWER'S recent prediction that The European phase of World War II would end in 1944 is a frank recognition of a situation that is becoming increasingly clear. A Germany still strong and aggressive is being increasingly overmatched by three other great powers. Since November of 1942 the Reichswehr has not won a single major victory, and the Axis has met defeat on half a dozen different fronts. Today the war has reached a point where observers are speculating whether the final blow will be struck by rapidly advancing Russian armies in the east or an Anglo-American invasion force on a new western front. While there should be no tendency to underrate the difficulty and cost of the tasks ahead or the desperate resistance which the Nazis may put up, it is not too far-fetched to say that 1944 will see a friendly race between Roosevelt and Stalin.

The stubborn counter-attacks by which the Germans have tried to hold as much of the Dnieper line as possible are quite understandable. As I have pointed out in earlier articles, the Dnieper River forms one of the strongest barriers to be found in an area largely lacking in natural defenses. In addition the line was backed by a singularly good system of north-south railways. Nowhere in the area farther west was there a better place for a stand. Some of our military commentators criticized at the time the efforts made by the Germans last fall to

retake Korosten and Zhitomir. Yet the German High Command probably reasoned that the Dnieper should be easier to hold than any line they could withdraw to. And only by fierce counter-attacks could they stave off a major disaster in the Dnieper bend. Those launched served their immediate purpose, restoring communications between the various parts of the front, but the inability to follow through illustrates the growing military poverty of the Germans. It is obviously becoming more and more difficult for them to counter Russian blows in one sector without stripping other parts of the front of their reserves. This was shown by the crumbling of the army which had so long besieged Leningrad after powerful Soviet feint in the Nevel region had drawn enemy reinforcements to that spot. Caught off guard, the Germans farther north suddenly found themselves the victims of a pincers movement, as the Red Army drove south from the Baltic, overrunning the German siege lines, and west by the shores of Lake Ilmen, where the major stronghold of Novgorod was taken. This twin offensive sliced through the most vital enemy communications and created a pocket similar to that in the southern Ukraine.

Despite the drama of the relief of Leningrad it is probable that the Dnieper sector, where sixty to seventy Nazi divisions are outflanked, remains the most critical front. This is not, to be sure, the first time the Axis forces

in the Ukraine have been in a tough spot. On two previous occasions vigorous counter-attacks have held off military disaster. Yet counter-attacks inevitably mean hard fighting and large losses—and the Russians are far better able to bear casualties. Thus even if the Germans are successful in such attacks, their losses will be high and their strategic position still bad on a front rapidly being lengthened by Russian success in pushing out salients elsewhere. Failure would mean obliteration.

The lack of satisfactory defenses farther west is another factor which should cause the Germans to fight fiercely from now until the end of the war. The Bug River might offer a temporary sanctuary. Only one other major river, the Vistula, could be used as a natural barrier, and use of this would mean sacrificing East Prussia and defending a crooked front. Moreover, north-south railway lines, which would be needed to provide lateral communication behind an active front, are scarce in Poland. A possible line of defense well served in this respect would extend from just east of Riga, south through Dvinsk, Vilno, Lida, the Pripet Marshes, and southeastern Poland, and then along the Dniester River. It would be shorter than the present line and constitute a far safer position. If the Germans retired to it, they would of course abandon all the pre-1939 Russian territory they now hold. However, even this front has been partly demolished in eastern Poland. Farther to the west there is nothing nearly so defensible before Germany itself is reached. With East Prussia now only 300 miles away from Russian armies which have advanced, from Stalingrad, a total of 800 miles in fourteen months, the Germans on the eastern front must undergo continued weakening, if they do not meet a military disaster far worse than that of Stalingrad.

The prospects on the as yet non-existent western front are harder to gauge. For several months American troops have been pouring into the British Isles by the hundred thousand. The appointment of invasion commanders is also complete, though the names of some have not vet been made public. Incidentally, the choice of Eisenhower for commander-in-chief is as good as could have been made. Preliminary bombing of the Channel Coast defenses has been under way for several weeks. The necessity of this advanced softening up greatly lessens the chances of surprise in any attack upon fixed positions. It cannot, of course, be stated that the Allied invasion will be limited to areas bordering the English Channel, thought recent aerial operations indicate that we shall try to establish a wide bridgehead on the north coast of France. Several attacks, some of them feints to deceive the enemy as to the major objective, are certain to be launched.

The recent landings below Rome have brought a welcome speeding up to the Italian campaign. The

strategy of this move was so obvious that the only surprise was over the fact that it had not been made earlier. The Germans plainly expected it last fall and for that reason kept large reserves in the Po Valley. A shortage of landing craft caused by blunders in the navy's Bureau of Ships mainly necessitated the delay, though the secondary status of the Italian campaign in the strategy of the war as a whole probably made Allied leaders even less willing to furnish the required shipping. The delay may have worked to our advantage by permitting a surprise which would have been less likely four months ago. We still have strong cards to play in the Mediterranean, and the Germans as they retreat cannot rule out other landings to the north or attacks elsewhere.

For the Germans the situation contains some elements of strength and many of weakness. Rommel, probably the best leader of land forces that the war has produced, will be directing the defense. The troops at his command are estimated at forty to forty-five divisions. Not all of them are first class, since some are punch-drunk from fighting the Russians and others are Axis satellite troops of uncertain morale; a number of divisions are well below their normal combat strength and greatly need replacements. Some additional divisions-eight to ten in all-might be obtained by abandoning Norway, no longer of much value to Germany now that it has lost both the Battle of the Atlantic and all reasonable hope of stopping supplies to Russia. The recently called sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds form a last reserve, at the very bottom of the man-power barrel.

The Germans have undoubtedly assigned some of their troops to the beach defenses and some to a mobile reserve farther inland which can be rushed to the point of attack. They are reported to have evacuated the population within eighteen miles of the coast in an effort to discourage sabotage and other fifth-column activities in aid of the invaders. Anything resembling complete shore defenses along a long coastline is out of the question. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the harbors and beaches most suitable for landing will be heavily mined. Concrete blockhouses, gun emplacements, barbed wire, and machine-gun nests will also be encountered. German practice elsewhere indicates that depth will be a feature of these defenses. An indeterminate amount of air opposition should also develop.

Landing on a heavily fortified enemy coast is one of the hardest of all military problems, and we must expect bad losses. Sea and air superiority give an enormous advantage; indeed, without them such an operation would be impossible. But as other actions have shown, they are not enough. The decisive step must be taken the hard way by individual infantrymen who, braving heavy casualties, overcome enemy defenses and hold off attack until artillery and tanks can be landed and can then spread out. This step is an especially critical one, and in our case it must be undertaken by troops who, though well trained, have had little or no previous battle experience. In the "know-how" that comes from many fights the Germans have a very important advantage.

With the invasion of Western Europe will come a change of emphasis in aerial warfare. Ever since the fall of France the R. A. F., and more recently our own Army Air Force, has been employed mostly in strategic bombing as distinguished from tactical (in support of ground forces). In fact, a strong tendency on the part of some airmen to overlook the cooperative use of air power has only recently been corrected. As an individual striking weapon the bomber has great achievements to its credit. It has certainly damaged German industry and morale and made the path of Allied armies easier. Some 284,-000 tons of bombs dropped on Europe during 1943 is a record which speaks for itself. But when the invasion starts, the main task of air power will be direct cooperation with land armies; cutting down the enemy's war potential will be distinctly secondary.

The sinking of the Scharnhorst in the Arctic and of other German surface vessels in the Bay of Biscay should very nearly end the fight for domination of the Atlantic shipping lanes. New anti-submarine weapons have robbed the once dreaded U-boat of most of its potency. Often underrated, this battle between Allied sea power and German under-sea power has been second to none in its effect on the outcome of the war. Its loss would have meant German victory, whereas experience shows that the United Nations can lose on three land fronts without being defeated as long as they control the seas.

Simultaneously with the invasion of Europe should come somewhat faster action in the Pacific, for at last our navy has a decisive and increasing edge there. The same kind of aerial advance notice as that being given in France indicates amphibious moves against various atolls in the Marshalls. If reports from the Pacific are correct, a change in tactics in these forthcoming operations may save us from such losses as those suffered at Tarawa. On New Guinea and New Britain we are gaining steadily and at small loss, though also slowly. The attention being given to Kavieng serves notice that New Ireland, too, stands high on the Allied priority list.

Unfortunately, the United Nations have had one very discreditable failure which could be but has not yet been rectified. Twenty months ago Burma fell into Japanese hands after a campaign which on the British side represented Colonel Blimp at his worst and revealed more concentrated political and military stupidity than any similar operation of which this writer has knowledge. Today an Indian army fifteen times as large as the Japanese occupation forces is available a few hundred miles to the west. The Chinese have indicated a willingness to cooperate from the north in case the morale of the Indian

army is too low to risk a Burmese campaign—if the British will now permit them to operate in Burma. The steady attrition suffered by Japanese sea power and the disappearance of the Italian navy have made available to the Allies sufficient naval strength to more than match anything the Japanese are likely to be able to send into the Indian Ocean. We already have superiority in the air. China has been promised increased aid and reopened communication lines, and the United States has done a signally good job of supply. The failure under these circumstances to mount an offensive to reopen the Burma road and drive the Japanese out of Southeastern Asia is a disgrace to the entire United Nations as well as to the leader most directly responsible.

## 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TEMPERS ARE RISING AGAIN in the Far East. Undisguised preparations for war go on apace. . . . Hirota's overture to the United States suggests that the Japanese believe there is more to American recognition of Russia than appears to the naked eye and that they have at last been thoroughly frightened by our gigantic navalbuilding program. That this program has been laid down as an answer to Japan's military preparations and with an eye directly on the menacing situation in the Far East can no longer be denied.—February 7, 1934.

IT IS A PLEASURE to report . . . that literally thousands of letters are pouring into Washington from persons stating they have canceled their subscriptions to the Chicago *Tribune* because of its scurrilous attacks on the NRA. This was the sheet which introduced the delectable practice of employing known criminals and racketeers. By every standard of professional decency and public morals Colonel McCormick has earned the right to retire from the publishing business. I hope the people of Chicago will help him to exercise it.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, February 7, 1934.

MUSSOLINI NOW SUGGESTS giving Hitler an army of 300,000 if he will return to the League, while Great Britain advances one of Sir John Simon's famous formulas, by which France is offered more security and Germany is offered more military strength if only they will come back to Geneva and save the [disarmament] conference!—February 14, 1934.

AS WE WRITE THESE LINES Austria's workers are fighting I life-and-death battle with fascism, which, in the guise of the Dollfuss Heimwehr, is threatening to choke—and will choke—their labor movement.—February 21, 1934.

THE LATEST INCIDENT in the Rivera-Rockefeller controversy occurred when the panel containing the head of Lenin was "removed" in a cloud of plaster dust from the wall in Rockefeller Center in New York City, where it had stood under a concealing screen since last spring. In other words, the Rockefellers, well known as patrons of art, have destroyed, for commercial reasons, an important work by the world's most famous mural painter.—February 28, 1934.

# Co-op International

#### BY KEITH HUTCHISON

N THE winter of 1843-44 a small group of poor weavers meeting in the back street of the grimy industrial town of Rochdale, England, created together social invention—the idea of consumers' cooperation. Like most inventions it was not completely original; other men in other places had worked it out in part. Nor was this discovery exactly what its authors were seeking, for their goal was an even larger conception—ta method by which the tyranny of capitalism with its low wages and high prices could be circumvented. They booked for a way of acquiring the means of production so that they might employ themselves; the formation of a trading society through which they could buy collectively was to be only a first step in this direction.

Yet if they knew not what they wrought, their craftsmen's instincts were sound, for in drawing up the articles of their association they established a set of principles which have formed a firm foundation for the world-wide movement of consumer cooperation. They were: (1) membership open to all; (2) one person, one vote; (3) limited interest on capital; (4) distribution of savings according to patronage; (5) cash trading at market prices; (6) political and religious neutrality; (7) constant education; (8) continuous expansion. These are the Rochdale principles, masterly in their simplicity, which today, a century after they were invented, guide and inspire the humblest "co-op" as well as such powerful institutions as the English Cooperative Wholesale Society with its billion-dollar turnover.

Before the war consumers' cooperatives were to be found in almost all countries, and in many they played a major and expanding role in the national economy. In Great Britain they cover half the families and account for more than a quarter of the total food sales. In Sweden, with over 40 per cent of the population enjoying cooperative membership, the manufacturing activities of the wholesale society have done much to offset the restrictive tendencies of local trusts. The fact that with all the shortages the war has brought to Sweden there is no significant black market is often ascribed to the influence of the cooperatives.

Cooperatives have expanded on the federal principle. Local societies have joined in regional groups to carry on common enterprises, and regional groups have come together to form national associations for business and other common purposes. The movement, moreover, has long looked beyond national boundaries. Nearly fifty years ago the International Cooperative Alliance was

founded for the purpose of exchanging and spreading information. Before the war it represented 171,300 societies with 71,588,000 members in 35 countries. In 1919 an International Cooperative Wholesale Society was set up with the object of promoting trade relations among its members. It did not do any business on its own account, but in 1938 an international trading agency was inaugurated to act as intermediary in overseas cooperative trade. There were also a number of other federal organizations transcending national boundaries, such as the joint wholesale society maintained by the cooperatives of the four Scandinavian countries.

In spite of such developments the amount of direct trade between cooperatives in different countries was comparatively limited before the war. But the seeds of growth had been sown, and when the freezing grip of conflict is relaxed there is hope for a bountiful crop. The second century of consumers' cooperation may well be dedicated to its international integration.

It was in this faith that the Cooperative League of the United States summoned a Conference on International Cooperative Reconstruction to meet in Washington on January 19 and 20. Representatives of twenty-two different countries discussed a series of recommendations which fell under two broad heads: (1) proposals for immediate post-war relief and rehabilitation through the medium of cooperative agencies; (2) a program for the long-term expansion of cooperative institutions throughout the world by the development of joint trading and productive enterprises.

In all European countries where immediate relief measures to save the inhabitants from starvation and disease will have to be undertaken as soon as the Germans are driven out, the existence of a network of cooperative organizations provides a ready-made system of distribution. Like other democratic bodies, the cooperatives have of course suffered under the occupation, for they represent everything to which the Nazis are opposed. In Germany itself they were long ago incorporated in the Labor Front, and every vestige of selfgovernment was taken from them. In parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia the Nazis have proceeded on somewhat similar lines, but in other occupied countries there has been less interference. Like all businesses the cooperatives have been subjected to much harassing and regulation; in some cases Quisling managers have been forced upon them. But there is reason to hope that most of them have held together. As Margaret Digby, an English cooperator, has written, "A system which depends so much more on personal than on financial elements is likely to have a quite special survival value."

In a newly published study\* by the International Labor Office, maps of Holland and Denmark show each cooperative distribution point marked by a dot. The effect is that of a superlative case of freckles. Every inhabitant of these countries is within easy reach of a store, a credit society, or a farm-marketing warehouse which purchases for its members as well as taking care of their sales. The network is not so closely woven in all European countries, but according to the I. L. O., something like a quarter of the population of the Continent is included in one form or another of cooperative institution. And as their membership is mainly in the low income brackets, the cooperatives actually cover a much greater proportion of the people who will be in the most urgent need of relief.

Apart from the density of their coverage, the special characteristics of cooperative organizations make them very appropriate vehicles for the distribution of relief and the promotion of rehabilitation. Among their useful features in this respect the I. L. O. lists the following: (1) Cooperative personnel combine business training with a social-service outlook. (2) There is an identity of interest between the cooperatives and the people they serve; supplies allotted to them are less likely to be diverted to the black market than those distributed through profit-making concerns. (3) The democratic structure of cooperatives and their practice of giving full publicity to their accounts facilitates inspection and control. (4) While some European cooperatives are tied in with religious or political bodies, in general they are open to all without regard to income, profession, or belief. In view of these considerations, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) would do well to give effect to the recommendation of the Washington Cooperative Conference that it create a cooperative division to keep in close touch with and work through the movement at home and abroad.

If, as spokesmen for the UNRRA have emphasized, the first objective of relief is to help people to help themselves, the cooperative movement forms an ideal medium. For, to quote the I. L. O. report, it "is not passive mechanism but an active self-help and mutual-aid organization." The whole cooperative tradition is opposed to charity. Men and women in its ranks will accept relief to keep their families from starving, but they will look upon it merely as a method of keeping alive while they restore their devastated fields and rebuild their workshops. That is why the Cooperative League of America has suggested to the UNRRA the setting up of

• "Cooperative Organization and Post-War Relief." International Labor Office, Montreal. \$1.

a central fund which will make loans to cooperatives in countries afflicted by the war, enabling them to rebuild facilities and inventories so that in turn they may assist their members to restore production as rapidly as possible. On the basis of past experience one can prophesy that few such loans will be defaulted. The International Cooperative Alliance has itself started a "Freedom Fund" of at least two million dollars, which will be raised by popular subscription in countries such as Britain and Sweden and will be used to provide gifts and loans to cooperatives in liberated lands. The American movement is undertaking to match this effort.

Wherever the Nazis have marched they have not only wrought wholesale damage to property but have largely destroyed property ownership as an institution. By looting, by confiscation, by forced sales paid for with forced credits, they have obtained possession of much of the concrete wealth of the occupied lands for themselves or their Quislings. So thoroughly have they made an omelet of property rights that there is little hope of restoring the original eggs. Moreover, in many cases, the lawful owners and their families have been completely wiped out.

It is certain, therefore, that me great deal of "orphaned" property will have to be taken care of after the Nazis have been stripped of their plunder. Much of it is likely to be socialized, but the suggestion has been made, in the magazine Fortune and elsewhere, that a wise alternative might be to turn production plants into cooperatives. In the case of factories producing for more than mocal market the regional or national wholesale societies which exist in most countries would be the logical medium, and under cooperative management such enterprises could not only play a leading role in economic reconstruction but furnish a permanent check on monopolistic tendencies. Indeed, this proposal might suggest to Jesse Jones a good way of disposing of government war plants in this country.

The natural tendency of consumer cooperatives is to band together to secure the advantages of bulk buying and eventually to manufacture at least a part of their basic requirements. For in this way they are able to make greater savings for their members, secure control over quality, and maintain a yardstick by which to measure the prices charged by private enterprise. In the United States the rapid growth of cooperatives during the past ten years has been accompanied by a number of successful ventures in the field of production. The regional wholesale societies, sometimes singly, sometimes in alliance, are now producing an important range of goods—fertilizers, cattle feeds, foodstuffs, paint, farm machincry, lumber products.

Most significant of all these developments is the large cooperative investment in petroleum refining, the story

of which was told to the international conference in Washington last week by Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City. Within the last six years nine refineries, nearly 300 producing oil wells, and more than 1,000 miles of pipe-line have been acquired to supply cooperative distributors of gasoline and oil. Taken together—and they are closely interlinked—the cooperative petroleum enterprises can now claim to be the largest independent refiners and distributors in the country. In 1942, it is estimated by the Farm Credit Administration, 22 per cent of the total volume of motor fuels consumed by farmers was delivered by cooperatives, and their urban business is also expanding rapidly.

This development is a real challenge to the oil trusts on their native soil, and Mr. Cowden is planning to extend it to the foreign market. Before the war his organization had done business in a small way with cooperatives in nine European countries. These customers obtained their oil on the same terms as domestic membersocieties of the association, receiving patronage dividends on their purchases. Now Mr. Cowden and his colleagues in the Cooperative League are proposing that immediately after the war an International Cooperative Trading and Manufacturing Association should be formed and financed by the various national wholesale societies. This body, to begin with, would have two divisions, food and petroleum. The former, it is suggested, should operate at first on an agency basis, but the object of the latter would be to provide a fully integrated cooperative business from oil well to tank car. The idea is, of course, only in the discussion stage, but the delegates at Washington were definitely receptive.

The heart of the American cooperative movement has always been the Middle West, and for a long time it was only regionally conscious. In recent years, however, it has acquired a national outlook and begun to tackle its problems in national terms. Now it is extending its vision to still wider horizons. To quote Mr. Cowden again:

We live in world community. Therefore we may as well begin to act like adult citizens of the world and build our economic organizations on global basis. The common citizens of all countries cannot communicate with each other through the international cartels which have been built by the few for purposes of exploiting the many. They can communicate with one another, they can learn to trust and believe in one another, through their own cooperative system of industry and exchange.

It is a hundred years since the Rochdale pioneers wove their cooperative idea. But the colors have not faded, the design still carries its message, and what was once a riny square of cloth has become a mantle to cover the earth.

## End of an Era

BY GERTRUDE BAER

THE death on December 20, 1943, of Anita Augspurg marks for our generation the close of a whole epoch—that epoch of liberation, of emancipation from legal, social, political, and intellectual disabilities, of intense fight for equality of sex, creed, class, and race.

When Anita Augspurg studied law in Berlin and took her doctor's degree in Zurich in 1897, she was fitting herself for just that fight. She wanted to acquire the scholarly background necessary for taking part in formulating the amendments to the Family Law proposed by the German women's movement when, in the nineties, the new Code of Civil Law was under discussion in the Reichstag. And, indeed, she had a prominent part in the struggle for the incorporation of women's demands into the law.

Though ever since 1886 she had been active in Munich in the agitation for women's rights, she now came to realize that the prerequisite for a radical transformation of the general position of women was their full right to vote. Together with Lida Gustava Heymann she concentrated on this one goal, building up the German Union for Women's Suffrage, of which she was president. In contrast to the women's-suffrage movement of that time, which advocated votes for women on the same limited terms as for men, she boldly stood for demands that were "radical" in the Germany of that day—equal, secret, and direct votes for all men and women.

Suffrage certainly did not "fall into the lap of German women," as has frequently been asserted. The struggle was violent; and violent were the attacks and calumnies against the movement and its leaders. When finally in November, 1918, as the first act of the new Republic of Bavaria, women were enfranchised on the terms Anita Augspurg had demanded for men and women alike, the flag with the black, red, and gold colors of the German Democratic movement of 1848 was flying on the flagstaff of her estate in the hills high above the Isar Valley in Upper Bavaria.

When she was asked to stand as a candidate for the first parliament of the Bavarian Republic on the voting list headed by Prime Minister Kurt Eisner, leader of the Independent Socialist Party, she accepted on condition that she need not join the party. The German party system, with its tendency to demagogic tactics, seemed to her the root of many political evils.

Democracy was her fundamental creed. In innumerable speeches and articles, in the political monthly *Die Frau im Staat*, which she and Lida Gustava Heymann owned together and edited from 1918 until they had to leave the country in 1933, she called on Germans to educate themselves for the exercise of political power.

"The rights and liberties firmly established by the 1919 constitution are also fundamental duties, and with the people's consciousness of their rights must go a sense of obligation."

Born a citizen of the independent kingdom of Hanover on September 22, 1857, she watched Prussia's rise to power and supremacy as it reduced one independent German state after another to a Prussian province. All her life she warned that here was one of the mainsprings of ever-recurring wars in Europe, and advocated the breaking of Prussia's hegemony and its military and Junker castes, hoping that a federal Germany within the frame of a free and united Europe would give the German people the chance to develop a realization of decent political conduct, democracy, and a sincere will to peace.

When in 1915 women from neutral and warring countries, under the presidency of Jane Addams, succeeded in meeting at The Hague for the first international women's peace congress ever held in war time, Anita Augspurg was among those who went-assailed by the whole German women's movement. She became one of the founders, and to the end remained a leader, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (at that time named International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace) and of its German section. At critical moments during periods of civil war and indeed throughout the years between 1918 and 1933, she displayed her many rare qualities—her political philosophy, her gift for precise and forcible expression, and her boundless devotion to the task of educating German women to a consciousness of their political opportunities and their political dignity.

When after the last war the full extent of the destruction wrought by the German troops in the devastated areas became known in Germany, Anita Augspurg and her coworkers gave as voluntary reparation to the city of Arras in northern France young growing trees to replace the bare mained tree trunks of that region. The funds for this offering were contributed by women and men of small means who had sold what possessions war and inflation had left them.

Anita Augspurg was a unique personality. Strong of will, she was never afraid of walking untried paths in science and politics as well as in her personal life. She was far ahead of her time, always ready to profess and maintain her views, principles, and beliefs. She was unshakably convinced that free women have a contribution of their own to make to human society, that they ought not to imitate men's actions and reactions but to allow their "creative agent" to unfold and operate for the benefit of themselves and of the world. To her, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities were not a distant goal but tools for daily use, now, in the formation and development of a human society, national

and international, based on justice for all its elements and on peace, the twin concept of freedom.

Only when our generation takes up for the second time the work of reconstruction will it fully realize how much it owes to the last two outstanding German women of the pre-Hitler epoch—Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann.

### In the Wind

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE is no longer able to boast, as it did for years, that its circulation is over a million. Last November the circulation was 930,000; in December it dropped to 905,000, following a C. I. O. vote to boycott the paper.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY has discontinued the sale of pamphlets on national and world affairs. Leo A. Lerner, a member of the board of trustees, whose term had expired in 1942 but who had been held over, voted to continue the sales. A few days later he was dropped from the board. Discontinuance was proposed by the chairman of the board, Joseph E. Fleming, attorney for the Chicago Tribune. Mayor Kelly, who dropped Lerner and appointed his successor, was asked by reporters if Lerner had been "fired." He replied, "I don't know. I don't know anything about it."

NEW YORKERS WHO LISTEN to the city's local radio stations have lately been hearing an advertisement by Spear's, a chain of furniture stores, offering to send a special service men's edition of the New York Daily Mirror free of charge to men in the armed forces. For those who may be worried about the effect of Hearst journalism on the men overseas, this report: The special edition is published once a week. It consists of twelve pages, nine by six and one-half inches, and contains news, pictures, and features, selected and edited by the Mirror staff. Spear's advertising manager says controversial matter is omitted. However, at least one editorial that has appeared thus far seems to overstep the limits of the non-controversial. It denounces the Washington "Communists, State Socialists, and Internationalists who would sell our birthright as an independent sovereignty for a mess of wars that do not concern us." A spokesman for the Mirror said the editorial reflected Hearst policy and was "not controversial."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The secretaries and typists of German administrative offices in Belgium have been armed with revolvers. They hold shooting practice twice a day. . . . Freshman registration at Dutch universities now is about 10 per cent of the pre-war average. A sharp drop took place last year when an oath of obedience to the Nazi regime was required.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Franco, New Axis Chief

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

In designating Madrid as the real center of the new Nazi-fascist Axis, Miss Thompson touches upon one of the major problems of political warfare. Franco in power means the continuation of Nazi intrigue throughout the Western Hemisphere. The German and Japanese embassies in Buenos Aires will be closed, but the Spanish embassy will remain open. As in Santiago, in Lima, in Montevideo, Franco's diplomatic services will continue to work for Hitler and prepare the ground for the new Fascist International after Hitler has been overthrown. Franco in power means the continuation of the espionage, sabotage, and anti-United Nations propaganda in Europe which have been a principal subject of discussion in the British and American press during the past week, and which motivated Foreign Secretary Eden's recent protest. This journal has been protesting for a long time, but it has taken four bloody years for a high British official to realize the hypocrisy of the Franco regime, and to say, as the New York Herald Tribune reported, "We all know what degree of sincerity to read into Franco's protestations of friendship and neutrality. They are 100 ber cent insincere."

In presenting the analysis that follows we are doing something almost unprecedented; we are publishing a broadcast that was delivered over a national radio hook-up—the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. But the vigor and penetration of Miss Thompson's address, and its timeliness, lead us to believe that areaders will be glad to have in print an analysis they may have missed on the air.—A. DEL V.]

URING the past weeks I have been observing something I think very important. You may not be convinced by what I am going to say, but I shall produce concrete evidence. Fascism is not just an Italian or a German idea. The chief German Nazis—Hitler, Rosenberg, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Hess—are not ordinary German nationalists at all. (Conrad Heiden, in his book "Der Führer," calls them "armed bohemians.") Of these six men I have just named, only two—Göring and Goebbels—were even born in Germany. All of them have always looked far beyond Germany. They organized, in National Socialism, movement which was designed to sweep the world. They built up this conspiracy methodically in all countries. Their idea was to create a new kind of state, and world

union of states, based on the overthrow of popular governments and the substitution of military despotisms by means of organized mass movements—all these states to be pawns in the hands of the intellectual and political leaders of the Nazi-fascist parties.

The key point of the whole plot was Berlin, the strongest capital of the strongest state in Europe.

They know now that the Nazi-fascist war may be lost. They have to take that into their reckoning. Of course they will prolong it as long as they can. They know that there can be many a slip in war. Allies, for instance, can split; governments can change, bringing new policies. They will try, and probably succeed, in turning the path to Berlin into a path of blood. But they have to take into their calculations that in all probability, sooner or later, they will lose the war. So then what will they do?

What they are already laying plans for is to create a new Axis. They are planning to find new ground from which to continue their fight against free governments and peoples, against the passion of the peoples to cast off their chains of militarism and oppression and—as Lincoln said—find freedom in the brotherhood of life.

The Nazi international foresees that Europe may be almost wholly lost to it. Whether the Russians descend on Germany with grim, relentless fury, or whether the Anglo-American troops march triumphant from Calais to Berlin, fascism will be finished in belligerent Europe with our winning of the war. It will be finished in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Poland. And it will be finished in Berlin and Rome.

Where then will it go? I will tell you. It is going to make this hop: Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires. The center of the new Nazi-fascist Axis will not be Berlin. It will be Madrid. Hitler's experience shows that you don't need a great power to start with. He didn't even start with Germany, but with one town—Munich. The rest he did by propaganda and tactics. And the rallying ground for a new attempt to overthrow political freedom and the countries based on it will not be in the Old World but in the New World—in Latin America. The signs and portents reveal themselves daily. And the old familiar pattern repeats itself, too—the pattern of appeasement.

The most dangerous man in the world the day after victory will not be Hitler, who will have managed to ally the whole world against him and lead his country to

catastrophe. No, the most dangerous fascist will be Franco, who is managing to help the Axis while winning gratitude from us for his so-called neutrality.

What does that neutrality amount to? Is it a neutrality comparable, for instance, to that of Sweden and Switzerland? Is it the neutrality of a man who wants us to win, because his country is, like Switzerland and Sweden, freedom-loving and democratic? Not at all. Franco's neutrality is the neutrality of a man who would like to see the Axis win and has repeatedly said so, but who thinks it may not, and intends to preserve one place in Europe where fascism can take a new lease on life after this war. Franco is betting on Germany and Italy being defeated but on fascism surviving.

For the past weeks dispatches from Madrid to the United States have appeared under such headlines as "Franco Currying Favor with Allies," "Spain Frees Republicans for Christmas Amnesty," "Franco Seeks to Allay Hatreds—His New Liberalism Intended to Remove Threats of Revolts," "Spain Paying Debt to U. S. Exporters"—all these creating the impression that Spain is swinging over to our side in the war and even to domestic liberalism. Several news reports from Spain say that Franco is gradually dissolving the Phalangist Party—the Spanish fascist party.

But if one reads these dispatches carefully they furnish no evidence whatever that any of this wishful thinking is true. Has Franco freed political prisoners, in a movement toward "greater liberalism"? According to the Falangist newspaper, there were in January, 1940, 270,719 republican political prisoners. The Christmas amnesty freed 40,000 of these. That left more than 230,-000. Dispatches say that 34,000 cases are under review. That would still leave over 200,000 unaccounted for. And a little item explains this. "The majority of Spanish prisoners," it says, "were arrested without any charges whatsoever, and the amnesty does not apply to them." So our liberal Franco is apparently holding around 200,-000 persons without warrant, without indictment, without any reason ever given to them or to the world. These men who were imprisoned for their resistance to fascism are infinitely worse off than Nazi prisoners of war in British or American internment camps, whose treatment is under international conventions and checked by the Red Cross.

Is Franco gradually dissolving the Phalangist Party, as reported by Herbert Clark, correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, on January 8? The only evidence Mr. Clark gives for this is that Franco is taking some non-Phalangists into his government. Hitler has had men who were not Nazi Party members in his government from the beginning to the present time. The Phalangist Party is the only legal party in Spain. It is supported right out of the state treasury. And this year's budget increased the appropriation for the Phalangist Party. A

fine way to dissolve a party—to subsidize it out of the taxes of the people!

How about the Spanish Legion, fighting with the Germans on the eastern front? Franco has had to admit that 1,500 of them are still fighting. And what do you think he told British and American diplomats when asked to explain? He said they were mostly criminal elements, whose return to Spain would be bad for the country!

There are some other things happening which tell the truer story. The International Labor Office knows that Franco still has a treaty with the Germans, entitled "Concerning the Allocation of Spanish Man-Power." Under that treaty Franco has furnished labor to German factories. These workers aren't volunteers. They are conscripted by their own government and sent to Germany to make bombs with which to kill us. No such treaty exists between Germany and any other neutral country.

On January 16 news broke of a series of bomb explosions on British ships carrying oranges from Spain to England. This made the British hopping mad, and the British ambassador to Madrid took occasion, at a dinner given to the diplomatic corps, to take Franco aside and protest in no uncertain terms. What was the result? Franco got the American ambassador, Carlton Hayes—who has leaned over backward to behave correctly toward Franco—into a conversation and told him that Algiers was a hotbed of communism, and all the Free French were Communists. Hayes was so angry that it almost came to an international incident—but it's proof enough that Franco feels little necessity to appease us.

It is as clear as distilled water that Franco is playing the Axis game as a neutral while making himself the pet boy of the Allies. He apparently hopes to emerge from the war as the only "decent" fascist in the public opinion of a large part of the Allied countries. And what does that mean to us, the United States?

It means the most dangerous situation imaginable. For of all European countries, the one with the greatest influence in Latin America is Spain. Latin America is predominantly Spanish in culture. Already one fascist coup has been engineered in the Western Hemisphere, namely, in Argentina, where a fascist-military dictatorship on the Franco pattern has seized power. The Ramirez dictatorship is pro-Axis. The recent severance of diplomatic relations with the Axis is no more in conflict with this fact than is Franco's "neutrality." The best position for a fascist regime today is that of "neutrality" toward or collaboration with the winners—especially if they are able to strangle the country's economy.

The Argentine dictatorship speculates that after the war fear of the "colossus of the north" can be created in country after country south of the Rio Grande. The argument that Latin America is threatened by northern domination will be used to prove the necessity for "strong" governments, namely, military and totalitarian

dictatorships. And this Argentine pattern is already spreading—to Bolivia, for instance.

Just the other day I heard from a most reliable source that the Nazi regime is preparing, when defeat is no longer avoidable, to shift machinery from German industries to neutral Spain, where it is to be stored until it can be shipped after the war to the Argentine. Their idea is to industrialize and arm the Argentine, spreading from there through all Latin America. They already-as the papers revealed last week-have a formidable spy ring operating from there. In it are even Argentine officials. When the British arrested the Argentine consul in Trinidad, exposing a whole plot, the Argentine government was forced to act. It had to pretend it had only just discovered the machinations of the Axis in its country, whereas in fact the plotting had been thoroughly exposed by an investigating committee of the Argentine Congress. A Montevideo newspaper published a letter the other day from the secretary of the "political bureau of the German embassy" in Buenos Aires promising the iron cross from the Führer to those who work well in Latin America and "help all revolutionary anti-Allied

and anti-Semitic elements in Latin America." Whether or not Ramirez severs relations with the Axis, we can count on continued underground activity.

American correspondents who stayed in Berlin until Pearl Harbor claim that Nazis have bought vast estates in the Argentine under assumed names. And one fine day when we think they are licked, we may find that they are among the richest people in South America. Instead of having this dirty conspiracy across the ocean, we'll have it on our very doorstep.

What can we do about all this? There is only one thing we can do. Diplomatic notes and formal protests may change tactics but not essential sympathies. What we can do is to help our real allies, who are the people of these countries. There are strong popular underground movements in both Spain and Argentina—movements which, not for our sakes but for their own, long to overthrow these military despotisms. We should help these movements, help them by all possible means. Hitler saw long ago that the way to get on without war is to overthrow hostile governments from within. And that nuch we should have learned from him.



SPANISH SERENABER

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

Something in the nature of espionage or communication with the enemy must have been discovered in Germany which greatly excited the government. The appearance of the "shadow man" was the first sign. About January 10 all German billboards suddenly displayed an enormous poster over which spread the black shadow of a man with a question mark beside it. On the front pages of newspapers, too, the same figure was pictured. The explanation came only after some days, when suspense had reached a high pitch. Then to the figure on the posters and in the newspapers was added the legend: "The enemy is listening!" The whole thing was a warning against spies. For a campaign of such intensity to be launched with the most sensational publicity in the fifth year of war was certainly astonishing.

The conjecture that something especially alarming had happened is supported by a decree that was published at about the same time, on January 12. The decree was signed-and this was most unusual-not by a civilian official but by Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, chief of the German High Command. It announced that any person who wished to send a letter to a neutral country must first obtain a license card. In applying for one he must inform the police whom he wished to write to and describe his relations with that person. The police, after examining his statements, would issue or deny him the license. If he received the license card he must take it with his letter to the post office, where the clerk would enter on the card the date on which the letter was sent. No one would be allowed to send more than two letters a month to a neutral country.

Through this ruling, the Nazi regime choked off communication between Germany and the outside world more tightly than it had ever dared to do before. Previously only the contents of letters had been examined by the censor; from now on the writers also were to be investigated. And whereas only suspicious correspondence used to be held up, now hundreds of thousands of persons were to be barred from any correspondence with foreign countries. The government must have had good reasons for such a sudden act of strangulation in the fifth year of war.

Le Petit Dauphinois, a newspaper published at Grenoble in southern France, carried this notice on December 24:

Young men, a wonderful life of courage and sacrifice is offered to you. Come and serve in that élite body, the French Waffen-S. S. You can choose the infantry, the tank corps, the cavalry, or the navy. For girls, a French

nurses', or *Schwestern*, corps, has been organized. For further information inquire at the Hotel Moderne, rue Félix Poulat, Grenoble.

Here we have one more proof of what two years ago would have been unthinkable—that the German armed forces are seeking foreign recruits. Just as German factories have long been bringing in workers from the conquered regions, so now German regiments are getting soldiers from outside the country. The S. S. seems especially eager for them—the same S. S. which once demanded that its members meet the highest standards of "racial purity" and political dependability. Countless news items, which it is not necessary or possible to specify here, when put together present the following picture.

The S. S. recruits in all countries; it recruits among the foreign workers in Germany; it recruits even among the war prisoners. It seeks volunteers—but not necessarily genuine volunteers: foreign workers and war prisoners have been forced to "volunteer" by the grossest pressure and threats. The S. S. has no national predilections. It welcomes not only Nordic-Germanic recruits like the Norwegians and Hollanders, not only West Europeans like the French and Belgians, but also the despised Poles; even Russians are not scorned. The foreign recruits may be divided according to nationality—in French, Belgian, Slovenian companies—or placed in mixed companies. All their officers, right down to the lowest non-com, are of course German.

Obviously the theory of this is that for a man in uniform, under the compulsion of discipline, there is no possible course but to obey orders and do his dutylike the Hessians in America. And this principle is thought to work most reliably in a body like the S. S., which is made up of police troops more than of combat troops. It is only necessary to take care that no nationals are used in their own country, against men speaking the same language. Some weeks ago, in the little Danish town of Skagen, feverish excitement broke out for a brief time. "The Russians have moved in," ran the rumor; witnesses confirmed it-"we have heard them speak." The strange soldiers actually were an S. S. company made up of Russians, Poles, and Latvians. Ironically enough, the foreign S. S. units can be used with the least danger in Germany itself—they have no bonds with Germans. After two of the most recent air raids against Berlin, Swiss and Swedish newspaper correspondents were surprised to find that the S. S. men who were barring certain streets to traffic did not understand German. They spoke Flemish and Danish.

According to the Budapest newspaper *Uj Magyarsag*. "men wearing Austrian hats with feathers are appearing in extraordinary numbers on the streets of Vienna." Say it with hats!

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### **Demobilization Day**

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM? PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR FINANCE. By Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund. \$1.

THIS is the third in a series of six popular books on the economic problems of "when the war ends." In his breezy yet thoughtful style Chase attacks the fears of those who believe the nation will be so impoverished by the war that we shall be doomed to dark days after it. He explores the institutional changes necessary to establish and maintain reasonably full post-war domestic employment. And he supports the need for such action passionately and dramatically. "Our economy is now geared to a national output... of around \$150 billions a year. We are like # Flying Fortress which must maintain a given speed or crash."

The fifteen chapters explore a wide range of related topics, including reconversion problems and policies, social security, public works, and so on. The fundamental argument, though, is found in four chapters. Chapter I poses the basic conundrum of this generation: how could nations which were too poor and feeble to keep their people employed and properly fed and clothed in time of peace find the wherewithal to put everyone at work and enormously

increase their output to wage war?

Chapter IV explains the function of money in terms of the ingenious "potato model" developed by Ralph Manuel, Minnesota banker. He likens dollars to claim checks for potatoes in a community that produces nothing else, and shows how if some of the claims are not exercised, potatoes spoil and production falls. (Chapters V to VIII broaden out and generalize this simple illustration, from the facts of the '20's and '30's, to explain our more complicated economy, where money is simply "numbers which move" and where "if savings are not promptly invested in productive work, trouble begins.")

Chapter XII, on "a compensatory economy," is the best in the book. It summarizes in broad strokes, and some careful detail, Chase's conception of the changes we need to make in our economy to maintain reasonably full employment. These are further described in Chapter XIII, which also takes up the possible use of new economic techniques, such as incentive taxes and interest-free money for government investment—methods whose effectiveness "we cannot know in advance. There is no wind tunnel for testing idlemoney tax machines. We have to fly them first to see what happens."

The final chapter outlines and answers the "seven great fears . . . the brakes that may hold back full employment when the war ends." These are the fears of inflation, of a crushing national debt, bureaucracy, paternalism, of an end to progress, of "what you gain, I lose," and fear of the masses. Its closing paragraph will summarize the book. "Where does the money come from? It comes from the work of the people and the work of their machines. The war is forcing this

lesson upon us. We may have learned it by Demobilization Day."

Chase's "compensatory economy" is based on four principles: (1) business to carry the maximum possible load of production and distribution; (2) government to fill any serious gaps left in employment, largely through taxation and spending; (3) the federal government to establish minimum economic standards for individuals through social security and public services; and (4) government benefits to be extended to individuals solely as consumers (housing aids, food-stamp plans, pensions) and not at all as producers (farmers, manufacturers, etc.). The volume of public expenditures would be turned off and on semi-automatically, as indicated by current objective counts of the number of unemployed. (Contrary to Chase's statement, these are already regularly available from monthly surveys of the Census Bureau.) Taxes would be "streamlined" and made to bear more on idle money.

The book makes a convincing reply to those who worry about the size of the national debt, and provides a reasoned basis and program for optimism for the future. It has, however, two weaknesses. First, its discussion of demobilization and reconversion problems is too broad and too far from the facts. Although at one point Chase recognizes that Germany may collapse ahead of Japan, all the rest of his discussion is in terms of "D-day," of an overnight end of all war activity on the 1918 model. The actual prospect is that we may face fully half of our post-war industrial conversion problem while we are still fighting Japan. This probability of adjustment to peace by successive stages, instead of at one single sweep, would profoundly modify much of his description of the problem. Furthermore, Chase speaks of the industrial-demobilization problem as almost exclusively one of converting our factories from war goods to peace goods. Actually, war over-expands chemicals and hard goods, and builds much plant which has practically no alternative peace-time use. (This is notably true of ammunition plants, air-frame plants, and shipyards.) To keep our present labor force employed in peace-time production, we must build new and different plants-"soft-goods" plants for more shoes, clothes, amusement-yes, and schools, colleges, hospitals, and clinics. Meantime, we must scrap some of our excess metal-working plants-or put them aside as "stand-by capacity"-and retrain our surplus welders, riveters, and tool operatives into textile operatives, dressmakers, beauticians, teachers, and doctors. Chase ignores the profound organic change that lies ahead in the make-up of our production and employment-if we are, as he proposes, to keep busy everyone who wishes to work at useful peace-time tasks.

A second shortcoming is in the presentation of possibilities for the future. Chase's outline of a compensatory economy is a brilliant and constructive statement, and one which summarizes what is probably the central core of present-day progressive economic thought. He states that there is no other forward-looking theoretical alternative to a completely

socialized economy. This statement ignores the possibility of broader government participation in the planning of private production, while leaving ownership in private hands. Such possibility is not purely theoretical idea, for we have already experimented with various aspects of it in the public planning of agricultural programs under the AAA and the soil-conservation program, while the war-time planning of military and civilian output by the WPB has developed facts and methods in the industrial-planning field. Such cooperative planning by business and government might aid in evening out chronic industrial cycles, like the housing cycle, the shipping cycle, and even the automobile cycle, just it has helped farmers to even out the hog cycle. Probably what we need is some system which combines Chase's "compensatory economy" with my planned "industrial expansion." While I strongly recognize the need and value of fiscal policy as control and stimulant, I believe that over the long future there will also be some need for the cooperative businesslabor-agriculture-government planning of production and price and wage policies which I presented in my writings of several years ago.

These dissents involve only extensions and modifications of Chase's basic ideas. No open-minded modern man would dissent from his major propositions. Money must be the tool of men, and not their master. Nations which in war can organize all their powers for destruction can turn equal powers to constructive use for the ends of peace. If we only choose to use them, we have within our power the means to ban forever want and chronic unemployment.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

#### Orphans of the Storm

THE BALTIC RIDDLE. By Gregory Meiksins. L. B. Fischer. \$3.

NE of the chief counts against the Soviets, in the indicament which some people in this country are constantly trying to present to ■ grand jury of the world, is the charge that it has kidnapped the three little Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. These independent states, it is alleged, were forcibly incorporated in the U. S. S. R. in 1940, and in defiance of the Atlantic Charter the Russian government insists that it will not release them after the war.

In this book Gregory Meiksins, a young Latvian lawyer who was forced into exile during the Ulmanis dictatorship, presents a brief ostensibly as a friend of the court. It is an able but hardly objective study which would perhaps have been more impressive if it had been offered frankly as the case for the defense. For there is nothing in it likely to cause the slightest offense to Moscow. It leaves the Russian government not merely whitewashed but gilded.

Mr. Meiksins asserts that after 1917 the desire of a majority of the Baltic peoples was to rid themselves of the German feudal landlords who had so long oppressed them and to achieve autonomy within the new Russia. They were thwarted, first by German occupation, and then by the Allies, who wanted to build them into an anti-Bolshevik cordon sanitaire. Russia, weakened by civil war and external ag-

gression and needing access to the Baltic Sea for purposes of trade, abandoned its claims in 1920 and recognized the independence of the Baltic states. But this did not make for much-improved relations, since the Western powers, and particularly Great Britain, continued to frown on any rapprochement between these little countries and their big neighbor.

The result was that the Baltic states, whose commerce and industries had been closely linked to the Russian market, were forced to reorientate their economies and become dependent for their livelihoods on exports of agricultural products to the West. There was continuous depression, and this combined with foreign intrigues, served to encourage the inauguration of dictatorships which, after the rise of Hitlerism, leaned more and more on Germany.

Toward the end of 1939, during the period of the Russo-German phony peace, the Soviets, with the sullen acquiescence of Berlin, occupied certain strategic points along the Baltic coast. At first there was no Russian interference in local politics, but in May, 1940, believing that the semifascist governments of the Baltic states were plotting with Hitler, Stalin ordered the Red Army to occupy their capitals. Thereupon, peoples' fronts in all three countries staged coups d'état, threw out the dictators, and set up democratic regimes. Within a few months completely free elections confirmed these governments and approved the incorporation of all three states in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Moscow made no attempt to impose communism on them. The Communists remained as minorities inside the democratic governments. Large enterprises and monopolies were nationalized, but small businesses were left alone and the farmers were allowed to keep their land. The national armies remained under their own officers after a very moderate purge of fascist elements. Until the German aggression a year later everything was wonderful.

That is Mr. Meiksins's case. Unfortunately, it is not so well documented as one could wish, particularly in regard to the dramatic events of 1939 and 1940. That was a period when the Baltic region was pretty well isolated from the West, and what little news came out was colored by passing through one or more censorships. It is therefore difficult to check many of the facts this book offers. But my own faith in the author's complete reliability is not strengthened by some of his references to Finland. Whatever may have been the justification for Russia's attack on Finland in 1939, it is not accurate to describe the war that followed as caused by unprovoked Finnish aggression.

Yet, despite skepticism about some of his arguments, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Meiksins's conclusions. For if this case were really brought to trial, it would not be enough for the court to bring in verdict of guilty or not guilty. The judges would still have to consider the future of the "victims." If they are taken again from Russia, which claims to be their lawful mother, how are these orphans of the storm to live? They have no real means of supporting themselves if deprived of their natural place in the Russian economy. Are they not all too likely to be picked up by the old Prussian madam next door and forced into a life of sin? It is certainly up to the prosecution to suggest what other alternative there is.

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#### Spain According to Madariaga

SPAIN. By Salvador de Madariaga. Creative Age Press. \$4.

SPAIN" is an ivory tower falsely described by its architect as a political lighthouse. It is a cold, lifeless abstraction, from which the blood and bones of reality are missing. Señor Madariaga was neutral as between fascism and the republic during the Civil War, and this book is, on its subjective side, his defense of that attitude, written in the certain and confessed knowledge that the future of Spain lies with the republic. "Spain" aims to prove, in the course of its long, scholarly, and academic review of events and problems, that only an incredibly small group, roughly the centrist conservatives and the extreme right-wing republicans, can provide the government Spain needs.

It is a facile construction, permitting condemnation of the extreme right and left and nice discrimination in the territory between. That is merely what is permitted, however. What one gets is a total rejection of the entire working-class movement, while such an unwholesome mixture of boastful petulance and inhibited blood lust as Gil Robles, the Austrofascist leader of the Ceda (the federation of landlord, clerical, and right-wing parties), is exonerated even of those intentions that were the whole meaning of his politics. And the explanation of this bias is: "It is from the left rather than from the right that we expect our future . . . it is the left, therefore, which stands in need of criticism."

Passing over the whole first section of this book as orthodox history, we need apply only one test to Madariaga's thesis, his treatment of the war, and his estimates of the future. It is to compare his account of the 1934-36 period with the reality that the world has witnessed.

Fundamentally here is what Madariaga professes to do. He tries to prove that it was the wildcat revolutionism of the Socialists which cast down the republic. He states categorically that "what made the Spanish Civil War inevitable was the civil war within the Socialist Party." What he means is later clarified. The insurrectionary "stampede," as he calls it, of the left Socialists under Largo Caballero was in violent opposition to both the tactical wisdom of the moderate Socialists and the will of all honest Republicans from Gil Robles (!) to Prieto. According to him the whole disaster occurred because Largo Caballero was determined to defeat the right wing of his own party! And his heavily loaded narrative is reinforced by an appendix in which the author discloses that he accepts the fascist story that the Communists and Socialists were actually preparing a revolution in 1936. The result of this extremism of the left was to drive the whole of the center into the arms of the rebellious army,

Naturally this thesis demands a careful regulation of the accounts. Señor Madariaga has to show that from 1934 to 1936 Gil Robles and the Ceda were a perfectly loyal republican force which merely planned a parliamentary reform of the constitution. And if one accepts Gil Robles's press releases as gospel truth, why, then, the trick is done. But the trick will not fall out so, for the plain truth is that neither the man's supporters nor his enemies believed any such thing. To unite with him in the hope of heading off Franco was impossible. It would have utterly split the republican

# THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER ON PALESTINE

#### A statement by the American Council for Judaism

Cutting across the broad issues relating to the future of Jews all over the world is the widespread, immediate concern in regard to the British White Paper of 1939. This official document, having taken cognizance of the tense situation created by two conflicting nationalist aspirations, attempts a re-solution of the problem by proposals that include the stoppage of immigration of Jews into Palestine after a fixed quota of immigrants has been exhausted and restrictions on their further acquisition of land in that country.

We of the American Council for Judaism record our unqualified opposition to those provisions. In behalf of the substantial section of American Jews whose views on Jewish problems coincide with ours, we petition our Government to use its best offices to prevail upon the British Government not to proceed with so prejudicial and unjust a policy.

We base our attitude on this fundamental fact: that proposals which exclude Jews, as Jews, from right of entry and restrict Jews, as Jews, from the acquisition of land, do violence to the fundamental concept of democratic equality and thus to the very purposes and ideals to which the United Nations are pledged.

The American Council for Judaism is dedicated to the view that Jews, a religious community, shall have, as of right and not on sufferance, full equality all over the world. As stated in our Declaration of Principles "For our fellow Jew we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals." This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration.

We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world. There is no compromise on this basic demand.

The tragic plight of Jews in various parts of the world is the consequence of the break-down or inadequate implementation of the democratic concept which accords equality of rights and expects equality of obligations. Hope for postwar Jews and, indeed, for all mankind is that inequalities which have obtained in the past shall be permanently removed; and that national and international provisions and sanctions will make impossible a continuation or revival of differential treatment. Yet this very objective, for which in part this war is being fought, is violated in the White Paper.

There is yet time to correct this injustice and to reaffirm in ringing terms the principle of equality of opportunity. Sympathy for the victims of Nazi terror calls for the cancellation of so grievous # discrimination. Fidelity to the traditions of democracy and equality which animate the British people, the American people and freedom loving peoples everywhere, calls for the abrogation of # document that projects into the future the very evils and inequities against which the whole civilized world has risen in arms.

We are not unmindful of the nationalist conflict that led to the issuance of the White Paper. Our Statement of Principles declared, "We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Palestine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood, Palestine would today be harboring more refugees from Nazi terror."

The part played by Jewish nationalism, by the Zionist contention for political power, is made clear in the very White Paper that we oppose. Those who read the White Paper in its entirety will find the record of a long history of controversy deriving from nationalist claims, although the British Government time and again, made it

clear that ""national home" was not synonymous with Jewish National State. In the face of such declarations, Zionists extended rather than modified their demands that the rights of Jews in Palestine be based upon acceptance of a so-called "Jewish State." This was done in the Biltmore Platform and again in the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference. Such demands have only exacerbated an already serious situation.

We stand at mcross-roads of decision, at a time of indescribable tragedy for our co-religionists in Axis Europe. Are we to be occupied with the creation of a Jewish National State? Or are we to be concerned with human lives, the lives of harassed and driven lews?

We believe it a crucial wrong to confuse the two. One is a contention for a political ideology. The other is me battle for the elementary rights of men.

At the same time that we appeal that the unjust provisions of the White Paper be annulled, we call upon American Jews to organize in strength, out of deep concern for oppressed Jews everywhere, behind non-nationalistic program to deal with the total Jewish problem. Beyond the abrogation of the White Paper lies the need for a basic solution. That solution, we believe, can come only when there is world wide recognition of the rights of Jews to full equality. It can come in Palestine only when the pretentions to Jewish Statehood are abandoned and we seek instead freedom of migration opportunity based on incontestable rights and not on special privilege. The declaration of our Statement of Principles is beyond challenge from any quarter, "We look forward to the ultimate establishment of democratic autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestineans whose religion is Judaism even an we are Americans whose religion is

(Published in the Information Bulletin of the Council of January 15, 1944)

We invite readers of The Nation to send us their opinions and to communicate with us on our program.

#### THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM. INC.

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forces and placed the Ceda in power with the army at its back.

Again and again this sheer wrong-headedness involves Madariaga in consecutive contradictions. Trying to absolve the Ceda of the charge of brutal repression he says of the Cabinet of 1934, "The fact remains that this government of conservatives and clericals did not take one single life of the leaders of the revolt [of October, 1934]." Yet on the next page he writes that in January, 1935, there was a Cabinet crisis over the Ceda's demand for execution of those sentenced to death. The simple historical fact, of which Madariaga is perfectly aware, is that because Lerroux would not consent to the executions Gil Robles resigned and brought down the government. As a consequence, in the next coalition Cabinet the Ceda was far stronger, and a "reform" of the constitution became its main consideration.

One of the changes proposed by the Ceda was intended to render the agrarian reform impossible. That the author knows this is apparent. Yet he writes that the Ceda's intention was merely an "attenuation of the drastic powers of expropriation of private property." (Article 44 of the constitution permits the taking over of large estates upon payment of compensation by the state.)

But it would be tiresome to attempt to unravel all the curious knots and tangles which Señor Madariaga in his cold passion for neutrality has tied. His capacity to judge the Ceda correctly provides the test of his solution. Land reform is vital to Spain. He is aware of it. The landowners and their parties are utterly intransigent in their refusal to yield. Señor Madariaga knows this also, If this is so, how is a cold and minimal republicanism of the kind he advocates to deal with this situation? He must know that in December, 1935, the Ceda, at the command of the landlords, again brought down a government in which it had a part rather than increase death duties from 1 to 3½ per cent. Yet the meaning of his advice is that the republicans should commit their country's fortunes to that same sector of opinion.

There can be only one final opinion. The vast learning, the illumination in unessential matters, the very evident anguish with which Señor Madariaga writes of Spain's misfortunes have all been deprived of their effect by this shrinking from reality. "Spain" is a book that should be on every specialist's shelf, but it will be useful as a guide only to that strange wraith who writes editorials on Spain for the New York Times.

STAGE PLAY



"A definite hit . . . gay, glib, daffy — enormously funny."

-Morehouse, Sun.

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OVER TWENTY-ONE

#### DRAMA

'HEKHOV'S plays are wrought with great skill and care. So complete and profound was his knowledge of the people and society he wrote about that the end product is distillation rather than document. But the live power of the plays, like that of lyric poetry, comes from a charge of emotion which sets up an infrangible arc of tensionand fills the simplest lines, the most casual remarks, the most quiet situations with light and meaning. The wonder is that he can sustain a dozen characters through two hours of at least seemingly ordinary, often colloquial, talk, and by means of it summon up a world which takes on for us so much reality and vested emotional interest.

At the moment the further wonder is that the iridescent, fragile web of "The Cherry Orchard" is so closely and firmly woven, so tough, that it even withstands the pulling and hauling it gets at the hands of its latest producers.

Most of the characters in "The Cherry Orchard" are eccentric. But their eccentricity, it seems hardly necessary to say, is all of a piece with the world they spring from. What is even more important, they are all encompassed in Chekhov's feeling about that world. He loved it, but his writing gets edge not only from the fact that he knew it was dying but that he could not, despite his love, wish it to survive. The fun he makes of his characters is made within this context. With the Epihodovs, the Pistchiks, the Leonids, the Charlottas he is very gentle. With the Yashas and the Lopahins he is more ruthless. They are pathetic because they are caught between two worlds, and they have the worst traits of both, but they are firmly established in the new world and reconciled to it. With Trofimov he is again gentle because Trofimov is the perpetual student, the idealist who must commit himself to the future as idea yet will never be at home among "the villa residents" of any Cherry Orchard develop-

This may seem too elementary to set down. But in the present production Yasha, Epihodov, Leonid, and Charlotta are made merely funny, sometimes grotesque—and therefore extraneous and really irrelevant. Yasha resembles a character that James Cagney might play—it would have been even more sensational of course if Cagney could have been persuaded. You might run across Epihodov in any musical show, Leonid

is simply made m fool of by Joseph Schildkraut—or is it vice versa? Charlotta is m clown. All are wrenched out of their proper place and proportion. Chekhov's wit is blown up into burlesque, the play pulled out of shape, its texture and tone violated again and again. In the worst scene of all the flirtation between Yasha and the eager Dunyasha is "modernized" into a cheap encounter that might take place in any park on any maid's day off.

Fortunately Madame Ranevsky (Miss LeGallienne), Anya (Lois Hall), Varya (Katherine Emery), and in lesser degree Trofimov (Eduard Franz) have been allowed to cleave to Chekhov. Among them they manage to preserve the spirit of "The Cherry Orchard" despite the chopping, with up-to-date axes, that goes on about them.

Joseph Wood Krutch has described Chekhov's mood as elegiac. I should underline that comment by adding that it is not nostalgic. Between these two moods lies the difference that makes Chekhov's plays endure. His particular world in decay takes on a generic dimension, and for all its local color "The Cherry Orchard" continues to be relevant a well as beautiful.

MARGARET MARSHALL

N. B.: Again I overheard the old remark that nothing happens in "The Cherry Orchard." Nothing happens except that a world comes to an end. M. M.

#### FILMS

THE MIRACLE OF MORGAN'S Creek," the new Preston Sturges film, seems to me funnier, more adventurous, more abundant, more intelligent, and more encouraging than anything that has been made in Hollywood for years. Yet the more I think of it, the less I esteem it. I have, then, both to praise and defend it, and to attack it.

The essential story is hardly what you would expect to see on an American screen: a volcanically burgeoning small-town girl (Betty Hutton) gets drunk and is impregnated by one of several soldiers, she can't remember which; her father (William Demarest), her younger sister (Diana Lynn), and her devoted 4-F lover (Eddie Bracken) do all they can to help her out; the result is a shambles, from which they are delivered by a "miracle" which entails its own cynical comments on the sanctity of law, order, parent-

hood, and the American home-to sav nothing of a number of cherished pseudo-folk beliefs about bright-lipped youth, childhood sweethearts, Mister Right, and the glamour of war. Sturges tells this story according to a sound principle which has been neglected in Hollywood-except by him-for a long time: in proportion to the inanity and repressiveness of the age you live in, play the age as comedy if you want to get away with murder. The girl's name, Trudy Kockenlocker, of itself relegates her to a comic-strip world in which nothing need be regarded as real; the characters themselves are extremely stylized-a skipping little heifer, a choleric father, an updated Florence Atwater, a classical all-American dope; and the wildly factitious story makes comic virtues of every censor-dodging necessity. Thanks to these devices the Hays office has been either hypnotized into a liberality for which it should be thanked, or has been raped in its sleep.

Having set up these formalized characters, each in a different comic key, and this thin-ice version of the story he is really telling, Sturges has just begun. He also doubles the characters on their own trails, into sharp pathos, into slapstick (some of which falls flat), into farce as daftly unsettling as being licked to death by a lioness, to the edge of tragi-comedy, and into moments of comedy which could emerge only from their full quality as human beings. He plays every twist of his story for sharp

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# TO THE MEN in the Armed Forces

realism as well as laughs; his small-town doctor, banker, lawyer, and, most notably, Porter Hall as a justice of the peace are bits of comic realism finely graded against the chameleon-like principals. Above all, Sturges carries farther than he has ever done before his bold blends and clashes of comic and realistic angles of attack. In a typically fine scene on Christmas Eve, when Trudy's pregnancy has developed the comicemotional portentousness of a delayedaction bomb, he manages to sustain an atmosphere of really tender pathos and, at the same time, (1) to cue in "Silent Night," (2) to show irate Constable Kockenlocker hammering the hell out of a recalcitrant Christmas star, (3) to let him comfort his restive daughter with the noble reminder (deleted the second time I saw the film) "You may be waiting for the President of the United States," and (4) to cap that, for Bethlemayhem, by having young Emily inquire, gently, what that cow is doing in the kitchen.

Besides resonating many traditions of comedy against a firm basic realism, the film rests on an apparently complex emotional and philosophic base which seems to me not really complex but simply mature, being-on its smaller scale-at once as nihilistic as Céline, at least as deeply humane as Dickens, and at all times inviolably, genuinely, and intelligently gay. Excepting a few moments when Sturges forces everything too far, the film is also beautifully played, especially by William Demarest, whose performance stands with Paul Lukas's in "The Watch on the Rhine" among the finest I have seen.

But you may, I have to realize, disagree with me. I have incredulously heard some people dismiss the show as "comedy"; they should stick to something really vital and serious like "Zola." Others feel it is too frantic and too rough; it has enough mental, creative, and merely brutal energy for hundred average pictures. Others object to various errors of taste, mainly connected with making laughs out of pregnancy. Here again I partly agree; but I would rather see pregnancy remain a subject for questionable laughter than see it become taboo against any laughter at all. Still others dislike the film for its multiple attack, its shiftiness of style; but if you accept that principle in Joyce or in Picasso, you will examine with interest how brilliantly it can be applied in moving pictures and how equally promising, as

against the lovely euphonies René Clair achieved according to the same principle, astute cacaphony can be. For barring Chaplin's this seems to me the largest American attempt, on the level of full consciousness, to stir up from the bottom the whole history and possibility of moving pictures into one broth; to draw, like Clair, on the blackloam, instinctive genius of the Mack Sennett comedies: and to amuse and excite the simplest at once with the most complex customers. In fact, in the degree that this film is disliked by those who see it, whether consciously or passively, I see a measure less of its inadequacies than of the progress of that terrible softening, solemnity, and idealization which, increasing over several years, has all but put an end to the output and intake of good moving pictures in this country.

Yet the more I think about the film. the less I like it. There are too many things that Sturges, once he had won all the victories and set all the things moving which he managed to here. should have achieved unhindered. purely as a good artist; and he has not even attempted them. He is a great broken-field runner; once the field is clear he sits down and laughs. The whole tone of the dialogue, funny and bright as it often is, rests too safely within the pseudo-cute, pseudo-authentic, patronizing diction perfected by Booth Tarkington. And in the stylization of action as well as language it seems to me clear that Sturges holds his characters, and the people they comically represent, and their predicament, and his audience, and the best potentialities of his own work, essentially in contempt. His emotions, his intelligence, his aesthetic ability never fully commit themselves; all the playfulness becomes rather an avoidance of commitment than an extension of means for it. Cynicism, which gives the film much of its virtue, also has it by the throat; the nihilism, the humaneness, even the gaiety become, in that light, mere postures and tones of voices; and whereas nearly all the mischief is successful, nearly every central and final responsibility is shirked. Of course there is always the danger, in trying to meet those ultimate human and aesthetic responsibilities, of losing your gaiety; but that never happened to Mozart -or to René Clair at his best.

I mention Clair again because Sturges has so many similar abilities so richly -and because there is such a difference between the two. Whether or not he ever



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makes another film under favorable circumstances, and up to his best, Clair is one of the few great artists of this century. Sturges, in his middle forties, is still just the most gifted American working in films, vividly successful in the kind of artful-dodging which frustates Clair; hollow and evasive at those centers in which Clair is so firm. I suspect that Sturges feels that conscience and comedy are incompatible. It would be hard for a man of talent to make a more self-destructive mistake.

JAMES AGEB

#### MUSIC

HE last Toscanini recording of work of major stature was the one of Beethoven's Eighth Symphony about year and a half ago; then came recording of a piece by Samuel Barber; and now, after a year or more, comes one of the Overture to Thomas's "Mignon" (11-8545; \$1). The opera is a minor work of great charm; and its overture gives us a few of its tunes, including the famous Connais-tu le pays? and le suis Titania. Toscanini played it with the N. B. C. Symphony at the first United States Treasury broadcast after the installation of the shell that changed the acoustic conditions of Studio 8H from dead to reverberantly and harshly live; and of course broadcasting practice could not allow the piece to go out to the people of America without the way being prepared by a commentator; so there sat-of all people-Deems Taylor, who chit-chatted away while Toscanini stood waiting with obvious and increasing and justified impatience and distaste. At last Taylor finished and Toscanini could begin; and the phrases of the quiet first part emerged from the orchestra with exquisite inflections and contours that made them "as fresh and glistening as creation itself." leading eventually to the fast section, which also was freshly revealed in its sharply contoured brilliance and verve and grace. The recording, presumably made shortly afterward, reproduces the performance with superb fidelity-even to the hardness and reverberance of Studio 8H; present-day materials make the surfaces of my copy noisy.

Hargail Records has issued a recording of a Sonata for clarinet and piano by the young conductor Leonard Bernstein, performed by the composer with the clarinettist David Oppenheim (Set MW-501; \$2.50). It is facile and arid writing in a contemporary contrapuntal

style that is incoherent and dissonant; but a friend who plays the recorder remarked that the work must be fun to play. The big bold sounds that Oppenheim produces with his clarinet are appropriate to the music, and Bernstein gets good sounds out of the piano; both instruments are reproduced with lifelike fidelity and clarity; and surfaces are surprisingly quiet. On the fourth side Bernstein plays three of his "Seven Anniversaries" for piano, of which "In Memoriam: Natalie Koussevitzky" is moving in its strange way, and "For William Schuman" is an effective comment on the Schuman method. Perhaps the nervous rushing about in "For My Sister Shirley" also has point for those who know sister Shirley. The surface of this side, surprisingly, is noisy.

Of the few records of jazz that have come in recently only one is worth mentioning—that of the Benny Goodman Quartet performance of "The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise" (Columbia 36684), and this one not for Goodman's own twittering but for the exciting brilliance of the unnamed pianist who I would guess is Mel Powell.

For "Rigoletto" the Metropolitan seated me in row Z where only frag-

ments of the orchestra's sound reached me from time to time. For Bellini's "Norma," on the other hand, I was placed in the second row right behind the bass-drum, cymbals, and brass, where my ears were battered to deafness whenever things got majestic and emphatic, and where I got a close look at things that were better seen from distance and better still not seen at all: the pieces of forest stuck against faded blue-gray cloth sky, and the rest of the Metropolitan's Druid temples and sacred woods (bringing to mind Shaw's description of a Prologue to Boito's "Mefistofele" with "the empty stage and the two ragged holes in a cloth which realize Mr. Harris's modest conception of hell and heaven"); the arms of invisible prompters and stage managers gesticulating to the "Druids, Bards, Priestesses, and Warriors" as they crowded on and off the stage; the absurd posturings and gestures and facial expressions of the principals.

But amid all this there were moments of impressive, affecting illusion, when the tedious stretches of recitative gave way to one of Bellini's great melodies sung by Zinka Milanov. This singer has an extraordinarily beautiful voice, but apparently an insecure method of

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production which will cause her to go through most of a performance of "Don Giovanni" with a tremolo so strong as to obscure pitch, and then suddenly to begin to produce tones that are steady and opulent; and only a few days before the "Norma" performance I had heard her sing in the broadcast of "Un Ballo in Maschera" with tremolo-ridden stridency which had seemed to indicate that the method had damaged the voice. But on the night of this particular performance of "Norma" she had control and security which enabled her to meet every superhuman demand of Bellini's writing with singing that was phenomenal not only in the purity and beauty of the individual tones but in their phraseological continuity and style. Tremolo and stridency appeared momentarily only when dramatic emphasis in the recitatives caused her to force (a former opera-singer remarked that the Metropolitan's singers acquire tremolos from forcing to make themselves heard over the orchestra: to which I answered that they force rather to make themselves heard in the huge and acoustically bad auditorium).

There was also good singing by Bruna Castagna, though her voice has lost its sumptuousness of several years ago, and by Norman Cordon; there was Frederick Jagel's brassy tenor; there was the beautiful voice of Thelma Votipka, which left me wondering again at the Metropolitan rule that bars her from any role requiring her to be heard for more than a total of five minutes. And there was excellent conducting by Cesare Sodero. B. H. HAGGIN

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# Letters to the Editors

#### A Letter from Litchfield

Dear Sirs: O Little Polemic . . . (Picayune). You must have been badly off for material for your issue of December 25. I wonder what you hoped to accomplish by publishing the article O Little Town . . . (Restricted). Or was it just your manner of wishing Litchfield a Merry Christmas?

It is easy enough to see why the author might write the article. We could hardly expect her, a Southerner, to love the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I understand that the South has never quite forgiven the writer of that very effective, if not quite fair, piece of propaganda. So it is not hard to imagine that your Miss Whitman may have derived some sort of sadistic satisfaction from smearing the birthplace of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Why The Nation should cooperate, I would not know.

My part as an unwitting collaborator consisted of a casual conversation with strange lady caller who seemed only to have a legitimate and proper interest In this historical community. There was no suggestion that material was being sought for the purpose of publication until the aforesaid lady was about to leave, when she said something to the effect that, if an article appeared, I would not be quoted.

As a matter of fact she kept her promise not to quote me pretty well. The alleged quotations are so distorted, embellished, and colored to produce the kind of story she obviously wanted to write about Litchfield that they in effect become misquotations. I am as sure as one can well be so long after the event that I did not say some of the things in the way they are reported; and that several things were said that are not reported at all.

Altogether it does not add up to any adequate or serious view which I now hold, or have ever held, on the questions discussed.

Since my visitor took no notes while we talked, she could hardly be expected to report our conversation accurately, even if she wanted to do so, unless she has a really remarkable memocy. That her capacity for remembering is not so remarkable is apparent. She sates that the service flag in the Congregational church has forty stars. The correct number is twenty-three, and it was less than that last summer. She also says that the present church building is older than the Beecher church. That also is not true. These are small things, but enough to show that your reporter does not have a good memory either for what she sees or what she hears.

No one here would deny that there is anti-Jewish prejudice in our community. But I am sure that *The Nation's* article lacks much of being a correct appraisal of the situation. I very much doubt whether the Jews—there is more than one—who participate in our community life will appreciate your solicitude, or thank you for your sympathy. And to say that men like Bernard Baruch and Herbert Lehman could not live here sounds pretty silly to this writer.

If The Nation, or its reporter from the Sunny South, knows of some quick and easy solution for this problem, you ought to tell the world at once, beginning with your own home town, where, according to the newspapers, this matter, as well as the colored question, is long way from settlement. I cannot feel that your Christmas article will prove helpful in correcting any of the faults of your neighbor to the north and east. At least one citizen will be inclined to be less friendly and hospitable to strangers until he finds out what they are after. And if all this free advertising you have given our community should encourage people with anti-Semitic views to settle here-already matter of speculation-our last state will be worse than our first.

I take the liberty to suggest that the editor of *The Nation* and its reporter on our little town take the time to dust off a volume of ancient Jewish writings—more ancient than Lyman Beecher, and reputed to be wise, exceedingly wise; and wherein it is written, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

Litchfield, Conn., January 10

#### Miss Whitman Answers Back

Dear Sirs: It is only fair to T. B. A. to say at once that I do have I remarkable memory, well tested in interviews—usually with Southern politicians or mile owners who might be expected to repudiate any revealing utterance.

T. B. A. is at a disadvantage because he regarded our conversation about Litchfield as "casual"; I did not. Indeed. I was shocked by his careless, not to say frivolous-seeming, attitude toward the very serious subject I called to discuss. As he was not impressed by my questions, I am not surprised to find his memory now at fault. It was of course at the start, not the end, of our conversation that I told him-rather boringly. I feared-about my own writing. giving the name of the publishing house where I work and mentioning my own books and magazine articles (to which I must again refer him if he is really interested in my views on religion and Negro rights. As I was not on assignment from The Nation, I do not recall mentioning this magazine by name).

May I suggest that had I failed to explain my own status before the end of a longish talk, the conversation with a stranger would have been even less discret?

I did, of my own accord, assure T. B. A. that I would not quote directly his answers to my questions, or use his name in print; and that promise I kept "pretty well." That I did not keep it in spirit as well as in letter is due entirely to the fact that his viewpoint, na well as the information given me, came to seem a matter for public concern.

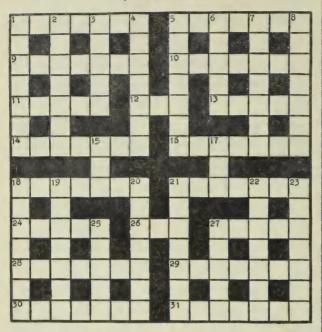
As we talked I discovered that the clergyman to whom I had come in good faith to inquire about the Litchfield attitude actually shared, rather than actively deplored, that attitude. Even now, since references to innocent persons are involved, I do not feel free to quote in full those answers to my questions which made this clear; T. B. A. is right in saying that "several things were said that are not reported at all." I realized that the answers were given by mususpicious man who had, he told me, just returned from a four months' vacation.

But the substance of those answers



### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 50

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- This sails without sails
- 5 May throw some light on one sort of lace
- 9 Irreverent, and with the forces of darkness well in the van
- 10 "There ain't no such animal"!
  11 You may feel fed up when it's empty
- 12 Father—and short as usual 13 One from Ben Bolt made Alice weep
- with delight 14 Get out of hand (two words, 8
- and 4) 16 Rare cry (anag.)
- 18 Crazy about an island. This doesn't
- this you, surely!
- 21 Theirs is grave work
  24 To follow your parent closely is
  something to lay down tenaciously
  26 The old god with the goa's feet
  27 Character in The Tempest
- Southey wrote of this school in The Vision of Judgment I parted from her (The Winter's
- "He saw; but blasted with excess of light, Closed his eyes in -----night" (Gray)
- 31 A light-headed individual

#### DOWN

- 1 He commands 1 Across, so skip the first part
- 2 Pope wrote of -----ing a thing till all men doubt it
- 3 It sounds more of a cow than a kind of deer

- 4 A desired change
- 5 Heaven's artillery 6 Liars in confusion
- 7 A man from Indiana 8 Where Hamlet told Ophelia to go
- 15 Hard water
- 17 One over the eight
- 18 She makes dresses after a fashion
- 19 Those who are near this suffer from
- faulty vision
  20 There's a whole epic in pictures
  21 A freckle (two words, 3 and 4) Something like mouth (or if ice is
- needed, you can easily get that!) I am here with assistance (hyphen,
- 4 and 3)
- Diminutive of Hannah With this missile an English artist turns his back on a disturbance

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 43

ACROSS:-1 FLAGS; | HOIST; 7 MENU; 0 ORISON; 10 REGAL; 12 BESS; 13 ODES; 15 MELODIC; 17 LASCAR; 18 CRUISE; 19 USA; 21 HABITAT; 23 SUMATRA 24 ERA; 26 UPLIFT; 28 SLATER; 31 FRECKLE; 32 SEAL; 35 PAIN; 36 ADAGE; 37 INDOOR; 38 SAVE; 39 TANKS; 40 EVENT.

DOWN:-1 FURS; 2 ANSWER; 3 SENIORS; 4 HEROIC; I IAGO; I TALE; 7 MABEL; 8 NOSES; 11 ADDICT; 14 SHEBA; 15 MASTIFF; 16 CRUMPLE; 19 UTE; 20 ASA; 21 HOURS; 22 BALLAD; 25 RECLINE; 27 TRIERS; 28 SLEDGE; 29 TIARA; 30 RANGE; 33 EAST; 34 LAWN; 35 POST.

was too important to be suppressed. And after the formal interview ended, when T. B. A. as a polite host accompanied me to his front steps, he volunteered the remark which I considered myself not only free but obligated to quote: "Shall we say, next time you come we hope you won't find North Street full of Jews?"

Real reporters do not flourish notebooks, but I did, I admit, write that down carefully as soon as I turned the North Street corner. I quoted it exactly as I would have quoted a Nazi authority who might have received me with equal politeness: because there is a war on, war of ideas about religion and "race," in which no revelation of enemy viewpoint can be picayune.

As for inaccuracies in local color, I must confess that I took the word of a Litchfield Episcopalian about the number of stars in the Congregational service flag, and of a guidebook about the age of the church. Litchfield citizens and · check of the telephone book supplied information about Jewish residents, and until more specific facts are forthcoming I stand by the statement that Jews, plural, do not "participate" in the "community life" of Litchfield.

Indeed, is not the most interesting thing about T. B. A.'s letter the fact that he does not deny, specifically, strongly, or indignantly, any of my statements about Litchfield's prejudices-or his

As for his fear lest "all this free advertising you have given our community should encourage people with anti-Semitic views to settle here," if it is true that this is "already a matter of speculation" surely Litchfield propertyholders know what to do. Does T. B. A. mean to say that those who will not sell to Jews will welcome anti-Semitic settlers to North Street?

WILLSON WHITMAN

New York, January 15

#### It's There Now

Dear Sirs: I wrote Mr. Haggin recently that the Chicago Public Library did not carry such books as Tovey's "Essays in Musical Analysis" to combat the influence of Ewen and the like. I protested this directly to the library last summer, but received no acknowledgment; today, consulting the card file, I was pleased to discover that Tovey's "Essays" had been acquired on September CARL F. SCHMID

Chicago, Ill., January 18

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

MR. WILLKIE'S SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK Times Hall is being disparaged by enemies in his own party as "purely political" on the one hand and "politically crazy" on the other. He was, however, demonstrating his belief that the American people are adult enough to take their medicine unsweetened. This doctrine is of course scorned on Capitol Hill, but Mr. Willkie may prove to be as right in his assumption that the electorate is looking for candid leadership as he certainly is in advocating much heavier taxes during the war. Unfortunately, he weakened the effect of his proposals by lapsing into vagueness on the all-important question of how the additional load is to be distributed. And he can also be legitimately criticized for not speaking up for higher taxes months ago. At the time Congress started work on the current tax bill his speech would have been much more valuable than it is now just as the finishing touches are being given to a lamentably inadequate measure. However, Mr. Willkie's speech was certainly a more substantial contribution to the problems of our time than anything his current rivals have to offer. We welcome particularly his emphasis on the indivisibility of domestic and foreign policies, and in this connection we should like to call his attention to the article by Harold Laski on page 180 of this issue. While we do not expect him to agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Laski's thesis that the American mythology of "free enterprise" is one of the greatest menaces to world peace and prosperity, we believe he has grasped some of the limitations of private capitalism. Mr. Willkie has a chance to talk candidly on this subject during his visit to the Northwest, where public power is a burning issue. We hope he will not muff it even though it means another "politically crazy" speech.

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WHETHER OR NOT SOLDIERS WILL HAVE A full opportunity to vote next November remains uncertain as we write. In the House, the Eastland-Rankin "states' rights" bill, which leaves service men at the mercy of forty-eight different systems of absentee balloting, many of them completely unsatisfactory, was passed by a fairly large majority. The Republican strategists, deciding that they had more to lose, after the President's challenge, by ducking the issue than by standing up to be counted, whipped their men into line

so vigorously that only 11 voted against the bill while 180, joined by 52 Democrats, mostly Southerners, supported it. In the Senate, however, a motion to take up the Eastland-Rankin bill was lost by a tie, so that the Green-Lucas measure, which provides for a federal ballot, still holds the field. What will finally emerge from the heated halls of the Capitol is anybody's guess, but no matter what the outcome, Mr. Roosevelt seems to have been presented with a magnificent issue for 1944. There is every evidence that an overwhelming majority of the American people, regardless of political affiliations, believes that everything possible should be done to permit the men who are risking their lives for their country to have something to say about its future. Despite their constitutional double-talk, the Republicans have been unable to conceal their almost hysterical fear that, given a chance, a majority of service men will vote for a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt. Perhaps this fear is well founded, but we should not like to be in the shoes of the Republican candidate when he tries to explain his party's actions on this question to the American public.

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OUR EXPEDIENCY POLICY IN ITALY HAS become so manifestly inexpedient that there may be some truth in the persistent reports that it is about to be revised. According to some of the stories, the State Department is ready to write off King Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio is a dead loss although the Allied military authorities in the Mediterranean still believe that there is something to be gained by keeping them. Asked to comment on these rumors, the President told his press conference once again that this country could not decide for the Italians what the future form of their government should be-that they must do for themselves. The fact is that but for our decision the royal government would have been ousted long ago. The King and Badoglio are our puppets, and, manipulate them as we will, they cannot even give an imitation of governing. Thus our continued support of the King's regime only reduces Allied prestige in Italy, while his undignified clutching at the skirts of the AMG increases both his unpopularity and that of his House. According to John MacCormac, writing in the New York Times. Washington is now ready to abandon both Emmanuel and Prince Humbert and attempt the regency solution. It seems too late for this compromise. A few months ago the democratic forces in Italy might have accepted it. But at the recent Congress of Political Parties at Bari both Count Sforza and Croce, while denouncing the King with increased fervor, pointedly omitted any reference to a regency.

WE CANNOT SHARE THE INDIGNATION OF the Catholic press, duly echoed by the neophytes of the New York *Times*, at *Izvestid's* attack on the Vatican. Considering the unmeasured terms in which the Soviet government has been denounced, year in and year out, by Catholic spokesmen, a retort discourteous was hardly surprising. And while Izvestid's condemnation of the Vatican's foreign policy as consistently pro-fascist is. perhaps, somewhat exaggerated, the truth is that the church, despite a good many veiled scoldings of Nazis and Fascists, has at moments of crisis leaned in their direction. It is not, perhaps, that the Pope dislikes Nazism less but that he fears communism more. Hitler and Mussolini, for all their paganism, have at times been ready to pay lip-service to the faith and have been willing to sign agreements with the Vatican which left it some of its spiritual authority, not to mention control of its property. The Soviets, until very recently, have been antireligious in both word and deed. Moreover, since there are practically no Roman Catholics in Russia, where the Greek orthodox church has a monopoly, there was no Papal stake at issue which would have made worth while the kind of compromises that Rome reached with the fascist dictators. Towards the end of last year there were many rumors of a pending agreement between the Vatican and Moscow, but if serious negotiations were ever attempted they have obviously broken down. One difficult hurdle to surmount was the Polish question, since Poland has always been a faithful province of the Catholic Church. Another obstacle, paradoxically enough, may have been the reconciliation between the Soviet government and the Greek Orthodox Church, for this rival creed is almost as heretical in Catholic eyes as Bolshevism

ALLIED RELATIONS WITH SPAIN, STRAINED by a series of overt and outrageous acts in support of Hitler, are again simmering down to normal. The protests of the British and American governments, backed up by oil sanctions, which for a few days seemed to indicate a new and stiffer attitude toward the Spanish dictator, are now apparently being disposed of by more promises. Franco offers "strict neutrality." Sir Samuel Hoare reports that all differences are being satisfactorily settled. Behind these empty words lies the fact that Britain and the United States are still clinging to their relations with Spain. They emphasize solemnly that they never expected Franco to break with Germany; all they ask is an end to Nazi sabotage and spying in Spain and to Franco's open aid to Germany in the form of goods and credits. They want, too, the release of the Italian ships tied up in Spanish ports. We can assume that Franco will grant these modest requests, with perhaps some compromise regarding the ships. But we can be certain that his aid to Hitler will go on. Promises are all the Allies will get, but if these promises satisfy the Foreign Office and the State Department they do not satisfy the Russian government. A new rift between the western Allies and the Soviet Union will soon develop if Britain and the United States continue their relations with this avowed enemy of Russia.

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THE LAG IN OUTPUT OF AVIATION GAS IS being blamed on labor shortages in the hearings on the Austin-Wadsworth national-service bill. This is a gross distortion of the record. Standard Oil, while helping to build an aviation-gas plant for the Nazis and permitting a subsidiary to license a similar project for the Japanese, was reluctant to enter into commercial production in this country. So was the rest of the oil industry with the exception of Houdry. Secretary Ickes told the Truman committee in April of last year that when he urged expansion of high-octane-gas production in June of 1941 he found in army-navy circles "a really baffling lack of understanding of the vital essentiality of 100-octane." He was unable to obtain semi-official requirements figures until May, 1942, and these were out of date when he got them. Steel plate for the aviation gas plants was delivered by WPB in "a harum-scarum manner." There was no mandatory scheduling of critical components for the plants until December, 1942. Lack of a consistent occupational-deferment policy caused "a frightening drain ... upon the technical talent of the industry." The need today is for construction workers. It is hard to understand why this cannot be met, since construction employment has declined from a peak of 2,000,000 to 700,000, and the A. F. of L. declares it has filled every request for construction workers made to it by the armed services.

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THE AVIATION-GAS PROGRAM MIGHT BE much farther along if Standard Oil hadn't tried to hog the synthetic-rubber program. "The largest allocation in the petroleum field," our Washington editor reported on September 19, 1942, "goes to Standard, which has a new and still-to-be-tested process for making butadiene from butylene. Unlike butane, butylene can only be obtained by cracking processes, and it is needed for aviation gas." That article, a critical analysis of the Baruch report, argued the superiority of the alcohol process for making synthetic rubber. Events have confirmed that view. Vast amounts of steel, critical components, and butylene, which might better have gone into aviation-gas production, were diverted to rubber-from-petroleum plants, which have proved a disappointment. The syntheticrubber program depends more and more on alcohol. In the last quarter of last year only a fourth of our synthetic rubber came from petroleum. This year the WPB plans to use 328,000,000 gallons of alcohol for rubber manufacture as compared with 127,000,000 gallons last year. Under other circumstances the synthetic-rubber program might well have been the equivalent of a major military disaster. We should like to see the Truman or Gillette committee tell the country just what happened.

## The Attack on HOLC

S HYPOCRITICAL and greedy a campaign as any being waged in Washington is that led by Representative Dirksen against the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Although the slogans used are to "reduce non-war expenditures" and "safeguard private enterprise," the purpose is to permit a few lending institutions to grab the HOLC's profitable mortgages and leave the government holding the bag with the rest. A powerful lobby headed by H. Morton Bodfish, \$20,000-a-year president of the United States Savings and Loan League, was behind Dirksen's bill to force hurried liquidation of the HOLC last year. This bogged down in the Senate after the HOLC testified that such a move would cost the government about \$373,000,000 in mortgage losses. Another legislative measure of this kind is expected to be introduced within a few weeks in the wake of the report just made to Congress by John H. Fahey, the Federal Home Loan Bank Commissioner.

Mr. Fahey cannot be accused of speaking as a New Dealer without practical business experience. He is . former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He reports that the HOLC is already 58 per cent liquidated and pleads that liquidation can be completed without loss to the government if it is permitted to continue on the orderly lines laid down in the original Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act in 1933. It is not irrelevant to recall that the HOLC not only saved thousands of home-owners from foreclosure in the early days of the New Deal but also rescued the banks and other lending institutions which had been holding wobbly mortgages. Some of these lenders, says the Fahey report, "seem to believe that the only purpose of the HOLC was to bail them out of their poor mortgages, enabling them to put the cash received into good loans and then to take back their relinquished mortgages after the government had spent millions in making them safe. They seek easy profits regardless of the public interest."

However framed, each of the proposals for quick liquidation of the HOLC would, in effect, hand over the sound HOLC mortgages to private institutions and leave the government with the bad ones. This is hardly a way to "reduce non-war expenditures." Until now, the HOLC has been able to use earnings on its good mortgages as an offset against losses on the bad. As a result its net realized loss today is little more than \$65,000,000, as compared with the eventual losses of a half-billion to a billion dollars which were predicted when the HOLC was established. A loss of \$65,000,000 on a "rescue" investment of \$3,484,000,000 is less than 2 per cent, and Fahey indicates that even this can be wiped out if the HOLC is allowed to liquidate the holdings in slow and orderly fashion.

The case for the HOLC is not merely the case for businesslike procedure in handling a government investment. There are thousands of home-owners, most of them good risks, whose homes would be endangered by sudden liquidation of the HOLC. "A great number of HOLC mortgages," Fahey points out, "are not attractive to lending institutions because of their small balances, extended terms, and scattered location in remote communities, which increases the cost of servicing." These mortgagors would suffer if forced to find commercial lenders to replace their HOLC loans. As it is, some thousands of HOLC borrowers have already been misled into arranging new loans by false reports that the HOLC was soon to be liquidated.

In most of these cases, refinancing has been harmful. The interest rate has been higher, the terms less favorable. Study of a large number of HOLC loans transferred to private lending institutions showed that the debts had been increased by an average of \$1,500, or 78 per cent more than the balance the borrowers had owed the HOLC at the time of transfer. The houses on which these loans were made averaged over twenty-two years in age. Transfers under such conditions load borrowers with additional debt and add to war-time inflationary pressure. We hope Congress this year will not only resoit the mortgage hogs again but slap them down so resoundingly as to discourage any further campaign against the HOLC and leave its officers and its borrowers free to continue in the path of orderly liquidation.

### Soviet League of Nations

NOT even Mr. Molotov, we imagine, expects his historic speech to be taken at face value. The Soviet Foreign Minister might even be irritated if the world were to believe that the decentralization of a mighty nation was being undertaken overnight merely in order to oil its administrative machinery for the future or to pay a political reward to a fighting people.

Both these purposes may well be present, but they hardly rate a measure which by its scope, potentialities, and timing was bound to rock the political world and inspire endless speculation on the eve of the Allied invasion. In the first place, the proposed decentralization would surely not increase Soviet efficiency in the midst of gigantic military operations, and there is probably no intention of effecting the change immediately. In other words, if administrative reform were all that was involved, the announcement would have been held up and not allowed to strain a diplomatic situation already tense. As for the "reward" theory, there are ways in which the Soviet leaders could expand the freedom of their people short of setting up sixteen separate armies and sixteen foreign ministries, complete with dip-

lomats. The average Azerbaijanian or Uzbek might, for example, prefer some of the more personal freedoms mentioned in the Soviet constitution but held in trust pending his coming of age.

Molotov himself emphasized the "international significance" of the move, which he described as being "of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity." Its great importance can hardly be denied, but we find it difficult to accept Molotov's assurance that it "will constitute a new moral and political blow at fascism." On the contrary, like other recent Soviet diplomatic maneuvers, it is more likely to raise questions concerning Russian intentions than to bridge the ancient gaps between the Soviets and their Western allies.

We do not take seriously the theory that the move is designed to give the Soviet Union sixteen votes at the peace table or in some future association of nations. Power politics rests on power more than on politics, and this kind of arithmetical juggling would be both unnecessary and childish. There are several ways, however, in which the new formula might well enhance the Soviet's international position and profoundly affect the nature of the peace.

Most obvious and not least important, the establishment of sixteen separate foreign offices will give the Soviets a flexibility which may prove highly convenient, enabling the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, for example, to make a treaty with Turkey for which the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic might take no responsibility. More fundamentally-and perhaps this is the real inspiration of the arrangement—the formula would seem designed to remove from the realm of international discussion the issue of the Baltic states, Karelia, and Moldavia, an issue between Russia and the Anglo-American powers which is almost as thorny as the Polish question. Should the Washington and London governments choose to discuss the independence of, say Estonia, Mr. Molotov can politely refer them to the Foreign Minister of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Estonia, who will doubtless inform the Western governments that his state is already independent and sovereign, that it has its own army, and that it is even willing to exchange diplomats; that, in short, the Western powers need have no further concern about Estonian independence.

There is a good possibility that the Western powers may even welcome this trick solution of a problem which they are powerless to solve any other way. The dangerous aspect of the development is that what a Russian-controlled Estonian government can do, a Communist-dominated Yugoslavia of the future might also do, or a Communist-dominated Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, or Rumania. In short, the way has been opened for a Soviet League of Nations which would require

no strong-arm methods of acquisition on the part of the Russians. In this way a powerful Russian sphere of influence could be established in Eastern Europe at the expense of a broader international organization in which spheres of influence would disappear.

It is entirely possible that no such development will occur. But as long as it may occur, the Russians will hold one more trump card in a hand already rich with trumps. We do not believe that the Soviets are committed to such a course, but rather that they are preparing themselves, and magnificently, for any and every exigency. This approach is characteristic of Soviet diplomacy in the past three years. The German Committee in Moscow was another such trump held in reserve. When it became apparent that the Allies meant business about a second front, the card was not played. Unfortunately, each time one of the great powers seeks security reinsurance against a failure of the United Nations Mutual Protection Association, the others feel obliged to take out new policies also. Thus the Soviet Sixteen may be regarded as a reply to moves for an extension of the British sphere of influence forecast in the recent speech of General Smuts. These in turn find inspiration in the new nationalism prevalent in this country and in expansionist tendencies in Moscow. It is clear that the approach to an international organization by way of a "nuclear alliance" of the great powers cannot hope to make headway as long as it is accompanied by simultaneous drives toward the acquisition of spheres of influence. No wonder the small states are bewildered, when at one and the same time they are being invited to adhere to a universal security plan and to enter one or another planetary power group.

# Pacific Strategy

THE powerful and successful attack which has been delivered against the Marshall Islands is a further indication that Allied strategy at this stage of the war envisions a major offensive directly across the Pacific by American sea power, supplemented by minor drives from the South Pacific, Burma, and possibly the Aleutians. This conception of Pacific strategy is so different from that commonly expected six or eight months ago, when a major drive from Burma was widely discussed, that its advantages and disadvantages are well worth examining. The chief advantage at this stage of a direct drive across the Pacific-striking successively at the Gilberts, Marshalls, Carolines, and the Philippines-is that of supply. It was possible to assemble the tremendous striking force used in the attack on Kwajalein Atoll only because the battle fleet was operating directly from its main supply base at Pearl Harbor. Seizure of the Marshalls, with their moderately good harbors, will strengthen

our supply lines for subsequent advances and will also help us in the South Pacific. This strategy promises quick results; if successful it will cut Japan's lifeline to Singapore and the East Indies. Another advantage of the directly-across-the-Pacific strategy is that it constantly places the Japanese in a position where they must either give up important tactical positions or risk a naval showdown under conditions favorable to the American fleet. This risk is a grave one for the Japanese, for if their navy is smashed they will have lost the war.

Prior to the attack on the Marshalls the chief drawback to a program of direct assault across the Pacific was thought to be its cost in lives. The heavy price paid for Tarawa had a sobering effect on the advocates of this strategy, but the apparent ease with which Kwajalein was seized has shown that where preparations are adequate the cost can be minimized. It must be recognized, however, that as the offensive approaches Formosa and the main Japanese islands the across-the-Pacific strategy will face serious difficulties. Our supply lines will be greatly extended while those of the enemy will be extremely short. And even when we succeed in winning back the Philippines, we shall still be too far from Japan for effective bombing of its main islands.

It was doubtless with this limitation in mind that Admiral Nimitz recently declared that in his opinion "Japan will be defeated from China." From the beginning it has been apparent that China is the logical site for bases from which to launch regular day-afterday air attacks on the Japenese mainland. It was because of this fact that many experts assumed some months ago that the main offensive this winter would be directed against Burma with a view to opening up supply lines to China. Actually, the operations in Burma have been of an extremely minor character-the chief effort, apparently, being centered in North Burma, where a new road to China is being hacked through the jungle. But since no one would pretend that this road, even in conjunction with stepped-up air transport, would be sufficient to supply major American air forces in China, it may be assumed that we are not contemplating any extensive use of Chinese bases in 1944.

One reason for this delay may be political. So far all American air operations in China have been confined to the south. While our South China bases are within range of Formosa and the main ship lanes to the South Pacific, they are useless for attacks on Japan itself. For such attacks bases in North China are essential, but it happens that areas of Free China most suitable for the purpose are in "communist" territory, and so far Chungking has not permitted its allies to establish military posts in the regions under the control of the Eighth Route Army. Until this political obstacle is cleared away, it will be impossible to make full use of China's potentialities.

# The Cartel Cancer

BY I. F. STONE

Washington February 4

HERE cartels exist, "competition is not eliminated, but regulated. Competition in quality, efficiency, and service takes the place of the crude method of price-cutting." This nonsense comes from the lips of Sir Felix J. C. Pole. Sir Felix is chairman of Associated Electric Industries, Ltd., and his oleaginous description is being echoed, in a thousand variations, in the subterranean conversations going on here to the shape of the post-war world. "There are indications," says Senator Harley M. Kilgore, chairman of the subcommittee on war mobilization of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, "that even though cartel and monopoly restrictions have been partly removed during the period of active fighting, cartel and monoply thinking and planning have continued to thrive." This is putting it mildly.

The senior Senator from West Virginia and his colleagues on the subcommittee, in a series of historic hearings, have been looking into the role that cartel and monopoly restrictions play in preventing the full mobilization of our resources in war and peace. The subcommittee's special interest has been in our scientific and technological resources, that is, in brains shackled by monopoly. Today it released its first monograph, "Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels." This deserves the widest attention.

Your government, ladies and gentlemen, has the most whimsical capacity for inconsistency. Within a few blocks of each other, administrative cheek by bureaucratic jowl, one may find a Wall Street nabob busily engaged in laying the foundations for a greater monopoly than ever in his favorite industry-as a means of furthering the war effort, of course-and a \$4,500-a-year employee marshaling the evidence necessary to indict him for it. The battered citadel of the idealists is the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, a collection of poor, deluded, but tireless and exuberant warriors, slaphappy in defeat, ever hopeful that a really stiff sentence under the Sherman Act will rejuvenate a senescent "free" capitalism. Under pressure of the War and Navy departments, the WPB, and the White House, most anti-trust prosecutions have been suspended for the duration, and the Anti-Trust Division's safety valve—the boys are bursting with solid fact and honest indignation-has been to prosecute in the court of public opinion by presenting testimony to Congressional committees. The Kilgore committee is one of them, and this monograph was written for it by Corwin D. Edwards, chairman of the Anti-Trust Division's policy board.

The great value of Edwards's able monograph is that it not only presents much new material that should long ago have been offered in the courts but classifies and analyzes the mass of facts on cartels which has been presented during the past two years before the Truman, Gillette, Bone, and Kilgore committees. Here one will find the definite and exhaustive answer to Sir Felix Pole's bland apologetics. "The central purpose of cartels," Edwards says, hitting it on the nose, "is to maintain prices at levels higher than would otherwise obtain." "A price war," as I. G. Farben expressed it in a 1934 letter to Winthrop Chemical, "is of benefit only to the consumer." Those inclined to believe that cartels substitute "competition in quality, efficiency, and service" for "the crude method of price-cutting" should read the evidence presented by Edwards on the light-bulb cartel. Its principal anxiety seems to have been to produce light bulbs that would wear out sooner and to keep consumers from finding out about the economies of fluorescent lighting. This is a typical, not an exceptional, case. Cartels either stifle technological development or hog its benefits. A striking instance is that of aluminum. At the beginning of 1939 the price of ingot aluminum was almost a cent higher than it had been in 1911. Subsidized competition and an anti-trust suit brought the price down 25 per cent during the war, but profits remained so high that in 1943 the government recovered \$76,000,000 from Alcoa by renegotiation on less than \$500,000,000 in contracts.

After two generations of American experience with trusts, it would seem unnecessary to repeat these obvious observations. But the town is full of mellifluous phonies assiduously selling the idea that after this war let's have "good" cartels. One of these fellows is a Dutch executive of the N. V. Philips combine, a worldwide network of concerns manufacturing light bulbs and electrical equipment. His dulcet explanations of the need to substitute "the interests of the community" for competition are hardly distinguishable from those of the suaver Nazi theoreticians. The tip-off on his proposals is his statement that "in democratic countries, where freedom is the guiding principle, the primary parties to the [cartel] agreements should be the producers." This is "self-regulation" of business combinations on a larger scale than ever and hardly even in a new guise.

The politically epicene source of this advice—advice which can be duplicated from British and American

sources-is indicated by Edwards's revelations on what has happened to the Philips combine since the war began. This amazing story, never publicly told before, reveals that the United Nations and Axis branches of this cartel have continued to cooperate and communicate straight through the war. The American trustees, on instructions from the Nazi-controlled main office in Holland, helped a German cartel partner fight a patent suit in the Swedish courts in 1942, turned over certain patents to the Spanish branch, and swapped information with their Axis opposite numbers through a curiously overstaffed Argentine branch. Yet so ingenious are the legal devices of this cartel and so extensive is its political influence that its subsidiaries in neutral countries have not been blacklisted and its properties in countries belonging to the United Nations have not been taken over as enemy-controlled. These are the kind of lice that helped sell out Europe to Hitler and that will destroy free government elsewhere if given half a chance.

It is a mistake to believe that the cartel system was a German plot to curb American production of many vital war materials. Many of the agreements restricting output and raising prices in this country were invited by the American partner rather than initiated by the Germans. Krupp's was selling tungsten carbide here at \$50 a pound before General Electric made the cartel deal that jacked it up to \$453. The democracies get the worst of these deals because their great monopoly capitalists are hostile to the state and interested only in profit. To Alfred Sloan of General Motors, answering a protest from a stockholder in April, 1939, on its Nazi dealings, it seemed that "an international business . . . should conduct its business in strictly business terms . . . without regard to political beliefs." But business men feel differently in those countries where they regard the state as their instrument rather than as an unreliable servant susceptible to democratic twinges. "An international cartel," said the chairman of the board of Philips's German partner, "has no right of existence . . . if this cartel is acting against the common interests of Germany." This should be clear enough warning as to what will happen if we restore the cartel system and a capitalist Reich.

Unfortunately, this is exactly the direction in which we are headed. The cartel at home means the limitation of production to those levels the big producers consider profitable. Limitation of production means limitation of jobs, and without full employment there will be rich soil here for fascism after the war. No doubt these same big producers will cultivate it. The cartel abroad means the subordination once more of our legitimate national interests to the illegitimate objectives of a Germany bent on revenge. I hope next week to tackle the task of naming the men and influences in Washington which already make it seem an almost

hopeless task to achieve full employment after the war and to prevent revival of the cartel system. The two are fatefully linked together.

### 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE ONE THING done by the House, after a liberal amount of speech-making and the voting down of everybody's pet phraseology intended to effect the same object, was the passage of the suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by 150 yeas to 42 nays. As this, if concurred in by the Senate, will share the wandering fate of most amendments and be debated long after its wording and almost its substance are forgotten, it may be as well to record it verbatim: "Art. —, Sec. 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or any state, by reason of race or color or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States. Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."—February 4, 1869.

TO THE EDITOR of *The Nation*. Sir: As I do not believe in the efficacy of repealing God's laws by statute, either as affecting the value of money, the hours of labor, or the phases of the moon, I suppose I cannot be called, in popular parlance, an admirer or friend of the laboring man. [Unsigned.] Boston.—February 4, 1869.

THE GREAT BULK of the railroad stocks of the country have been, by waste, mismanagement, and fraud, materially reduced in value during the last two years; comparatively few of them pay regular cash dividends; many of them have been doubled and trebled in quantity without representing a single additional dollar in property; yet they are selling today from 25 to 75 per cent higher than a year ago.—February 11, 1869.

1,000 MILES of the Union Pacific Railroad are now completed. As 500 miles of the western portion of the line, beginning at Sacramento, are also done, but 267 miles remain to be finished to open the Grand Through Line to the Pacific. The opening will certainly take place early this season. First mortgage bonds at par. . . . Subscriptions will be received in New York at the company's office. (ADVT.)—February 11, 1869.

"THE RING AND THE BOOK." By Robert Browning, A.M. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. . . . When the art is not to perfect a jewel but to cut facets, the artist may work at any length. It is a sort of art that fascinates those who have once formed a taste for it; but it is likely to call forth exaggerated admiration, and to make the simplicity of really great works seem tame, and, after the first neglect and contempt are weathered, to be estimated at far too high a rate. It is also, when practiced by a master, admirable and profitable. As for this particular specimen of it, we feel it will be as well to speak of it when it is completed, and menutime to commend it to all lovers of poetry.—February 18, 1869.

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The NATION

# The American Myth and the Peace

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

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TN NO other country has the achievement of the business man given him the status and prestige which are his in the United States. His power to secure American civilization against the evils from which the Old World has suffered is a primary article of the American religion. The profundity of that faith was exhibited in the dramatic bewilderment with which the American people awakened to the grim reality of the Great Depression. It was exhibited, once more, in the natural acceptance by the masses of a hostility to the New Deal expressed in the reiteration-as if they were the eternal laws of nature-of the very principles out of which the Great Depression had emerged. That the decade after 1929, in which only vast-scale intervention secured perhaps a quarter to a fifth of the American people against the consequences of unemployment, should still have left the theory of business enterprise as it was framed by the economists in the thirty years before 1914 the habitual framework of ordinary American thought, is testimony to the completeness of the business man's intellectual victory in that social revolution we call the Civil War.

Every religious faith requires an appropriate mythology by which it can maintain itself. So far as possible, it must not be open to critical examination, and men must take its axioms and postulates as so self-evident that they grow angry when these are called into question. No one, I suggest, can investigate the mythology of American business without seeing how fully it has created these conditions. Its exponents speak of it as though it represented enterprise as personal as any practiced in the days of Jeffersonian democracy, with opportunities for the newcomer as great as those in what Mark Twain called the Gilded Age. They assume that no men work as well or as efficiently for the state as they do for themselves; and they insist that the worker in a vast corporation like that of Ford or General Motors is in truth working for himself. They have no doubt that bodies like the National Association of Manufacturers or the American Chamber of Commerce are means of promoting the historical American way of life; and they are equally without doubt that this way of life is persistently jeopardized by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. They believe that the "principles of individual freedom" are the secret of national well-being; and when they protect those principles from the poison of state action they believe themselves to be trustees of the American heritage. They insist that the interests of capital and labor are one and indivisible; yet they praise the famous Mohawk Valley Formula as a "real contribution to civic dignity," even though the National Labor Relations Board criticized the Remington-Rand Corporation for its application of the formula—its "use of spies, missionaries, and armed guards, . . attempts to turn civil authorities and business and other interests in the various cities against the union . . . by intensive publicity and propaganda . . . based upon deliberate falsehoods."

The exponents of business preach all this in a world increasingly controlled by the practices of monopoly, increasingly haunted by the specter of mass unemployment, increasingly perplexed by the disappearance of the opportunity for investment, increasingly dependent upon the action of the state, whether in the realm of tariffs or subsidies, of currency policies or the assurance of a proper balance between production and consumption. Few of them realize how completely economic science has abandoned the equilibrium theory upon which their mythology was based. Still fewer seem capable of grasping the degree to which the social function of the entrepreneur has become obsolete. And the number of those who understand that, in its evolution, American business philosophy has destroyed the system of values upon which its security depended is smallest of all. Freedom of contract is in large part a historical category which old men are just able to remember as a living principle of action. Emotional faith in the values of capitalism can be felt by the masses in brief periods of high employment, but the close of capitalism's expanding phase means that these are approximately attained only in times of war.

For reasons which, with the insight of genius, Marx glimpsed almost a century ago, the death knell of the capitalist system, so far at least as the system is geared to democratic methods, has sounded. A faith which requires an atmosphere of rationality and security has lost the secret of both. American democracy may transform its economic basis by adjustments massive enough to enable it to satisfy the demands of the common man. It will certainly not repeat in the future such achievements for the common man as it was capable of in the past without a radical change in its economic ways of life. Like the Roman Catholic church in the time of Luther and Calvin, it is confronting a challenge which goes to the root of every dogma its business men believe.

What they have now to decide is whether it is a Reformation or a Counter-Reformation that they will attempt.

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What makes the decision of the American business man so important is the fact that it will, for at least a considerable period, have vital consequences for the rest of the world. A wrong decision may seal the fate of Europe. A wrong decision may postpone for perhaps two generations the development of the potential economic power of China and India. Most serious of all, given the contrasting economic motivations of the United States and the Soviet Union, a wrong decision may lead to relationships which will make difficult the avoidance of the third world war. It is not too much to say that upon the decision of the American business man in the next half-dozen years will depend the future of civilization and the fate of all men and women now alive.

It is not hard to see why this must be the case. American productive capacity will emerge from this war not only unimpaired but immensely greater than in 1939. Assuming the present distribution of wealth in the United States, this would probably mean something like fifteen million unemployed, a condition which would affect about one-third of the American people. It becomes evident that unless the American economy is profoundly altered, the only way to avoid such unemployment is by the capture of foreign markets. This raises the difficulty not only of the American tariff and its relation to international trade but of the effect upon the living standards of other peoples of any largescale loss of their foreign trade through American competition. It is clear that a considerable part of the world must look to the United States not only for food and medicinal drugs but also for the reequipment in the capital-goods industries, especially for the machine tools, which will make possible a rapid recovery of their economic life.

It is not to be expected that either the American government or the American people would be willing, for any considerable period of time, to become a kind of Santa Claus to the rest of the world; and any such dependence for other nations, after recovery has begun, would be undesirable. What, then, becomes urgent is to create conditions which permit the fullest resumption of international trade; in particular, to raise economic standards in backward countries-in India, for example, or China-by a long-term policy of capital investment and development at low rates of interest. The obvious advantage of this policy is the simple and unmistakable one that it encourages that increase in the consuming power of backward countries which alone, in any final way, solves the problems of international trade without encouraging a drift to economic imperialism, the source

of so many of the world's agonies. Unequal development in economic life, with dependence, as in Africa, upon a major state superior in wealth and power, means a struggle between the richer states for the opportunity to exploit the poorer. If we tread that road, no protestations of friendship or love of peace will suffice to prevent the third world war.

The part of wisdom in these matters is to accept the need for frankness. The economic pattern in the mind of the average American business man is hardly of the sort which a constructive economic internationalism will require. The slow progress of Mr. Hull's attempt to lower American tariff walls; the indignation which has been heaped upon the sound principles laid down by Henry Wallace; the latent antagonism, still very profound, to the Soviet experiment among American business men; the continued resistance of the trade unions to resumption of immigration on a reasonable scale; the hostility, which is not confined to the "economic royalists," to anything which savors of the New Deal, and the use of the war to compel the liquidation of many of its most admirable features; the conviction, in part conscious though in greater proportion hardly conscious at all, that the next age is to be the "American century," in which the principles of American economic life, applied in world terms, will enable the United States to realize its "manifest destiny"-all of these are hints, impulses, perspectives from which the European observer finds it hard to draw much comfort. Where to him the outstanding lesson of this war is the futility of sovereignty in the economic realm, the need for large functional experiments like the proposed T. V. A. for the Danubian Valley in the international field, the danger of a system in which great international cartels can deal with states as though they too were equal international powers, the evil of any industrial self-government which permits the owners of property to dictate the habits and conditions of production in the field they control, this is in no sense the predominant American business attitude.

The great organizations which represent commerce and industry in the United States still think in terms far more appropriate to the age of Harding and Coolidge than to our own. They cling to a fantasy called the "American way of life" even though it is abundantly clear that its procedures were responsible for the Great Depression, and that, were they again given an opportunity, their effect would be no different in nature, if more tragic in intensity, than they were in 1929. American business men adopt criteria of action which assume, first, that the well-being of the United States can be achieved whatever may happen to the rest of the world, and, second, that whatever is done by the state power in behalf of its citizens is not only bound to be badly done but certain, in some mysterious fashion, to injure the

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citizen's energy and initiative. There is no general understanding in the business community of the paradox of "poverty in the midst of potential plenty" or of its relation to the problems of international peace. Business men do not see that internal expansion, with an increasingly diffused well-being, is the main safeguard against those aggressive economic policies which breed bad international relations. Few of them pause to understand that the misery of the share-cropper in the South and of the four million American-born refugees who are politely put in the category of "migratory labor," the reduction of hundreds of thousands of farmers from the status of owner to that of tenant, the existence-for example, in the mill towns of the South-of millions of underpaid and underprivileged workers, all have grave repercussions on the international problem. It was not an evil-minded British Socialist but so conservative and respectable a figure as Sumner Welles who declared (October 7, 1941) that America's "high tariff policy reached out to virtually every corner of the earth, and brought poverty and despair to innumerable communities." Mr. Welles in that utterance was speaking the language of sober common sense. But he will have a hard row to hoe if he is going to persuade the American Chamber of Commerce or the National Association of Manufacturers to accept its implications when the war is won.

The problem would not be solved even if American business men were to accept the kind of foreign policy which Walter Lippmann has recommended with a persuasiveness that is not less characteristic than his oversimplification. For the theory of the "nuclear alliance" that he advocates is based on two wholly unexamined assumptions. The first is that the state power is, generally speaking, a neutral factor between contending interests in society; and the second is, as an inference, that foreign policy is the outcome of the operation of forces which express in a permanent way the national interest. Having made but not examined these assumptions, Mr. Lippmann pleads eloquently for the establishment of an "order in which the other peoples find that their liberties are recognized by laws that the great powers respect and that all peoples are compelled to observe."

But Mr. Lippmann forgets that respect for the law depends upon what it does. If men feel with any intensity that what it does goes against some vital interest they feel entitled to promote, their concern will be not to respect the law but to change it. The purpose of Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo was precisely to effect this change. That has been the purpose of Franco in Spain. It has been the purpose of the satellite Axis powers like Hungary and Rumania and Italy. Mr. Lippmann would not dream of asserting that the state power, say in Hungary, was neutral as between the landowner and

the peasant; and I think he would in all probability agree that Hungarian foreign policy was concerned less with the general well-being of Hungary than with preserving the special privilege of a small class. The "order" we need to build, the only order that is likely to maintain the peace, is one from which the participants are persuaded they derive greater benefit than they would from its dissolution. And each participant views his position not in general or in objective terms but in terms of its consequences and the judgment he makes of those consequences. British rule in India seems one thing to Mr. Churchill and another thing to Pandit Nehru, because the platform on which each of them stands when he makes his judgment is so different. I hazard the guess that Mr. Stimson, in a similar way, held a view of American intervention in Nicaragua which General Sandino did not find himself able to share.

From this I conclude two things: first, that as Marx said, the ruling ideas of an age are the ideas of its ruling class; and, second, that the ideas of any ruling class, beneath the rhetoric by which they are justified, are determined by the situation it desires to maintain or promote. The ideas of America's ruling class-its business men-are set by their conviction that the less government intervenes in the field of economic enterprise the better off everybody is going to be. They are amazed, to quote William Benton, that Englishmen, even those of a conservative temper, "do not understand that our faith in the individualistic system springs not only from our belief that such a system promises the greatest economic progress; we would still prefer individualism, even on non-economic grounds, to what seems the only practical alternative, a government-controlled economy." This conviction is unshaken by the breakdown in the United States itself of the historical experience to which, during the opening of the continent, it could look for support. Business is undisturbed by the magic failure of its faith, under Coolidge, that the problem of poverty had been solved. After having been saved from shipwreck by Mr. Roosevelt, especially in the first period of the New Deal, it has been encouraged by the full employment achieved in a war economy -which it somehow does not recognize as a "government-controlled economy"-to reaffirm all its fly-blown platitudes as if they were the latest findings of economic science, although in the last fifteen years the foremost exponents of economic science have spent much of their energy exploding the illusions which American business men still think of as laws of nature.

The problem which this philosophy presents to the world is therefore as simple as it is profound. The world can no longer afford to depend upon the results of an individualist economy in a country so vital to the future of the world as the United States; but American

business men believe that an individualist economy is the key to progress. The world is increasingly convinced that grave economic disparities within and between nations, above all in their standards of life, are a threat to peace and security; American business men still think that action taken by the state power, whether on the national or the international plane, to correct these disparities is somewhat like interfering with the decrees of a Providence which in the light of their immemediate power and prospects they are tempted to regard as divine. The nations of the world are increasingly conscious of their interdependence, and draw therefrom the inference that national sovereignty is fatal to the cosmopolitan lawmaking which interdependence implies; American business men look at the remarkable productive capacity of the United States, the immense authority derived from it, and conclude that the abrogation of national sovereignty is a threat to the benefits that authority confers. Though they speak of the need for peace with sincerity and enthusiasm, they are blind to the fundamental causes of war. Though as individuals they are capable of remarkable generosity,

as leaders of commerce and industry they have not yet learned the secret of social justice. All of them would regard with contempt and derision an attempt to establish in the United States the outworn principle of the divine right of kings; but few of them see any reason why society should refuse to accept an economic system of which the essence is an affirmation of the divine right of business men.

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It becomes difficult, when the philosophy of American business is closely examined, to reconcile its implications with the conditions, national and international, which peace exacts. This philosophy lacks imaginative insight; it does not see clearly that the interests it expresses are narrow and mean and crude. It mistakes bigness for grandeur, and the power of salesmanship for the art of creation. It is the creed of a plutocracy, of men who aspire to membership in the plutocracy; and it is so passionately devoted to the struggle for economic power that it is altogether lacking in those political instincts which, in the past, an aristocracy has shown itself to possess. The philosophy of the American



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can business man breeds resentment only among those to whom it cannot bring success. Its exponents are driven by its inner logic to search for power in ways that enslave the masses whom they employ. That is why they insist that even such elementary social legislation as the prohibition of child labor is a threat to freedom, and why they have never been able to understand the meaning of Justice Holmes's famous aphorism that freedom of contract begins where equality of bargaining powers begins. Yet, rightly enough, they have a confused intuition that in a society where equality of bargaining power exists, democracy will of necessity have transcended the philosophy of American business.

The truth is that this philosophy, in all its essentials, is no more than a new edition, varying in sophistication with the man who expounds it, of the doctrines of Machiavelli and Hobbes. It is power politics, now clothed, as by former Congressman Bruce Barton, with the blasphemous fig leaves of a theology which makes Jesus Christ the permanent president of an advertising convention, now appearing in the simpler form that captivated Calvin Coolidge—the rich are the natural guardians of the national well-being. It has reached the stage where, to maintain the present conformation of

power, it must make war upon all who challenge its authority from within; and it is therefore bound presently to discover that the best way to forestall that challenge is to extend, by war if need be, the frontiers within which it can operate. American business men are, in short, enmeshed in the snares of a contradiction which threatens tragedy to the whole world in the next generation. In their hearts they want peace as ardently as the youth whom war snatches from farm or factory or college and casts upon an atoll in the South Pacific. But in their minds they cannot conceive peace to be just if it means that they are the servants, not the masters, of civilization. Republican or Democrat, Northerner or Southerner or Westerner, the democratic faith they profess is at final variance with the economic institutions by which they live. Not unless, in the next half-dozen years, they learn the supreme lesson that an enduring society cannot be built with the cash nexus is there any great hope of avoiding catastrophe. Nor will the conflict they are preparing be less disastrous because when the time comes they will attempt, like all their predecessors, to set it in the rhetoric of justice.

[This is the second of several articles by Mr. Laski which will appear during the winter and spring.]

# Propaganda Wins Battles

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

HATEVER criticism may be leveled against our long-range political strategy in this war, operations in that narrower field of tactics usually termed psychological warfare have been conducted with dispatch and efficiency. In North Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy the psychological offensive saved many thousands of American lives. Some of its methods are described here for the first time.

When Italy capitulated, it was doubtful at first whether the fleet would also surrender. There was only one way to reach it by radio—through the international distress-signal band. Robert Morris Pierce, chief radio officer of the Office of War Information in the Mediterranean area, worked all night to transform the Algiers transmitters to this band before the Nazis could learn that Italy had yielded and capture or immobilize the Italian ships. As soon as the change in wave length was accomplished, an appeal was sent out every fifteen minutes, urging the fleet to proceed to Malta. The message got through, the commanders complied, and the lives of many Italian and Allied sailors were spared.

American propaganda warfare as an adjunct to mili-

tary action had its first real test in the Med terranean theater. OWI men traveled with the army right up to the front lines. They were the only civilian government employees who were permitted to go into Italy and Sicily with the first wave of the invasion. Their work both at the base and in forward combat areas will serve as a rough model for news, radio, leaflet, and other operations when United Nations troops move against the Western coast of Europe. General Marshall recognized its success when he said, "The effect of psychological warfare and propaganda on enemy soldiers and enemy civilians seems too well known . . . to need proof of its necessity."

The psychological high command in the Mediterranean area is the Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB), which coordinates the activities of the OWI Overseas Branch, part of the Office of Strategic Services, the British Political Warfare Executive, and the British Ministry of Information. General policy is controlled by Allied Headquarters. The PWB's main weapon is propaganda, of which it employs three major kinds. Long-range, sometimes called strategic, propaganda is used to soften up

the enemy on his home front. Leaflets, flown by longrange bombers, and radio do the job. This type of propaganda might be called the artillery of psychological warfare. After the artillery barrage has weakened the enemy's position, the combat troops move in. They use what is known as tactical propaganda, and its effectiveness against the enemy has been demonstrated. Eighty per cent of the prisoners taken in the North African and Italian campaigns admitted that they were influenced to surrender by propaganda leaflets which were carried through the lines by patrols, dropped from planes, or shot over the lines in pamphlet-bearing shells. The third kind of propaganda is started when our troops have occupied enemy territory. Newspapers, movies, posters, and news photographs are utilized for this so-called "mopping-up."

In the first phase of our psychological campaign in the Mediterranean the OWI's short-wave radio in the United States broadcast to Italy the facts of its hopeless position —the long record of its defeats on land and sea, the loss of its African empire. Mussolini was exposed as a wrong guesser, a lackey of Hitler, a leader who went into the war when he thought it was won; Germany, as an ally which held Italy in contempt, which sacrificed both the Italian economy and Italian troops for the German cause. The Italian people were told how the fleeing Germans had abandoned Italian troops in the field, robbing them of their own vehicles; the words of Italian generals themselves were used to drive these points home. The domestic front was also reminded of Germany's plundering of Italian food stocks. Italy, it was reiterated, was fighting not its own but Germany's war, and Mussolini and the Fascist Party were to blame.

This story was repeated over the medium-wave radio from Algiers by means of live broadcasts and recordings. It was rebroadcast from London to Italy over British Broadcasting Corporation transmitters. It was cabled from New York to Switzerland and Turkey, whence it seeped over the border into Italy and into the ranks of Italian garrisons in the Balkans. The voices and words of hundreds of Americans—of the President, members of Congress, labor leaders, churchmen, workers, people from every walk of American life—were used to show that all America knew this to be the truth and wanted the Italians to know it.

Millions of leaflets bearing the same message were showered upon the enemy's cities, towns, and army camps. Between February, 1943, and the fall of Mussolini on July 25 approximately 45,000,000 leaflets were prepared by the PWB. "These," according to Colonel C. B. Hazeltine, commanding officer of the PWB, "were directed chiefly against Mussolini's war and Fascism." "A PWB officer," Hazeltine says, "flew over Trapani dropping leaflets addressed to the people of the town,

calling on them to put out white flags to save the city.

By the time he flew back after his leaflets had been dropped, the town looked as though all the washing in the world were hung out there. Every habitable quarter showed white."

The propaganda addressed to enemy troops, the second phase of the campaign, was even more effective. Italian soldiers were asked if they wanted to die for Hitler or live for Italy. Italian sailors were urged not to sacrifice Italian ships for German soldiers. "The effectiveness of the psychological warfare," Colonel Hazeltine reports, "can be judged by what one captured Italian general said-that he could do nothing to maintain the morale of his men when they were plastered with hundreds of these leaflets every day, when there was no question but that these leaflets told the truth. . . . Every enemy soldier who came over with a safe-conduct stopped shooting a clip or two earlier than he would have done oherwise. Multiply a few rounds [of ammunition] by the number of prisoners taken, and you begin to get an idea of just how many extra cartridges were not fired into our lines."

At one point in the battle for Tunisia General Sir Harold Alexander, the British commander, ordered a five-day leaflet campaign to soften up the enemy. Admiral Cunningham, the Allied naval chief, requested that leaflets be dropped on the island of Lampedusa after the surrender of Pantelleria. Leaflets gave the Italian commander of Pantelleria his first knowledge of General Spaatz's demand that the island surrender.

Reporting on the third phase of psychological warfare, Colonel Hazeltine says: "After troops have occupied an area, a PWB team comes up from the rear to take over the work begun by the combat team, which usually enters the area with the first troops. The job of this second team is to help Allied occupation authorities restore the area to normal life." Using all means of communication, the PWB tries to convince the population "that the Allied armies have come as liberators, and that the principles for which those armies fight are pretty much what average people everywhere believe in when they are not being pushed around by dictators of one kind or another."

Sicily and southern Italy are now receiving a steady stream of cabled news and pictures designed to show the victims of Nazi-Fascist oppression what the world has been doing, saying, and thinking: Allied news reels for people who have seen nothing but shots of Stuka divebombers, of Nazi armies advancing through defenseless areas in 1940 and 1941, and of Mussolini shouting from the Palazzo Venezia; publications to take the place of those ruled by Goebbels and Gayda; and radio photographs revealing the industrial and military might of the United Nations from the Southwest Pacific to the Russian steppes. The Cable-Wireless Division of the OWI in New York transmits more than 900,000 words a week

to outposts in Europe and North Africa to furnish the text for this propaganda.

An OWI outpost in Algiers reported on September 15: "The first post-invasion anti-Fascist newspaper, Sicilia Liberata, was organized and edited by PWB-OWI newsmen. . . . Starting out as a one-page tabloid sheet of 2,000 copies, it has since been stepped up to four pages with a weekly run of 50,000 copies. It is staffed by Sicilians. Photos are supplied by PWB-OWI photographers, and plastic plates [light-weight and non-critical material] are flown from Algiers. The paper has one column in English and carries anti-Fascist political news and general news on local subjects."

Radio Palermo on the north shore of Sicily was captured by a PWB detachment which entered the city with the first half-dozen American troops. The Fascist manager was caught with written instructions to destroy the station; he had had no chance to carry them out. In three hours Radio Palermo was on the air, telling Sicily and Italy the United Nations' story of the war.

For twenty-three years the Sicilians had been subjected to the most intense propaganda by the Fascists through the medium of motion pictures. The PWB found many of the theaters on the island bombed out, but six were soon opened in Palermo to show films of America at war, Allied newsreels, and American shorts. The lobbies were used to display posters and pamphlets relayed from Algiers.

During the battles for Sicily and southern Italy propaganda was the main work of the Cairo outpost of the OWI, working with the British. One of Cairo's important jobs in recent months has been the building of a stockpile of propaganda material for eventual use in the Balkans. Lessons learned in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy will probably be put to good use when the Allies translate their plans for that region into military action. Already thousands of leaflets based on intelligence received from Greece, Yugoslavia, and other Balkan countries are being prepared in Cairo and dropped over southeastern Europe.

In the Mediterranean area all OWI outposts are monitoring stations, and the results of their listening to the enemy radio are made available to the PWB in North Africa, to the military command, and to OWI offices in the United States. Forward combat teams also monitor the enemy radio for the benefit of the army field commanders.

Psychological warfare as a branch of military warfare has proved its usefulness. As Colonel Hazeltine told his men, "Its job is to attack the enemy's morale—his will to fight—to soften him up and make him easier to beat in the field. . . . It will be for you to decide whether or not this new science of war helps bring the successful end a little sooner for us—and a little less expensively in Allied lives and material."

### In the Wind

AN AMERICAN OFFICER who didn't wait for Pearl Harbor but joined the Canadian army immediately after Dunkirk and has since fought the Nazis with the British and American armies in every theater of war in North Africa and the Middle East, wrote a letter to Representative Taber of New York taking exception to his demacome in out of the rain," he wrote, "ought to know that intelligently directed propaganda can weaken the enemy in advance of our troops and thus save the lives of our American lads fighting overseas." Taber, who voted against lifting the arms embargo, against lend-lease, against arming merchant ships, etc., etc., etc., replied: "I have your letter of the fourth. I can think of nobody but a pro-German who would write the letter."

UNDERTAKERS HAVE BEEN ASKED by the OPA to return any ration books found on the deceased.

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TWO GIRLS overheard in New York (but it might have been overheard anywhere): "Do you know of any unattached men?" "Yes, but I'm not passing them around."

STATION WJBK, DETROIT, has canceled the contract of the Polish Unionists' Radio Hour on the ground that the program "tended to promote discord among the local Polish-speaking people." The program consisted of music and a commentary by State Senator Stanley Nowak. It expressed opposition to the activities of the Polish government in exile and to the Nazis.

ADVERTISEMENTS WILL SOON start appearing for the Kant-Tangle Rosary.

A NEW ORGANIZATION, the Gentile League, has been chartered in Wisconsin. One of its incorporators, asked if it was anti-Semitic, replied that it was pro-Gentile and pro-American.

THE RUBICON, an Italian American news letter of extremely conservative views, offers this post-mortem on Willkie's 1940 campaign: "Willkie made some mistakes about foreign policy. Had he stuck to the sort of speeches he made for the Commonwealth and Southern, however, he would have won."

FESTUNG EUROPA: German farmers have become so accustomed to exploiting foreign workers that the government recently reminded them that native Germans evacuated from bombed cities should not be treated like "cheap labor." . . . A special prison camp has been established in Holland for factory women who, in the opinion of the Nazis, do not work hard enough.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Germany, Economic Heart of Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

[With this issue the Political War Section begins publication of a group of articles dealing with the problems which the United Nations and Germany will face when the National Socialist regime has been destroyed. By presenting a number of widely divergent views on the political, economic, and social outlook for Germany, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the complexities which must be resolved before Germany can take its place once more in a peaceful community of nations.]

THE wishes of the German people will hardly be the most important factor in determining the immediate future of Germany after Hitler's defeat. Rather, the German people will be the object of an understanding between Russia on one side and the Anglo-Saxon powers on the other as to the future of Germany—and of Europe. Any analysis of Germany's future, therefore, must begin with two questions: What are the aims of Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers? And what are the resources they can apply to the achievement of those aims?

Russia's position can already be discerned pretty clearly. The Soviet Union has defeated the Nazi armies at the cost of terrible, almost superhuman, sacrifices. Of all the warring countries it has sustained the largest loss of life and the worst destruction of industry and agriculture. Its first war aim is that it shall' never have to fight such a war again. At any price, Germany must be made powerless to build another army to fight Russia.

To this end, the Russians' minimum demand will be a hand in the political control of Germany, in order to eliminate the possibility that at any time, under any circumstances, Germany might again become a military power and take part in an anti-Russian coalition. (A maximum demand would be the inclusion of Germany in a Russian coalition.) The Soviet Union will not retreat from this minimum demand. Has it the strength to enforce it? Everything indicates that it has. After the defeat of Nazi Germany Russia will be, without any doubt, the one overtowering military land power on the continent of Europe. However strong the secondfront armies of the Anglo-Saxon powers may be, the Red Army will be stronger. And in addition, its bases will be right next door to Germany. Recent battles have shown clearly that the military strength of Soviet Russia is so great that no other power will be able to oppose it. In the present war of factories and production Russia's all-powerful land army is an expression of its economic strength. After World War I Russia's industrial production was only a fraction of that of France. In the course of the five-year plans, however, Russia grew so strong that long before the outbreak of World War II it was producing more than France or even England.

In 1913, before World War I, England was more highly industrialized than France and tremendously more so than czarist Russia. England's coal production was 292,000,000 tons, against Russia's 29,094 tons—a ratio of ten to one. England's pig-iron production was more than twice that of Russia, 10,425,000 tons against 4,216,000. Iron-ore production was almost twice as great, 16,248,000 tons against 9,214,000. The industrial superiority of England was still overwhelming ten years after the end of World War I. In 1928 England produced 8,656,000 tons of steel, Russia 4,253,000; England 6,716,000 tons of pig iron, Russia 3,375,000; England 241,300,000 tons of coal, Russia 35,808,000; England 11,443,000 tons of iron ore, Russia 6,024,000.

But during the next decade, from 1928 to 1938, the situation was reversed. In 1938, one year before the beginning of the Second World War, Russia's production of steel surpassed the combined output of England and France and its production of pig iron nearly equaled theirs, as the following table shows:

# PRODUCTION IN 1938 (TONS) England France Russia Steel . . . . 10,394,000 . . 6,077,000 . . 18,156,000 Pig Iron . . 10,763,000 . . 5,954,000 . . 14,756,000

In the same year England produced 12,049,531 tons of iron ore, Russia 26,529,700. Russia's coal production still lagged far behind England's, but in 1942 the Third Five-Year Plan called for 230,000,000 tons, approximately the same as England's production for 1938.

In order to understand Russia's present position in relation to Europe it must be remembered that in 1939 the Soviets, in all important fields of heavy industry, produced as much as the whole of continental Europe excluding Germany. It is true that Russian industry has suffered the most severe losses in the war; but it is also true that plants in the Moscow area, as well as those in the Urals and Soviet Asia, have been expanded at top

speed. The latest military events indicate how strong the Soviet Union is industrially despite the great losses it has sustained.

Russia's second demand after the defeat of Germany will be for aid in rebuilding its own devastated areas. If necessary it could do the job alone, as it did after the First World War; but it could do it better and more quickly with the help of the Anglo-Saxon powers, particularly of the United States. And here is one of the important bases for agreement between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers on the question of the future of Germany and Europe. The two things that Britain and the United States are able to offer Russia today are, first, second front, to hasten the defeat of Germany and relieve Russia of making most of the sacrifices in the final phase of the war, and, second, economic help after the war in the form of industrial machinery and also of raw materials, to speed up the process of reconstruction. These two contributions by the Anglo-Saxon powers were the basis of negotiations at Moscow and Teheran, as they will be in later phases of the war and in the period immediately after the war. But it must be understood that nothing will induce Russia to yield on its minimum demands as to Germany.

What do the Anglo-Saxon powers plan for the future of Germany after the defeat of Hitler? We don't know. No document exists that throws any light on the subject. None could exist, for the Anglo-Saxon powers have no positive political program in Europe; the destruction of the Nazi state is their only clear aim. The question naturally arises, What then? To this question the ruling groups in the Anglo-Saxon world have thus far given no answer-at best they have replied with the negative statement that there must be no social revolution in Germany or anywhere else. It is likely that some understanding on this point was reached at Moscow and Teheran. If the Russians can (1) establish their boundaries with Poland, Finland, Rumania, and other neighbors to their own satisfaction, (2) set up in the countries between Russia and Germany governments friendly to Russia-like that of Czechoslovakia under Benes, (3) participate sufficiently in the control of Germany to guarantee that its military potential will not be turned against them, and (4) get substantial help from America in reconstructing their liberated territory, then they will have reason to refrain from encouraging revolutionary movements in Germany immediately after Hitler's collapse. In this connection it is worth recalling that all the propaganda Russia has directed at the Germans thus far during the war has avoided any really strong socialist appeal.

Very well. Suppose Russia agrees not to support a revolutionary socialist movement. What, then, do the Anglo-Saxon powers propose to do about the political

future of Germany? In the United States and England during the past year shelves of books and hundreds of articles have been produced recommending the dismemberment of Germany proper. To prove that this is the only possible course it is explained that the Germans are by nature aggressive and that therefore the only guaranty that they will not start another war is the political destruction of their country. I shall not enter upon a discussion of the German character in this article: I would merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians, who have suffered most of all from German aggression, do not demand that Germany be dismembered; rather, they demand that the groups which promoted aggression-the Junkers and the big industrialists—be destroyed. The Russians are opposed to dismemberment for very simple reasons: they know that it would not last; and they know that Russia, unlike the United States, must live and work on the same continent with Germans.

All makers of plans for Germany's future would do well to bear in mind that this "Germany" does not exist in a vacuum but in the center of Europe; that it is the principal industrial country of Europe; and that any move designed to destroy it would have an important influence on the European, and hence on the world, parallelogram of force.

I have already indicated that Russia, in return for certain concessions, may undertake not to further a revolutionary socialist movement in Germany. However, its influence on the country will be great in any case. Let us suppose that the Anglo-Saxon powers seek to dismember Germany after the war. What would be the result? Britain and the United States will certainly have the strength to dictate dismemberment, but they will not have the strength to win the assent of the German people. All signs indicate that the vast majority would be against it-not only the former Nazis, who of course will not all be wiped out, but also the former German Nationalists, who were the backbone of the conservative right, all degrees of liberals, who had worked for more than a hundred years for a united Germany, and practically the whole working class-the Social Democrats, the Communists, and the former trade unions, which always opposed separatist tendencies.

If the Anglo-Saxon powers, against the will and sentiment of 90 per cent of the population, decide to dismember the country, hatred for them will mount. At the same time good-will toward Russia will spread far beyond the circle of the German Communists, far beyond certain military circles, until it includes a majority of the people. In their eyes Soviet Russia will be the only great power not committed to the dismemberment of their country—and of course the only great power not encouraging fascist tendencies in Europe.

It would be a prodigy of historical irony if the Anglo-

Saxon powers, after having obtained through concessions and compromises a share with Russia in the control of Germany, should pursue policies that would directly and indirectly strengthen the hand of the Soviet Union.

So it is to be hoped that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries. Only on that condition will the progressive left forces which are capable of setting up a socialist democracy be able gradually to win the upper hand. Nothing would so injure their growth or so limit their accomplishment as the rise of a new German nationalism, a development which would be greatly accelerated by any dismemberment of Germany.

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

In MYTHOLOGICAL times there was a hydra—a monster with one body and several heads. In our times there is a hydra of the opposite kind, with one head and two bodies. This hydra is the administrative machinery of the Nazi state. For Germany is governed by two sets of administrative officials, those of the state and of the party, with one head over both. The bodies controlled by the common head are entirely separate. In fact, they are rivals; a jealous enmity seethes between the professional civil servants of the state government and the hundreds of thousands of parasites of the party machine, who have come up from nothing. Only their common head keeps the two bodies from attacking each other. This peculiar relationship was illustrated recently by strange occurrences in the province of Kurhesse.

For some reason which no one understands, Kurhesse is the only province in which the highest government office has not been merged with the highest party office. The party Gauleiter and the Oberpräsident of the state government are two different persons. Now, after Cassel, the capital of the province, was heavily bombed in November, the Gauleiter was suddenly removed from office—"his request for a long sick leave has been granted"—and a new Gauleiter by the name of Karl Gerland was appointed. Exactly what had happened is not clear, but to seems certain that there was a violent row between the bureaucrats of the state government and of the party. The fall of the Gauleiter indicates that the Oberpräsident, a Prince Richard von Hessen, won the day.

All the more astounding therefore was the speech made by the new Gauleiter on taking office on December 5. It was one long explosion of anger and threats against the rival administration. The new Nazi chief declared that he would finally make the party machine "predominant" and obtain for it "complete freedom of action" in the province. "Anti-social elements," he said,

had been too much in control in Kurhesse. "I shall exterminate these bad examples in public positions in such a manner that the fate of those who are not capable of being good examples will serve at least as a deterrent. I shall eliminate from office anyone who transgresses the lofty laws given us by the Führet." And in what was plainly a baiting allusion to the Oberpräsident, the Prince von Hessen, he continued, "I cannot educate into a good party comrade a man who by virtue of his racial antecedents does not belong to our people. We have not got rid of the Jews in order to make place for a degenerate variation on them. We National Socialists have not fought for years to see another mongrel race of exploiters take the place of the exterminated Jews."

It is probable that the Prince von Hessen has foreign, though not Jewish, "racial antecedents." In this local war between the party and the state machinery that fact seems to provide the party with its chief weapon. One wonders why the supreme head of both state and party allows this public struggle, and why he does not settle it. More significant is its revelation of the burning latent enmity between the two bodies. Apparently they need only to be under separate chiefs for the antagonism to break out into the open. If some day the supreme head which now unites the two bodies becomes weak, we shall see them fall upon each other fiercely.

The present German Stimmung finds a vent in countless slogans and jokes which are often very cynical. One of the latest is: "Enjoy the war—the peace will be terrible." It is no wonder that the Nazi command, which never had any sense of humor, is extremely irritated by this epidemic of witticisms. In the middle of January a furious article about the jokers appeared in several Baden newspapers.

There are jokes [it said] which work like poisoned arrows and are really dangerous. One often sees two people meet, exchange knowing glances, and ask the familiar question: Have you heard the latest joke? Then, after some mysterious whispering—nobody else must hear—they laugh and go home, eager for an opportunity to repeat the story. Of course they know whom they can trust with such witticisms—those fine people who understand how to present all serious matters in a false light. . . This joking about victory and defeat is the most despicable treason in such a period as the present.

The article concluded with malevolent but somewhat hollow threats:

From now on we are going to watch more carefully those fellow-citizens of ours who—in the strictest privacy of course—are always ready with the latest demoralizing, corroding, poisonous joke. We shall know how to point those poisoned arrows in the direction they should go—that is, at the hearts of the story-tellers themselves.

# 441 WAS A JEWISH PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY 27 PRIVATE KRAUS

"... I remember ... when the British prisoners were being driven to the prison camps; they passed on the way two crucified naked bodies; one had been an old Jew with a long beard, the other a young Jewish girl. Two British officers stopped and saluted these monuments of the German new world. For this they were shot. We cannot forget these things. Perhaps the crucified Jews and the two British officers were buried together in one brotherly grave, a symbol of unity between our two great peoples..."

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# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### The Facts About Public Housing

THE SEVEN MYTHS OF HOUSING. By Nathan Straus.

Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

HEN the President drafted Nathan Straus for the job of clearing city slums, Straus ran foul of the building-loan and real-estate lobbies. Their shadows loom large in Congressional cloakrooms, and his five years as housing administrator were hard and troubled. A House committee finally refused to appropriate any more housing money for his agency. Straus resigned, but not before nearly a billion dollars' worth of public housing had been built and one of the most inspiring of New Deal programs successfully launched.

In "The Seven Myths of Housing" Straus takes the field again against the foes of public housing. He lists the charges that are most often hurled against the program: namely, there really aren't any slums; people make slums; public housing doesn't clear slums; public housing costs too much anyway and threatens private enterprise; the government would fare better by bailing out the slum owners. He labels each of these "myths" and explodes them one by one.

The role of the "mythoclast" for Straus is not a new one. With earlier pioneers in housing, like Langdon Post, Catherine Bauer, and Edith Elmer Wood, Straus once roamed the country answering arguments against public housing and persuading cities to set up housing authorities. In time local opposition was overcome, and cities obtained the necessary enabling laws, successfully defended them against constitutional attack, tore down slums, gave tax-exemption to the new projects, built and managed them.

But the opposition then concentrated its force on Washington. The building-and-loan lobby united with the home builders and real-estate brokers for a frontal attack on the program. The myths Straus breaks down are again being broadcast, and important Washington circles are accepting them as fact. Straus's book, therefore, is a timely and necessary addition to the fragmentary literature on public housing.

The book is not a philippic against Straus's enemies in Washington, as some expected it to be, though several Congressmen who fought Straus do receive special dishonorable mention. It is, in the main, statement of facts and figures, put plainly and convincingly. Public housing costs less to build than private housing, says Straus, and he proceeds to prove it with schedule and tally. It costs less to operate than private housing, and he shows how utilities and insurance costs have been cut to one-third of private costs. It rehouses families from the slums, and he demonstrates that about three-quarters of the tenants in the new housing have incomes under \$1,000. He shows how the tenants in the new projects have become sounder citizens, pay rent promptly, rebel against regimentation, take pride in their homes, and even do the painting and repairing themselves. Straus strikes out against the substitute formula now being offered by the

real-estate interests under which monthly rent checks would be given to slum dwellers to enable them to rent better quarters. He properly says this would only be a subsidy to the slum-owner, that the slums would be perpetuated, the tenant be made a recipient of public charity.

An interesting chart compares costs and operational expenses of a private with a publicly operated dwelling. With a federal subsidy of only \$104 annually, public housing can be rented to a family earning \$800 a year, and for a third of the rent charged by private enterprise. A tabulation shows why this is so—the vacancy and collection losses are lower in public housing, the life of the building is longer, the profit is eliminated, the interest rate reduced.

In the post-war years Straus wants 900,000 homes built every year for five years, a third of which are to be subsidized. He wants cities to buy land for future use as was done so successfully in Sweden. All substandard housing is to be outlawed beginning six years hence, though with Straus's program calling for only 300,000 subsidized houses annually it is hard to see where the greater part of ten million families occupying substandard houses will live when their present houses are declared illegal. Straus also suggests that all federal agencies dealing with public works, work relief, and public and private housing be merged with the National Resources Planning Board into a new super-agency with Cabinet representation. It is curious that one of the signal reasons for the success of Straus's administration was that public housing was finally unshackled from public works, that on the two occasions when public works and housing were in one agency, housing bogged down. The decentralized operation seems always to be unfavorably affected by the centripetal tendencies of more centralized operations. The unique characteristic of the public-housing program is that the federal government is enjoined from itself buying land or erecting buildings; the program must be carried out through local communities, which themselves do the selecting of sites, the planning, construction, and managing of projects.

With few exceptions Straus's proposals for the post-war period are simple and attainable. He has written a useful handbook for those in the field as well as for the inquiring layman. For Congressmen who are now being deluged with housing misinformation by the real-estate pressure groups the book is mandatory.

CHARLES ABRAMS

#### An Oxford Book of Symbolism

THE HERITAGE OF SYMBOLISM. By C. M. Bowra. The Macmillan Company. \$3.75.

THIS book, by Pindar's most recent editor, consists of seven essays. Two of them contain a general discussion of symbolism and post-symbolism; the other five are devoted to Valéry, Rilke, Stefan George, Alexander Blok, and W. B. Yeats. George and Rilke were omitted from Edmund Wilson's account of the subject, and Mr. Bowra's essays are

probably the best introductions available. His book is written in an accomplished, urbane, slightly donnish manner. It is obviously the work of a connoisseur and has the merit of work done for pleasure rather than as a contribution to research. Mr. Bowra's remarks always carry some weight, for one feels behind them considerable experience, taste, and epicurean enjoyment. He savors poetry, tests it on his palate as if it were a rare wine. This is very heartening at a time when most professors of Greek are philistines and when criticism is too nearly the monopoly of professionals. Unhappily the attitude of the connoisseur also has its limitations.

Symbolism remains the greatest topic in the whole range of modern poetry, for all the new non-symbolist beginnings have proved to be false starts, like the social poetry of the thirties or such spectacular gestures of self-immolation as surrealism. No group of modern writers, from the naturalists to the expressionists, has managed, as the symbolists have done, not only to maintain but to enhance their reputation. Moreover, symbolism remains the greatest problem of modern literature. Not merely do critics differ on the interpretation of the phenomenon, as they differ on the interpretation of romanticism or any other system; they differ also on the question: What is the phenomenon being interpreted? Consequently they differ as to who the symbolists are. The net may be cast wide to include Gérard de Nerval, Jules Laforgue, Alexander Blok, or Paul Valéry. Or everyone can be excluded except the immediate circle of Mallarmé. Everything depends on interpretation and definition.

What does Mr. Bowra propose? His introductory discussion deals with Baudelaire, Verlaine, and Mallarmé; the main

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part of his book deals with Valéry, Rilke, George, Blok, and Yeats. There is something wrong here. If the definition be a narrow one, the later work of the latter five poets—especially that of Valéry and Blok—cannot be termed symbolist. If it be broad, the omission in the general discussions of Rimbaud, Corbière, and Laforgue cannot be justified; nor, in the English tradition, should Yeats receive attention to the total exclusion of T. S. Eliot, who introduced symbolism to a generation. Everything depends on interpretation and definition: for lack of any definitions whatsoever Mr. Bowra's interpretation is throughout blurred and unsatisfactory.

Yet one can piece it together from one part of the book and another. Romantic poetry, says Mr. Bowra, prefers creating to stating, producing an effect to giving information. Symbolism is the extreme of romanticism. Distaste for statement and information is erected into the dogma of pure poetry, poetry as music, which oddly but significantly enough is equated with poetry as silence. Fleeing the external world or believing that it was real only as mirrored in the individual consciousness, the symbolist narrows down his interest not only to states of mind but to the only states of mind which can really be known-his own. Hence a religion of the self, the symbolist substitute for a social philosophy, and a religion of the sensations, the symbolist substitute for a philosophy of aesthetics. From these two sources flow the secondary symptoms of symbolism-its parade of anti-rational, so-called mystical attitudes, its aloofness, its respect for music, its theory of sensory correspondences. Beauty became a religion, poetry a panacea, the poet a shaman. "I think the world will be saved," said Mallarmé, "by a better literature." The postsymbolists departed gradually from the two most dubious doctrines of Mallarmé—the severance of poetry from common life and the belief that musical abstractness is the end of poetry-and we find Blok, George, and Yeats turning sometimes to political subjects, Valéry to a non-transcendental theory of art. The great achievements of the symbolists and post-symbolists, Mr. Bowra concludes, have been in "shedding light on themes which might seem stale or exhausted" and in exploring the unconscious with symbol and suggestion far beyond the reach of the scientific intellect. They represent the highest development of the peculiarly psychological awareness of the past epoch; their work is the most refined product of the self-regarding impulse.

All this is tenable enough, though there is nothing here that was not in "Axel's Castle"; and there was much in "Axel's Castle" that is not to be found here. Furthermore, Mr. Bowra seems only confused by the central paradox of symbolism, the paradox that symbolism is both traditional and revolutionary, decadent and seminal, negative and positive. In his introduction he writes of the symbolists: "... because they neglected their own times, their claim on posterity too is less; for they often lack that vitality which comes from contact with life and survives the centuries because of its lasting human qualities." But in his summing up we read: "[They] all found an intense excitement in living. . . . Their desire for transcendental orders of experience is no denial of the here and now." The contradiction between these statements arises from Mr. Bowra's failure to push his criticism beyond the point of liking the symbolists and feeling that they are nevertheless decadent. When, therefore, I recommend some of Mr. Bowra's essays as "introductions," I use the word advisedly. The corollary is that no one already acquainted with the material would need Mr. Bowra's help.

Another remark of Mr. Bowra's illustrates my theme: "The post-symbolists have had the confidence to assert human values in the face of meaningless circumstance and to rise to a tragic grandeur." Now if there is one quality which the symbolists and their followers lack, and even make apoint of lacking, it is tragic grandeur: consider their treatment of the Hamlet theme from Mallarmé's "Igitur" to Eliot's "Prufrock." But even more revealing is the phrase "meaningless circumstance," for if Mr. Bowra intended to take the view that modern history is meaningless—an idea congenial to the symbolists—he certainly ought to have mentioned the fact before the last page of his book, since it would dictate an interpretation of the whole subject which is at no point elaborated or explained.

Since Théophile Gautier wrote his essay on Baudelaire every notable critic has given his attention to the phenomenon which we now call symbolism. And, indeed, every critic in the field—Bourget, Symons, Quennell, Wilson—has followed Gautier's lead in interpreting Baudelaire as a decadent in a historical if not in a pejorative sense. Wilson, indeed, carries the analysis of decadence as far as it can usefully be taken; one waits now only for more critical analyses of symbolist poems as poems; one waits for a more definitive and objective account of the whole subject. Mr. Bowra only adds to the number of pleasant and in every sense "polite" essays.

#### The Power to Make Treaties

THE AMERICAN SENATE AND WORLD PEACE. By Kenneth Colegrove. The Vanguard Press. \$2.

PORTY-THREE years ago The Nation pointed out that our Constitution makes it so difficult to ratify a treaty that we seemed "to have stripped ourselves of a leading attribute of sovereignty—the power to make freaties." The rejection of the League of Nations by a minority of the Senate in 1920 dramatized the helplessness of a majority in America. In 1930 Dr. Denna F. Fleming reviewed the history of the requirements that "two-thirds of the Senators present" assent to treaties negotiated by the President and recommended its removal in a volume called "The Treaty Veto of the American Senate." Now Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University has brought the sorry story up to date and hammered home the same conclusion.

Professor Colegrove names twenty-six Republicans, eighteen Democrats, and one Progressive (La Follette) who, judged by their records and recent remarks, would be likely to oppose a treaty embodying the ideas of the Ball-Hatch resolution if it were submitted to the Senate by a Democratic President. If a bare quorum were present, seventeen "nays" would suffice to defeat such a treaty. The men casting those votes might represent only one-twelfth of the American people.

Such isolationists as Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Robert A. Taft, Hiram Johnson, and Gerald P. Nye, says Pro-

#### Midwinter Book Issue

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fessor Colegrove, have never abandoned hope of preventing us from cooperating with other nations. They foresee an "inevitable reaction" against international collaboration when the war ends. And the Constitution, by intrusting treaties to only one house of Congress, and permitting a minority of that house to prevent action, gives those irreconcilables a most formidable weapon.

Hence, both prudence and a decent respect for democracy require that we either use means other than treaties to come to agreements with other nations or amend the Constitution. Executive agreements can be substituted for treaties. They may be authorized or approved by a majority vote in both houses of Congress. More than 1,200 such agreements but only about 900 treaties have been made by our government. The Department of State and a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations agreed last summer to base United Nations relief and rehabilitation arrangements on such an agreement rather than a treaty.

But Professor Colegrove would rather see the Constitution amended. He considers executive agreements evasive, even though they have been held to be constitutional; he emphasizes the greater "symbolic significance" of treaties; and he contends that treaties are needed to place the final peace settlement "on a sound and permanent basis."

The best answer to this argument is that it is hard to amend the Constitution. The customary method requires a two-thirds' vote of both houses of Congress. The Senate isolationists can prevent that. Professor Colegrove proposes, therefore, that the legislatures of two-thirds of the states request Congress to call a national convention. Congress then would have to act. And an amendment proposed by such a convention would be effective if approved by the legislatures or conventions in three-fourths of the states. This is a cumbersome method that never has been used. It is interesting to note, however, that a young Republican writer, Alexander Hehmeyer, proposed recently in "Time for Change" that we have a constitutional convention sitting throughout this war to reexamine the whole Constitution.

What provisions should be made for approving treaties is another question. Professor Colegrove scorns Senator Guy M. Gillette's proposal that a mere majority of the Senate be empowered to approve treaties. He would require the Senate to share authority with the House, where there is less danger of distortion in reflections of the people's will. He does not discuss Representative Michael A. Feighan's proposal that there should be a direct vote by the people, in a special election, on a treaty favored by the President but rejected in the Senate.

However dreamy it may seem to talk of amending the Constitution now, Professor Colegrove's book is a worth-while contribution to American thinking because it shows plainly how the Constitution can be used by democracy's foes as well as its friends. There has been too much blind worship and too little critical thought about our Constitution. The people's failure to realize its weaknesses as well as its grandeur has enabled obstructionists to hide behind it.

The Republicans' Mackinac charter, which emphasized adherence to "constitutionalism" in determining policies and making international commitments, was approved even by Clare Hoffman. Professor Colegrove ascribes that joker

in the Mackinac declaration to Senator Vandenberg and charges that the Michigan Senator was really saying: "The President must be compelled to frame the peace settlement in the form of a treaty, which must be submitted to the Senate, where a one-third minority of isolationists will be able to destroy it as effectively as Senator Lodge and his collaborators annihilated American participation in the peace system at the end of the First World War."

Some critics have called this book repetitious. It is. But a man shouting a warning against minority rule and international anarchy should not be expected to content himself with a single yip. My complaint is that the author has not shouted loudly enough.

#### Fiction in Review

TOHN HERSEY is a Life-Time correspondent with our Jinvasion forces; his novel, "A Bell for Adano" (Knopf, \$2.50), is our first fiction of the American government of Italy-occupational history written while it was still little more than a gleam in Amgot's eye. But the very speed of composition of Mr. Hersey's book gives it what interest it has, because, writing quickly, Mr. Hersey wrote out of a deep reservoir of folk-idealisms and popular assumptions. This is not to say that "A Bell for Adano" is an unconscious book any more than most movies, also created out of popular assumptions are unconscious. It is as impossible for me to believe that a person who has had the education and experience necessary to get a correspondent's job on Life naturally thinks of Americans or Italians in the simple way that Mr. Hersey appears to in his novel as it is for me to believe that the Hollywood scenario writer who wrote "Joe Smith, American" naturally thinks of Americans as Joe Smiths. The contrivance of simplicity is one of the things that may set my spine tingling in a movie, especially in a lesson-indemocracy movie, but it also leaves a bad taste in my mouth, because I feel that I have been done, played upon, taken in. I feel the more taken in, indeed, in the degree that the popular assumptions which are paraded have a basis in truth.

And there seems to me to be a great deal of truth in Mr. Hersey's picture of an American. In fact, "A Bell for Adano" might accurately be described as the Platonic ideal of Americanism, of which the American reality is an active approximation. Its hero, Major Joppolo, is a kind of compendium of quickly recognizable national characteristics. Joppolo is the American occupation officer of the little town of Adano. He thinks for himself, works fourteen hours a day, is realistic about taking help where he can find it, is gentle from instinct and ruthless on principle, respects authority where it earns respect and where it is unworthy countermands it at whatever risk, knows how to play with the church, has sex but knows how to keep it down, loathes protocol and red tape, and first and always is a man of heart who understands that a town full of Italian peasants has more need for a bell than for American sanitation; when his M. P.'s get into a drunken orgy and smash up the house in which they are billeted, instead of sending them to the guardhouse he invokes the memory of their mothers. So convincing is Mr. Hersey's portrait of the American as an administrator that we even comes to think it a national characteristic that Joppolo should be of Italian parentage and came from the Bronx.

Obviously, folk idealism of this kind is its own good clean fun. What offends me is its being put forward as all of his truth by someone in a position to boast a more complicated view of things. When Mr. Hersey says in his Foreword that only men can guarantee the future, men like Major Joppolo, I tend to agree with him; for all its limitations the Joppolo incarnation of American democracy at work isn't a bad star to be shooting at in these practical days. But when, also in his Foreword, he uses Hollywood-naive prose like this, "Major Victor Joppolo, U. S. A., was a good man. You will see that. It is the whole reason why I want you to know his story. . . . Major Joppolo was Amgot officer of Adano, and he was good," I know that Mr. Hersey's ideas, like his prose, have undergone a process of conscious, falsifying, and purposeful simplification.

There is very little writing talent in "A Bell for Adano," just by the way. Two other novels I read this week-Charles Jackson's "The Lost Week-End" (Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.50) and A. Fleming MacLiesh's "Cone of Silence" (Houghton, Mifflin, \$2.75)-show very much more talent, though they are less interesting. Unfortunately, Mr. Jackson's quick, sinewy, precise prose is at the service of a sensational but essentially unfruitful novelistic subject. "The Last Week-End," which is the stream-of-consciousness record of five days in the life of a dipsomaniac, inevitably suffers from the lack of scope of its central character, whose view of the world is bounded by the drinker's narcissism and self-pity. In Mr. MacLiesh's book, too, self-pity is the dominant note, in this case the self-pity induced by the artist's exacerbated sense of his special susceptibility to life. "Cone of Silence" is one of those novels in which depth of character is assumed to increase in direct proportion as the hero discloses his literacy and artistic sensibility.

DIANA TRILLING

#### ART

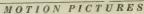
THE Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors is an organization that includes a good many of the most advanced and important artists in this country. Early in January the federation released to the press a letter attacking the Museum of Modern Art and pointing out the "increasingly reactionary policies of that institution toward the work of American artists." The letter specifically criticized the museum for its exhibition of "works rightly considered academic and outmoded even in the Victorian era (for example, "Romanticism in America" and "American Realists and Magic Realists"); for its displays of material "interesting only on scientific and ethnographical grounds"; for adopting "one set of standards for . . . European art . . . and a thoroughly different one for its American selections"; for its policy of sacrificing "seriousness of purpose for publicity" (the "Contemporary Portraits" exhibition); and for its interest in "such ephemeral fads as the output of certain refugee-surrealists and types of American scene-illustration, [which] have been exaggerated out of all proportion to

their qualities as art." The letter went on to call for an exhibition of the museum's entire permanent collection, "which presumably represents the considered judgment of the staff," and to ask that "the museum indicate more openly the individuals or groups who are most directly responsible for its recent policies."

On January 20 the Museum of Modern Art's Department of Painting and Sculpture sent a letter, with a self-addressed postcard inclosed, to a selected group of the seventy members of the federation, asking that the recipient indicate on the card whether or not he or she had seen the federation's letter before it was mailed. The card did not seem to require a signature, and the assurance was given that "this information . . . will be used only for a report to a museum committee."

That the museum's first reaction to the federation's letter was to make it an issue of personalities is saddening—aside from the questionable taste of its procedure, which seems to derive from the Stalinist telephone-pressure campaigns of a few years ago. It is possible, but quite irrelevant, that some members of the federation call the museum's grapes sour mainly because the museum has not shown their work. But charges similar to those in the letter have been leveled against that institution by persons whose motives cannot be similarly impugned. Nor would the charges be invalidated could it be proved that a majority of the federation's membership had not seen the letter before it was released. The museum should have felt it imperative to answer the criticism on the same plane as that on which it was formulated. If

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the federation is wrong, a point-by-point rebuttal would reinforce the museum's position and, even more important, promote a discussion that might help clarify very important issues at stake in contemporary American art. Alas, the federation is not wrong, even though it failed to make some necessary distinctions.

The function of a museum of modern art is to discriminate and support those tendencies in art which are specifically and validly modern, regardless of general appeal or vogue. Both the golden and the silver ages of modern art are over, seemingly-at least in Paris-and those forced in the past by the vitality of modern art to censor their dissatisfaction with it have begun to come out into the open again. The presumably enlightened rich, who support art in this country as in every other, have relapsed into self-indulgence; their aesthetically ascetic period is past. With no young Picassos in sight, they have found the courage to ask once more for the kind of art they really like: "Give us the romantic, the realistic, the descriptive, the immediately erotic, and the chic. It fits us better, mirrors us better, and moves us quicker. Since we pay for art, we have a right to the kind we want." The recent policies of the museum reflect not so much the increasing strength of this element as an enormous gain in its self-confidence-it has always been strong, and its contributions have kept the museum alive from the beginning. If its influence is unchecked, it will finish by making the Museum of Modern Art an educational annex to the Stork Club. CLEMENT GREENBERG

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#### DRAMA

ICHAEL TODD has spared no expense in "Mexican Hayride" (Winter Garden). The girls are gorgeous, the costumes elaborate and beautiful, the settings gay. The music is passable Porter. The book by Herbert and Dorothy Fields is none too good, but it does well enough as a vehicle for Bobby Clark, who of course jumps off and lopes ahead of it and around it and over it when it threatens to develop engine trouble—and even when it doesn't. I need hardly add that he is the main attraction of the show.

He is set off, as if he needed to be, by such assorted talents as June Havoc, his bull-fighting sister-in-law; George Givot, his tall, dark, and handsome dupe; and Luba Malina, his sultry stooge. Wilbur Evans looks and acts refreshingly unlike a matinee idol, and he sings nicely, though like most musical-comedy stars, especially male, he feels it necessary always to take the first position in singing the minute he hears his cue. Can't they ever be casual—or appear to be?

appear to be.

June Havoc, who does the "specialty" songs very well, is as supple—and as sexless, strange to say—as a branch of new willow. She's a good little trouper and obviously enjoys her work.

The dancing, when it isn't acrobatic, is nothing to speak of—and I doubt that Paul Haakon ever saw a toreador

perform.

"Mexican Hayride" is a bit stiff and slow at the start; the second act is much better than the first largely because it contains two of Bobby Clark's wilder impersonations. In one of them he kids the flute out of countenance and tops off by swallowing half of it. In the other he is an Indian woman with long black braids and a papoose duly equipped with permanent spectacles and a cigar. His routine of the soundless howling coyote is constant. I wish I knew why it's so funny.

MARGARET MARSHALL

#### FILMS

I HAVE never read "Jane Eyre," but I think there may be some use in comparing the screen version with a not very good version which Luther Adler and Sylvia Sidney brought to the Boston stage several months ago. Judging by the play, the novel must have a good deal of inter-class, feminist, ethical, and

erotic tension, and Rochester, besides having a good deal of disintegrating romantic splendor, must in some degree symbolize the predicament and decay of the best of England in his time. Judging by the film, the novel must also have the kind of darkly transparent, hypnotic tone and pace which seem never, any more, to be achieved or even attempted in writing. There is almost no symbolic resonance and almost no really taking or revealing tension in the film; there is very little, in fact, after the first twenty minutes or so that makes it at all seriously worth seeing. Those first twenty minutes, however, which are devoted to Jane's schooling and her first meeting with Rochester, are a lush, beetlebrowed, unusually compelling piece of highly romantic screen rhetoric. I suspect Orson Welles had a hand in this stretch-for good and for bad; it has a good deal of his black-chenilleand-rhinestones manner. After that, all you get is a careful and tame production, a sadly vanilla-flavored Joan Fontaine, and Welles treating himself to road-operatic sculpturings of body, cloak, and diction, his eyes glinting in the Rembrandt gloom, at every chance, like side-orders of jelly. It is possible to enjoy his performance us dead-pan period parody; I imagine he did. I might have more if I hadn't wanted, instead, to see a good performance.

It is also possible, I gather from many people, to be as excited and scared by "The Lodger," the adaptation of Mrs. Belloc Lowndes's story about Jack the Ripper, as the adaptors intended. I wish I could have been, for it is years since a horror picture has given me my money's worth, and I feel that today only Val Lewton, who makes such B pictures as "The Seventh Victim," has occasional promising ideas how to go about it. For me the main troubles with "The Lodger" were that everyone was trying for gentlemanly, intelligent horror, sustained only by tricks of secondary suspense (you know from the start who the Ripper is), in too gentlemanly and too little incisively intelligent manner. As a result the beautiful interiors, the sometimes beautiful streets, and the too beautiful lighting and photography drew too much attention to their own sumptuous but very passive vitality, and the good performances of Laird Cregar, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Sara Allgood, and Merle Oberon also remained a purely visual pleasure. Doris Lloyd, however, does project a moment of solid, old-fashioned fright.

JAMES AGER



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#### MUSIC

THE Metropolitan's first "Marriage of Figaro" was one of the most brilliant performances the company has given in recent years. Having considered whether I should listen to the broadcast in the quiet of my home or should accept the poor acoustic conditions and the audience disturbances of the actual performance to which a friend had invited me, I finally decided on the actual performance. My seat, in the second row of the Orchestra Circle on the extreme right very near the orchestra pit and the stage, was one from which I could barely hear many of the marvelous things that happen in the orchestra (whereas the absentminded rolling and unrolling of a program directly behind my left ear was only too distinct); but I could hear and see the singers very well; and it was their work that made the performance extraordinary.

It is a long time since I have heard an opera sung so well throughouteven minor roles like Marcellina and Barberina by Irra Petina and Marita Farell; major ones by older singers like Pinza, Brownlee, Novotna, and Baccaloni, who were in particularly good voice; and above all Susanna and the Countess by Bidu Sayao and Eleanor Steber. Sayao sang as beautifully this time as she had done many times before; but Steber's previous achievements had left me unprepared for singing that was the sensation of the afternoon. That is, she had used a fresh, agreeable voice with good musical taste; but she had begun every performance with a strong tremolo which sometimes had cleared up and sometimes had not. This time, however, the very first tones of Porgi amor were clear and lovely; and her technical security continued to produce such tones, which her musical taste moulded into long, continuous, and exquisite phrases. Moreover, arriving at the reprise of Dove sono she paused, lay back in her chair, and sang it pianissimo as though recalling a dream of past happiness-a stroke of dramatic imagination which brings me to the fact that her Countess was also the outstanding impersonation of the afternoon and one of the finest I have ever seen on the operatic stage. Nobody I have seen in the role has conveyed as Steber did the Countess's youth and beauty, her spirit, her wounded pride, her humiliation at having to call on her servants for help and involve herself with them in stra-

tagems against her wayward husband.

The cavorting about of the other characters is easier to do, but it takes actors as good as Pinza, Baccaloni, Sayao, Novotna, and the others to do it as well as they did. At moments in this performance, however, they did too much; and one piece of new business -Savao's extravagant posturings in the Countess's cloak and hat, in the finale-Dr. Graf should eliminate. On the other hand there is one point—the Venite, inginocchiatevi scene-at which they do too little; and here Dr. Graf should make the sense of the words clear to the audience by having Susanna, who has measured herself against Cherubino, try one of her dresses on him.

The performance was excellently conducted by Bruno Walter.

Martial Singher, whose recital I attended the evening before, has a fine baritone voice which he uses with breath-taking ease and mastery in the service of a beautifully finished musical style and a sharp dramatic sense. These made his singing of the French music on his program-like Mephistopheles's Serenade from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust," or the three humorous songs of Chabrier about turkeys, pigs, and ducks -delightful. But one sensed a limitation of emotion and personality which caused his singing of one of Mussorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death" to lack force and impact; and in the two songs of Schubert and Brahms he achieved a Frenchman's German emotion and style.

Which brings me to Lotte Lehmann's series of three recitals devoted to the songs of Schubert, Brahms, and Schumann. I have commented, in recent years, on the increasing refinement and subtilization of her style in Liedersinging that has accompanied her increasing care, restraint, and skill in the use of an aging but still extraordinarily beautiful voice; at this year's recitals I had the impression that the process had continued, making her art of singing these songs more wonderful than ever. It is in fact unique; and what makes it so is the deep and rich poetic insight and emotion and the power of dramatic characterization and projection that used to tear the phrase apart but now operate through the subtly inflected, phraselogically continuous line of beautiful vocal sound, to produce such great and overwhelming performances as her "Wirtshaus" and "Doppelgänger" of Schubert, or the enchanting comedy of her "Kartenlegerin" of Schumann.

B. H. HAGGIN

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## Letters to the Editors

#### Cooperation in the Kitchen

Dear Sirs: Edith M. Stern's own answer to her sixty-four-dollar question in her article. Brains in the Kitchen, disconcertingly poses a series of other questions. Can domestic work be "dignified and professionalized"? And is it worth the bother? Are homes, other people's homes, pleasanter places in which to work than factories? Is it efficient, and socially healthful, for tens of thousands of women to make careers of looking after the physical comfort of small units of two, or three, or four individuals? Wouldn't anyone rather apply her skill and intelligence to a wider service?

If I were a skilled dietitian, I'd want to use my knowledge for a large group. If I enjoyed working with children, the care of just one or two children would be merely a stop-gap-if the children weren't mine. And if I were especially good at, say, washing dishes, I might get sick and tired of looking at the same set of Delfft or Wedgwood.

The fact of the matter is that housework would long ago have become an intolerable bore and nuisance, and perhaps would have been done away with altogether, if we were not working for the comfort of people we love and for our own comfort. Have we a right to expect anyone else to find fulfilment and a life work in personal service to us, no matter how valuable we are to the outside world and to our children, no matter how adorable they are?

That this is too much to expect is proved by the long and dolorous "Help Wanted" columns appealing for houseworkers. Money inducements appear secondary; glowing descriptions of "in-"lovable baby," teresting couple," "charming and considerate home" are temptingly displayed in fat paragraphs. But the really smart girls, the ones we are after, don't want to bother with us and our husbands.

What then? "Let no woman ever go beyond elementary school"? Of course that wasn't intended as an answer; it was simply a cry of bitterness and anguish from the depths of a harried soul.

May not a beginning of a solution lie in the recognition that the problem is not an individual one but rather widespread social phenomenon deserving of systematic and objective study? We can't change ourselves-we've gone outside the house and won't return if we can help it-not for full-time cooking and dusting, anyway. The women presumably better suited for such work choose not to do it-or at least, not to do it passably well or for any length of time in one place. The only solution, therefore, lies in some modification of

the household organization.

One that I should like to see tried would be the organization of a homeservice unit in an apartment house catering to working-mother families. The unit might be headed by a trained executive, a dietician and manager, who would work with the organized mothers. She would employ cooks and cooks' helpers, nursemaids, and others required for her staff, charging each family unit · fixed fee for routine services. Meals could be planned a week ahead, by each mother, on the basis of menus prepared and submitted by the manager. Meals could be sent to each apartment in special containers, either in complete form or subject to such additions as the mother might care to make from her own kitchen. Special table service could be secured by additional fees. And arrangements could be made for someone to come and do the dishes! Whenever the working mother felt like getting meal herself, she would simply notify the main kitchen to that effect.

When one contemplates the savings incident to mass marketing, skilled planning, and large-scale preparation, coupled with more efficient use of labor, it becomes evident that such a service should cost far less than the average expenditures in individual homes for food and service. Here would be a wide and diversified field for highly professionalized houseworkers; qualified home-economics managers could provide the type of training required, and the permanent staff of such a unit would be assured good living conditions, good pay, ample job protection, and standardized hours.

The initiative for such an experiment might come from some ingenious houseowner, from a group of professional women organized especially for this purpose, or from an enterprising home economist. It might open the way to other efforts to meet this new and growing problem in a socially effective man-JESSE SHOHAN

Rhinebeck, N. Y., January 21

#### The National Service Act

Dear Sirs: I am surprised at your editorial support of the proposed nationalservice act in the face of Mr. Stone's acute analysis of it. I oppose the passage of any national-service act at this time for practical reasons and on principle,

From the practical point of view the proposed national-service act is an uncandid attempt to produce anti-strike legislation that works. If it is unaccompanied by acts equally stringent controlling management, salaries, and profitsacts which the present Congress obviously will not pass-the national-service act would be class legislation pure and simple. By forcing more married women into factory work, the national-service act would serve to magnify the problems of home-keeping and juvenile delinquency. Such an act would also seriously jeopardize the continuation of many valuable public services such as libraries. publishing, and social work, and undoubtedly would have a deleterious effect on all humane and intellectual activities. The preservation of these activities up to now has been one of the encouraging facts of the past two years.

I disapprove of the national-service act on principle because its passage would put us at once in the ranks of the totalitarian nations. It would remove another large sphere of choice from individuals; it would in essence be a surrender on a vast scale to the theory of militarism. We are fighting the war to preserve democracy and to eliminate militarism. Every acceptance of military dictation beyond what is absolutely necessary is therefore a denial of the very ideals we are supposed to be preserving. In the light of the problems which are going to face this country after the war, this surrender at the present time seems to me dangerous in the highest degree.

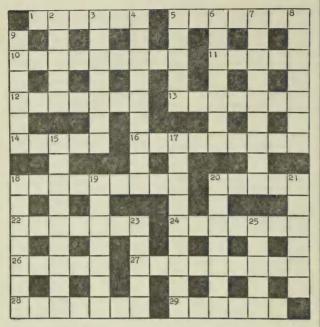
We are past the worst man-power crisis. American production on a voluntary basis has been almost miraculous. To pass a national-service act now would be an insult to the devotion and the hard work of those who have made that production possible; it would be a dangerous surrender to the principle of military direction; it would be unnecessary yielding to the ideals of the totalitarian states.

TALBOT F. HAMLIN

New York, January 25

#### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 51

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 An opening word
- 5 They are frequently spent in Russia
- 10 Not the main business (two words, 4 and 5)
- 11 A substitute for silk, perhaps
- 12 One idol, to put it differently
- 13 Do well
- 14 A word out of Shakespeare
- 16 Of such as are unable to regain their old form after strain
- 18 What the politician who tells nothing but the truth is likely to become
- 20 Parisian dressmaker whose name stands for value
- 22 Name of several American fishes
- 24 Men used to swear by this in Spenser's day
- 26 "Abou Ben Adhem (may his ----increase!) Awoke one night from a
  deep dream of peace"
- 27 Birth, sire, provides an American name for one of our allies
- 28 Not dead (anag.)
- 29 The Heavenly Twins

#### DOWN

- 2 One is far from pleased if off it 3 His book was required reading in
- Germany (two words, 1 and 6)
  4 A Ruhr town with a twisted tail!

- 5 Travelling "sailsmen" (!)
- 6 The answer to all complaints
- 7 His business is picking up
- 8 Here a legislative body I see
- 9 Attendants who come in rushes 15 Pole No. 6 might give something like
- a report! 17 Mr. Barnstaple's role in Wells' "Men
- Like Gods"
- 18 And so, for change, untamed
- 19 Many are busy in the ----- making a past for the future
- 20 Bill declares himself
- 21 "Round trips" to the baseball fan
- 23 Bury
- 25 A churchman receives a letter and turns to a lady novelist

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 50

ACROSS:—1 STEAMER; 5 TORCHON; 9 IMPIOUS; 10 UNICORN; 11 PLATE; 12 DAD; 13 SMILD; 14 RUN WILD; 16 RE-CARRY; 18 MISLEAD; 21 SEXTONS; 24 DOGMA; 20 PAN; 27 ARIEL; 28 SATANIC; 29 PERDITA; 30 ENDLESS; 31 TOWHEAD.

DOWN:-1 SKIPPER: 2 EXPLAIN: 3 MOOSE: 4 RESIDED: 5 THUNDER: 6 RALLS: 7 HOOSIER: 8 NUNNERY: 15 ICE: 17 COX: 18 MODISTE: 19 SIGHTED; 20 DEPICTS: 21 SUN SPOT: 22 ORIFICE; 23 SELF-AID: 3 ANNIE: 27 ARROY

#### Nelson Not Wellington

Dear Sirs: In my article, Liberated Italy, in The Nation of December 27, I wrote that the Duke of Wellington, high official of the AMG in Sicily, is owner of a large estate at Bronte.

The fact is that the Duke of Wellington was killed last October fighting in Italy and was succeeded in the dukedom by his uncle, Lord Wellesley. It is Lord Wellesley who is now a high official of the AMG in Sicily.

He is not the owner of a large estate at Bronte. This large estate was donated during the Napoleonic wars by the Bourbon king to Lord Nelson, not to the Duke of Wellington. It belongs to Nelson's and not to Wellington's heirs. Thus Lord Wellesley has no personal interest there.

I feel duty-bound to apologize for attributing to the Wellington family an estate which belongs to the Nelson family and for the wrong inference I drew from my error.

G. SALVEMINI
Cambridge, Mass., January 20

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## THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUMB 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · FEBRUARY 19, 1944

NUMBER .

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates. Inc., 65 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of Sarch 8, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau; 38 Kellogs Building.

#### The Shape of Things

NO ONE CAN PROVE THAT THE CRISIS AT the Anzio beachhead was responsible for the sudden suspension of Turkey's negotiations with Britain. A dozen factors may have combined to end the hope that Turkey would soon be in the war on the Allied side. But factors that loom large in an hour of adversity diminish when things are going well. No one knows this better than the German strategists. Their reasons for throwing some of their best troops into the fighting around Anzio were political even more than military. And the effect of the German attack will not be lost even if the Allied forces eventually crash through. For the setback suffered by the British and Americans was enough to remind the whole world that the fight for Fortress Europe, scarcely begun, will be bitter and hazardous. As the Germans pushed toward the beachhead, Turkey inevitably weighed with greater caution the benefits and dangers involved in active belligerency. Franco very likely came to the gratifying conclusion that he need not go quite so far in placating the Allies. Hitler's battered satellites in Eastern Europe doubtless realized more clearly that they could not hope for a quick and easy sell-out—à la Badoglio—to a victorious enemy. Thus the secondary political-military effects of the Anzio battle have greatly outweighed its immediate military importance. Hitler is fighting in Italy not for Italy but for Europe.

NOW THAT GENERAL DE GAULLE AND HIS Committee of National Liberation are about to come into their own, we refuse to let even the New York Times spoil the occasion. It is a bit of a jolt all the same to read in its pious editorial columns that the impending recognition of the committee as the provisional government of France is precisely what the Times editors always had in mind, and that "the time has come" for this "next step in the logical evolution of our policy toward France." The Vichy policy and the whole campaign of expediency, it now appears, were tactics designed to achieve this noble purpose, and they have been "brilliantly justified by the results." We hailed Pétain as the George Washington of France and damned De Gaulle's followers only because we could not bring ourselves to the "abandonment of France in the first shock

of her fall." The years in which we shored up the petty tyrant Robert in Martinique and blasted the Free French seizure of St. Pierre; in which we sent the traitor Peyrouton to administer Morocco and arrested De Gaullist sailors in the streets of New York-these were years of "watchful waiting." When month after month we and the British forbade De Gaulle to set foot in North Africa, we were merely marking time "until the dissident elements worked out a modus vivendi." Our invitation to Giraud to visit Washington at a time when Churchill and our State Department vied with each other in heaping abuse on De Gaulle through the medium of favored journalists was just one of the ways in which "the strength of General de Gaulle's leadership was being tested." Now that he has passed the Times test, the General is entitled at least to ask his new champions the classic question: "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?"

A PRESIDENTIAL VETO OF THE TAX BILL IS not generally expected, but if Mr. Roosevelt signs the measure it will doubtless be because he feels that the government dare not run the risk of losing even the small amount of revenue it provides. The amount at stake, however, is even less than is commonly realized. While the bill provides for an increase in revenues of \$2,315,200,000 a year, as against the \$16,000,000,000 originally requested, this gain is offset by a loss of \$1,400,000,000 through a cancelation of the automatic increase in the social-security tax rate. Moreover, several hundreds of millions will be lost through loopholes provided for corporations in the technical provisions of the bill. And still further millions will in all probability be lost through changes in the provisions governing the renegotiation of war contracts. While the most objectionable of the proposed changes were eliminated from the measure before its final passage, the bill now before the President will hamper the government in its efforts to minimize war profiteering. In contrast, its provisions will place an additional burden on the low-income groups through an elimination of the earned-income credit and a heavy concentration on excise taxes. The indefensible victory tax is retained, with all its shortcomings, even though little additional revenue is produced by reason of its lower exemptions. Since the bill violates all the principles of sound taxation, the President would be justified in risking the loss of a few hundred million dollars of revenue in order to place the issue squarely before the American people by a stinging veto message.

FINLAND HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN WARNED by Secretary Hull that if it continues in the war it must take the consequences. Authoritative voices in London have declared that it can expect no terms better than unconditional surrender. And from Russia has come the most emphatic reminder of the country's disastrous situation in the shape of bombs falling on Helsinki. Mr. Hull's note, when published after several days' delay, inspired a number of editorials in the Finnish press urging an exploration of the possibilities of peace. Reports from Stockholm, however, suggest that the outlook is regarded by the Finns with extreme pessimism, since the acceptance of any terms from Russia would involve them in conflict with Germany. The Nazis have a vital interest in Finnish nickel, in addition to a military interest in maintaining the 1,000-mile northern front. They still have a number of divisions in the country, and they can also enforce their wishes by their control of food supplies. Thus Finland finds itself in a hopeless impasse; victory has long been out of the question and now even peace is impossible. The only way for the Finns to save something from the wreck would be to come to terms with Moscow and join hands with the Red Army in expelling the Germans. Since this move would be worth a number of divisions to Russia, it might secure greater leniency. But such a policy could only be effected if the Mannerheim-Ryti-Tanner combination which has led Finland into its appalling situation were repudiated. The one encouraging sign is that opposition to the government controlled by these men is growing. On January 22, it avoided defeat in the Riksdag by only two votes. A new government might be headed by Dr. Juho Paasikivi, known to be persona grata in Moscow, whose visit to Stockholm has started a flood of peace rumors.

TIME HAS NOT SERVED TO QUIET THE hornets' nest stirred up by Sidney Hillman's plan to rejuvenate the American Labor Party. On the contrary, the resentment aroused by his proposal to convert the party into a strictly trade-union machine, with Communistic representation, has spread from right-wing A. L. P. circles and created divisions within the C. I. O. itself. The president of one C. I. O. union has openly condemned the Hillman plan, an official of another union has resigned rather than have a hand in the business, and thirty other officers have drafted a statement pledging to support the C. I. O. Political Action Committee nationally but to "fight every attempt of the Communists to capture the A. L. P. in our state." Among those C. I. O. leaders who are nominally backing Mr. Hillman, moreover, several have privately expressed views on his strategy which range from the disgruntled to the bitter. The Political Action Committee has too important a task to perform in the 1944 campaign, and is altogether too worth-while an undertaking, to be burdened with the factional consequences of further mishandling of the New York situation. Mr. Hillman admittedly had a delicate organizational problem on his hands in this state, as Robert Bendiner pointed out in The Nation of January 1, but he has not displayed his customary shrewdness in solving it. The six weeks that remain before the primaries promise to be weeks of bitter disunity for the labor and liberal forces of New York.

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THE ABUSES IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT disclosed by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in his testimony before the Kilgore committee will continue to exist so long as the roads continue to be operated by combinations of bankers. Berge dealt principally with the secret agreement by which the roads west of the Mississippi blocked rate reductions, slowed up the introduction of better equipment, and squelched the more progressive minority in their own ranks. The agreement was entered into in 1932 and was "reputedly canceled" after the Department of Justice found out about it in 1943. That an agreement of this kind could be enforced for a decade without the knowledge of the Interstate Commerce Commission indicates how nearly moribund the federal regulatory body has become. Other testimony, dealing with recent railroad accidents, indicates that the ICC's failure to enforce its safety orders and recommendations played a part in recent train wrecks. Four of these wrecks occurred at points where the ICC had previously recommended improved communication and signaling systems. One may also ask whether the Department of Justice will be content merely to discuss these matters before a Senate investigating committee or will take vigorous measures to enforce the anti-trust laws against the railroads. Thurman Arnold tried to do so-and was "kicked upstairs" to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for his pains.

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ONE WAY TO EASE MAN-POWER PROBLEMS would be to eliminate the general use of 'cost-plus contracts. We are glad to note that a Senate Military Affairs subcommittee under Senator Murray of Montana has begun a special inquiry into these contracts. The investigation has the indorsement of both Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the WPB, and Paul McNutt, chairman of the WMC. In his report on the West Coast man-power situation, Bernard Baruch declared that a shift from costplus contracts "ought to give us the equivalent of an additional labor force running into the tens of thousands, perhaps the hundreds of thousands." Since the government foots the bill under cost-plus there is no incentive to economize on materials, facilities, or labor, and "more workers are hired than are needed." There are undoubtedly many special cases in which cost-plus contracts are necessary: particularly in farming out work to smaller businesses—where they are rarely used. But we feel that the time has passed when cost-plus contracts were generally necessary, and that Congress should enact Senator Ferguson's bill to end this sort of arrangement.

THE ACTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE United Service Organizations, Chester I. Barnard, forbidding the YMCA to distribute in USO centers "The Races of Mankind," a pamphlet which presents science's answer to Hitler's dogma of racial superiority, has had encouraging repercussions. First, the army itself bought a substantial number of the pamphlets for use in its educational courses. And now the National C. I. O. War Relief Committee, one of the largest contributors to the USO through the National War Fund, has announced that it will mail copies of the pamphlet to all service men on its mailing list who are stationed in this country. This action was taken after a conference with Mr. Barnard in which the latter reaffirmed his belief that a study of the scientific facts with respect to alleged racial differences was "controversial." No such objection was raised, however, to the distribution by the USO of articles by the eminent social scientist Eddie Rickenbacker.

#### Arabian Oil

R. ICKES'S plan for government assistance to American oil companies enabling them to exploit their Arabian concessions more extensively is headed for trouble. Some people object to a scheme which promises bonanza profits to the oil companies while the government takes all the risks; many others fear the political implications of a large public investment in a notoriously explosive region; oil interests not cut in on the deal proests it as the opening wedge of socialization. With pressure thus developing from three different directions, a full Congressional investigation appears inevitable.

Such an investigation is in our opinion highly desirable, for whatever the merits of the Arabian development plan, it represents a new departure in American foreign economic policy which ought to be subject to public debate. Nor can any conclusive judgment be formed on the matter until all the facts are spread on the record. At present we know only that the United States government has entered into an agreement in principle with the Arabian American Oil Corporation (jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Corporation) and the Gulf Exploration Company to build a pipe-line from their oilfields on the western shores of the Persian Gulf to a Mediterranean port. This pipe-line is to be constructed, owned, and maintained by the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, of which Mr. Ickes is chairman. Charges for its use are to include, in addition to operation and maintenance costs, an amount sufficient to amortize the entire investment in twenty-five years, together with interest charges and a net return to the government to be fixed later. The companies agree to maintain a billion-barrel reserve to be available over a fifty-year period to the United States government for

military or naval use at a price 25 per cent below the market.

Obviously, an agreement of this kind can only become operative subject to a number of other agreements or treaties. In the first place, there must be an agreement with Saudi Arabia, across whose broad deserts the pipeline will be laid for most of its length. If its terminus is Haifa, it will also cross Transjordania and Palestine, and agreements will be necessary with the governments of these two British Mandates. An alternative possibility is that it will reach tidewater at Alexandria, in which case the approval of the Egyptian government must be obtained. Again Gulf Oil shares its concession in Kuwait with Anglo-Iranian Oil, in which the British government holds the majority of the stock. Past experience indicates that this concern will look for a marketing agreement before it signs up.

All these agreements are dependent on the blessing of the British government, which dominates the Near East politically and economically. No doubt that blessing can be obtained; but on what terms? Presumably the British will want to guard their own extensive oil interests in the region from uneconomic competition. Still more, they are likely to look for support in their task of "policing" this area, According to the New York Times oil specialist, J. H. Carmical, these problems were under discussion at the Cairo and Teheran conferences, and progress was made toward a general understanding which would include Russia, with its own large stake in oil. Between them the three great powers control some 95 per cent of the world's petroleum supplies, and it is suggested that this control could be used as an instrument to curb aggression. Such a plan fits in, of course, with the idea of an American-Russian-British political cartel, but one wonders how it is supposed to jibe with the broader conception of international organization indorsed by the Moscow conference.

The reason given for American government intervention in the Arabian oil situation is, however, the danger that our domestic supplies will be exhausted within a comparatively few years. Output at the present time is in excess of additions to proved reserves, and some oil men believe that in ten years this country will be a net importer of petroleum products instead of the leading exporter. This may be so, but last time we had an oil scare, in 1922, proved reserves stood at five billion barrels; today they are twenty billion. Moreover, if we do need to import oil we can get it from Latin America, where United States interests are strongly intrenched.

The real difficulty which might arise would be in supplying the huge American distributive system in Europe, and this is why Mr. Ickes's pipe-line will be so valuable to the major companies it will service. But is this a good enough reason for the United States to underwrite the financial and political risks involved? Mr.

Ickes's original idea was for the government to acquire a large minority interest in the companies and a voice in their management. The oil men, however, resisted this proposal stubbornly and successfully. For our part, we think that if national interest demands an American stake in Arabian oil, then the government should emulate that well-known socialist Winston Churchill, who in 1914 secured control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for the British Treasury.

#### Hell Bent for Inflation

THE long-drawn-out struggle to prevent an inflationary upset in this war comparable to that suffered in World War I has reached its climax as a result of the Senate's passage of the bill banning further use of food subsidies to hold down the cost of living. Without question the President will veto the bill, as he did a similar measure last summer. But this time there is grave danger that a coalition of irresponsible and economically illiterate and Southern Democrats will succeed in passing the bill over the President's veto.

Incredible though it may seem to anyone with even a high-school knowledge of economics, the opponents of subsidies keep referring to them as "inflationary" and keep insisting that the only way for a farmer to get a fair return for his work is through an increase in price that is passed on to the consumer. It is perfectly true that the payment of subsidies to assure a fair return to some producers or distributors is more "inflationary" than squeezing them by a rigid effort to hold-the-line on prices without any adjustment whatsoever. But this latter alternative is not what the opponents of subsidies want. They would pay the producers and middlemen as much as or more than would be paid in subsidies but would pass the entire cost on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. They close their eyes to the fact that this would bring an immediate and irresistible demand for increased wages, giving the sharpest twist yet to the inflationary spiral. In contrast, subsidies must be paid out of taxes, which, because they can be levied on the basis of capacity to pay, are deflationary in effect.

Unfortunately, organized labor, which represents more of the country's consumers than any other group, has been so hypnotized by the inflationary mirage as to be practically useless at the crucial stage of the subsidy fight. Although both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have repeatedly gone on record as favoring subsidies, doubt has been cast on the sincerity of their pleas for a maintenance of the stabilization program by their simultaneous campaign for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. And their case has been further injured by the ill-timed release of a highly partisan report purporting to show that the cost of living has risen 43½

per cent since January, 1941, instead of the 23½ per cent indicated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Although a certain amount of concealed inflation has undoubtedly taken place, chiefly through deterioration in quality, the report of the labor representatives on the President's Committee on the Cost of Living contains glaring discrepancies which make it useless as a scientific document.

Labor's drive for a revision of the Little Steel formula is untimely, not only because it serves to reinforce the attack on the Administration's anti-inflation program, but because it comes at a moment when, for the first time during the war, prices have been effectively stabilized for a protracted period. The cost of living is actually lower today than it was last May, and there is every reason to believe that the present price-wage line can continue to be held by the Administration if it is not upset by political pressures such as those now being brought to bear. The importance of this achievement is not generally understood throughout the country. Yet one only has to compare the behavior of prices in this war with that in World War I to grasp its significance. By December, 1918, after four and a quarter years of war, the cost-of-living index had advanced more than 60 per cent; in the corresponding period of this war the advance was approximately 25 per cent. And in contrast to the decline in the cost-of-living index in the past eight months, the inflationary spiral of World War I continued unchecked throughout the war and for many months after its close.

Although both farmers and war workers gained temporarily in the early stages of the inflation of World War I, both groups suffered acutely in its latter stages and in the readjustment period that followed. If memories were not so short, these groups would be in the forefront of the struggle to hold the line and prevent a repetition of the disaster of 1919-20.

## The Political Strategy of Invasion

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE dominant impression among high army officers in Washington is that the war would advance more rapidly toward a victorious conclusion if the military offensive were accompanied by a more aggressive political plan," reported the Associated Press the other day. Three years of warfare and the crisis at the bridgehead of Anzio were necessary before such a statement from such a source could appear in the American press.

Never has a war been more essentially political than this one. Never has a war been waged with greater poverty of political imagination and insight. Political propaganda has been deliberately eliminated from the army, and the efficiency of agencies in charge of propaganda and psychological warfare has been impaired from the beginning by the absence of a clear democratic line. An entirely erroneous conception of the problem of building morale made it possible on February 9 for the evening papers to print enormous headlines about the assault on a hill near Cassino, implying that all was well in Italy, on the very day when Allied troops were pressed back on the Rome front.

The confusion which this lack of a coherent political policy has created is so great that it has victimized some of the most intelligent people. Only a year ago many liberals reproached *The Nation* for its attitude on the French issue—the same attitude now obviously about to be adopted as the official policy of the government. For this lack of a political conception of the war and for lack of the courage to wage it as a war against fascism, we are now paying. Two years of 50 per cent expediency and 50 per cent reaction are bearing fruit. (For the gigantic blunder of Munich we paid with the Second World War.)

The effects are clear on every hand. Responsible Americans who have recently visited many parts of the country report growing dissatisfaction and anxiety. With half the road behind them, people are asking themselves to what destination they are marching, and whether the sacrifices demanded of them will be justified. Two years ago it seemed scandalous to speak of World War III. I remember the shocked reaction which greeted an article I wrote under that title in *The Nation*. Today World War III has become a commonplace topic of discussion.

As regards relations among the United Nations, the outlook is no less dismal. The very phrase "United Nations" has begun to sound like a mockery. General distrust darkens the horizon. Anti-British propaganda and anti-Russian propaganda find an increasingly receptive atmosphere.

Actually it was utopian to hope for unity among the Allies in view of the methods applied to the direction of the war. The first requisites for real unity were approximate equality in sacrifice and at least minimum agreement as to aims. The beginning of 1943 was the propitious moment for the creation of that council of the United Nations of which Sumner Welles spoke in an article in the New York Herald Tribune on February 9. "An Executive Council of the United Nations," he said, "was never more necessary than it is today."

At the beginning of 1943 there was comparative equilibrium among the forces of the Allied coalition. The Russians had proved their capacity at Stalingrad. No one with a sense of realism could long think that the war on the eastern front would result in a reciprocal weakening of Germany and Russia—a hope on which the little Metternichs had based their plans for an automatic bal-

ance of power. Then was the time for British and American diplomacy to lay down a grand United Nations strategy. That would, of course, have necessitated the sacrifice of expediency, the renunciation of the old "legitimacies" in Europe, and an end of the practice of supporting the most reactionary elements in the various political emigrations and free movements. It would have been necessary, in other words, to consider the war in relation to tomorrow, and not as a magic expedient for saving the wretched system of 1939.

When the conference of Teheran finally took place, the disequilibrium within the Allied coalition was too far advanced to be overlooked. For the first time the Wehrmacht had been beaten. The Soviet army had accomplished that in the summer of 1943. The second front, which the Soviet government had been impatiently demanding for a year and which was in itself one of the weights on the Allied scales, had lost part of its meaning for the Russians. They no longer needed a second front as a protection against defeat. Their hour of anxiety was over. Alone they had successfully dealt with the danger of defeat by a ceaseless offensive, by fighting day and night, in good weather and in bad, mud or no mud, without counting casualties, knowing well that that was the only way to beat an enemy like the Nazis.

Of course, they continued to be interested in the second front, but rather as a means to hasten the end of the war and to safeguard themselves against the unjust possibility that at the armistice Russia would be the only one among the Allied nations to count its dead by the millions. The balance had tipped decisively in favor of the Russians. One fact is enough to prove it: the meetings with the British and American leaders had to take place at Moscow and at Teheran.

But like other problems of this war, the problem of the second front is not a purely military one. Particularly in the present stage of the conflict it is a political problem as well. Let us assume that the American and British armies succeed in establishing a solid front in the west, with no danger of being thrown back into the sea. Two possibilities will then be open to the enemy. He may do what the Russians have always hoped the second front would oblige him to do: withdraw a substantial part of his army from the east and launch it against the Americans and British. The major weight of the struggle, in that case, would be transferred to the west. The Anglo-American armies would fight along the periphery of Fortress Europe while the Russians, relieved of the presence of fifty or sixty Nazi divisions, could forcibly push their way across the German frontier. This would mean two things: heavy casualties for the British and Americans, and the arrival of the Russians in Germany ahead of their allies. Knowing the dread which both possibilities inspire in certain circles in London and Washington, the German General Staff might well decide that such tactics offer the best hope of frightening the Western powers into a negotiated peace.

But that same knowledge might also lead the German command to a different conclusion; it might decide to offer the Allies the benefits of a bloodless invasion. Instead of concentrating on smashing the Allied armies in the west, the Germans might leave the bulk of their forces on the Russian front. Under such circumstances, the American and British armies could advance with comparatively small losses and reach Germany while the German troops were still engaging the Russians beyond the eastern frontier.

In a word, Hitler, sure of defeat, might well consider negotiating that defeat, selling it to the party which would pay the better price. Such a possibility would, of course, not even be worth discussing if unity among the United Nations were a reality, if a council of the United Nations existed, based, not upon formal declarations, but upon a clear, democratic agreement for the conduct of the war and the organization of the peace. As long as the Germans see Allied disunity increasing, the incentive for such maneuvers must increase correspondingly.

But the second front is full of political implications for the Allies too. As the article from the London Tribune, printed on page 214, points out, the second front implies collaboration with the underground. Unfortunately the importance of the underground, although acknowledged in public addresses, has never been recognized in action. The movement of resistance has never been looked upon as the basis upon which the Europe of tomorrow must rise. Many factors have contributed to the lack of a positive policy in dealing with the underground, but the chief one has been the fear that if the peoples were armed, dreams of reestablishing the prewar Europe would be shattered. Every European leader in this country who has to deal with the problems of the underground has come to the same conclusion: In spite of goodwill and intelligent understanding among individual members of the various agencies of political warfare, the lack of a policy on the part of the governments has prevented any effective use of the anti-fascist forces of the Continent. Even the overpowering desire to save American and British lives has failed to convince the highest Allied authorities that the only alternative to heavy casualties-unless the Germans deliberately withdraw—is the arming of the underground.

The result is what we see today—division among the United Nations and bitterness in the ranks of the democratic fighters of Europe. Even as we write these lines comes the scandalous news of the delivery to Badoglio of the liberated areas of Italy. We ask ourselves whether this is the "more aggressive political plan" demanded by those high army officers whose views are reported at the beginning of this article.

## Soldiers' Votes and 1944

BY ALTER BRODY

THE bitter, cunning, and hitherto successful campaign of the Republican Party to disfranchise in the name of "constitutionalism" the men who are giving their lives to defend our Constitution has overreached itself. The Senate, frightened by public indignation at the brazen performance of the House in passing the Eastland-Rankin "states' rights" bill, has reversed itself and turned out an amended version of the Green-Lucas federal-ballot plan. This will now go into committee with the House "states' rights" bill, and perhaps a compromise will emerge which will make it possible for 50 per cent of the soldiers to vote instead of the less than 1 per cent that voted in the "states' rights" election of 1942 or the possible 95 per cent which could have voted under the original Green-Lucas bill. The President would probably sign a half-a-loaf measure, but he could still take the issue to the families of 11,000,000 service men. However, the soldier-vote battle, regardless of its outcome, has already accomplished one useful thing. It has torn off the pretense of non-partisanship from one of the most partisan fights in American political history.

The soldier-vote issue is a partisan issue, and the attempt to deny it is hypocrisy on the part of the Republicans as it is stupidity on the part of the Democrats. The right of the soldiers to vote should never have become a partisan question. But the denial of that right has been the skeleton at the victory feasts which the Republicans have been celebrating since 1940 and at the political wakes which the Democrats have held during the same period. The Republican National Committee, with the efficient research departments of big business at its disposal, has been well aware of the effect of the draft on its political fortunes, though it has shrewdly concealed its knowledge. Only the Democratic National Committee, under the Farley-Walker dynasty of graduate wardheelers, has appeared unaware of what was happening. As a result, from the day conscription was put into effect the Republicans have been going from victory to victory, pretending that their success has been due to a revolt against the Administration. And since the Democratic machine was in large part similarly hostile to its national leaders, it ended by accepting the Republican propaganda. If they had taken the trouble to analyze recent registration and election figures in New York, the Farleys and Walkers could long ago have discovered the secret of Republican success.

It is well known that a Democratic victory in New York State depends upon the vote in New York City.

The city, overwhelmingly Democratic, must pile up a big enough majority to overcome the Republican upstate majority. That is why New York State was normally Republican before the twenties: New York City had not yet achieved a majority of the state's population. This point was reached in 1910, but for some time the large number of foreign-born in the city delayed the translation of the population majority into a voting majority. With the passage of the restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and the gradual naturalization of the non-citizens, the mounting registration figures of New York City began to be translated into a succession of Democratic state victories which was not interrupted till Dewey's election in 1942.

An analysis of recent election figures shows how rapidly New York City's percentage of the state's registration was mounting before 1941. In 1932 the city registration was 2,338,000 out of a state total of 5,350,000, or 43 per cent. By 1940 city registration rose to 3,388,000 out of a state total of 6,968,000, or 49 per cent. Since a higher percentage of registered voters turn out in the city on Election Day, New York City finally achieved a clear majority of 51 per cent in the 1940 elections. Under normal circumstances this majority would not only have been permanent but have steadily increased until the city's registration percentage corresponded to its population percentage, namely, about 55 per cent.

The war radically altered this trend in two related ways. First, since the city had relatively few war industries, many workers and their families migrated to other parts of the country to take war jobs. Second, though the figures have never been released by the War Department, it is well known that a higher percentage of men has been drafted from the city, which has a greater proportion of non-essential, non-deferable jobs in its industries. In consequence, the city's population has dropped from about 7,500,000, as reported in the 1940 census, to about 6,600,000, according to applications for Ration Book 4, a fairly reliable index. No such drop has taken place upstate, where war-essential agriculture and war-essential industries have combined to keep down both the number of men lost by migration and the number taken by the army. According to statements by Governor Dewey and Mayor LaGuardia, only 300,000 men from upstate have been drafted as compared with 700,000 from New York City. These facts were unmistakably manifest in the 1943 city and state registration figures.

Registration always drops in off-year elections, but the

ratio of city to state remains substantially the same. Last fall upstate registration dropped from the 3,580,000 of 1940 to 2,915,000, city registration from 3,388,000 to 1,750,000. In other words, the city vote decreased from 49 per cent to 37 per cent of the total, whereas the upstate share rose from the narrow margin of 51 per cent to 63 per cent—a huge differential. Thus registration week revealed that a Democratic defeat was inevitable. Contrary to the general impression, the election marked no decline in the pro-New Deal percentage of the city's vote, but only a decline in the city's percentage of the state total. This meant that though Republican William, polling 39 per cent, for the New York City vote, lost the state in 1940, Republican Hanley, polling 39 per cent, could win in 1943.

Republican victories in other parts of the country in the elections of 1942 and 1943 can be explained in much the same way as Republican success in New York State. We have seen that in New York the distribution of essential industries combined with the draft sent a disproportionately high percentage of Democrats to training camps and war-boom towns far from their voting precincts and at the same time kept a disproportionately high percentage of Republicans at home, within easy reach of their ballot boxes. More or less the same conditions have prevailed throughout the nation.

The high percentage of Democrats in our hitherto disfranchised army is accounted for by two factors, neither of which has anything to do with the Democratic Commander-in-Chief, as Republicans pretend. The first is the average age of service men. According to Dr. Gallup, "all Institute studies of recent years found that voters who are under thirty are predominantly Democratic in their political sentiments." The second is more complex, but it stems largely from the fact that the machinery of draft deferment heavily favors agriculture as opposed to industry. According to a recent statement by General Hershey, there have been 3,400,000 deferments on occupational grounds. Of these, 1,800,000 have been in agriculture and 1,600,000 in industry. In addition, of 5,000,000 pre-Pearl Harbor fathers to be called in 1944, 1,000,000 are to be deferred in agriculture and 1,000,000 in industry. When we consider that there are 45,000,000 people engaged in industry and 12,000,000 in agriculture in the United States, the effect of these deferment figures becomes apparent. A farmer has about four times as much chance of deferment as a city worker.

This fact has had a strategic influence on recent elections. In the Solid South, where both the rural and the urban population are Democratic, agricultural deferment has had no influence on the vote. But north of the Mason and Dixon Line, where national elections are decided, the rural vote is predominantly Republican and the urban vote predominantly Democratic. According to Gallup

Institute studies, from 1932 to 1940 the Republicans failed to carry a single Northern city of over 500,000 inhabitants and carried only two cities between 250,000 and 500,000. The deferment of 25 per cent of the farmers and of only 6 per cent of the industrial workers will therefore markedly affect the political balance of power.

If the vast majority of service men by reason of age and occupation were Democrats before they were drafted, their political attitude has undergone no change since they donned the uniform, according to the findings of a recent Gallup poll. Unfortunately this poll deliberately excluded the 25 per cent of service men who are from the South, on the ground that their voting preference would have no influence on the election results. Excluding these traditional Democrats, the poll shows that 61 per cent of the service men from the rest of the country are Democratic in their political preferences. If we assume that 80 per cent of Southern service men are Democrats, the national average is brought to about 66 per cent.

Taken in conjunction with another Gallup poll of civilian political alignments, this analysis of the political preferences of the soldiers throws considerable light both on Republican victories in 1942 and 1943 and on Republican chances in 1944. According to the Gallup figures, 52 per cent of the probable 40,000,000 civilian voters are Democratic and 48 per cent Republican. Because of the concentration of Democratic strength in the South, 52 per cent does not constitute a safe national electoral majority for the Democratic Party, though it would for the Republicans. But combine the 66 per cent of Democratic service men—out of a possible soldier vote of 10,000,000—with the civilian Democrats and you get a remarkable statistical phenomenon. The soldier and civilian vote today, taken together, shows about the same numerical and percentage division between parties as was represented in the Roosevelt victory of 1940. The respective figures are 27,400,000 and 22,600,000-a Democratic majority of some 5,000,000, as in 1940.

The soldier Democrats are not the only Democrats whose disfranchisement contributed to the Republican victories in 1942 and 1943. The Gallup Institute mentions also "a group estimated at five to ten millions who have shifted their place of work because of war-time conditions and who for the most part failed to vote either because of ineligibility or because they did not take advantage of absentee balloting. In this group . . . Democrats overwhelmingly predominate."

After the second series of Democratic defeats in 1943, James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, echoed the Republican propaganda that "the voters were tired of being pushed around," and Frank C. Walker, who was chairman at the time, expressed the pious hope that perhaps the voters would change their minds by 1944. But the Republicans were

well aware of the real reasons for their "victory," and when the Lucas-Green soldier-vote bill came up in the Senate they decided that it had to be defeated.

Throughout last November amendment after amendment was offered by the Republican foes of the bill in an effort to split its Democratic support. All these amendments, including one offered by its arch-foe, Senator Taft, were accepted and incorporated in the bill. But in the cloakrooms the Republicans were conniving with Southern poll-tax reactionaries for a flank attack that would defeat it. A minority of the Democratic Senators, mainly from the poll-tax states, joined a majority of the Republican Senators to pass the fraudulent Eastland-Rankin states' rights bill, which nullifies the purposes of the Green-Lucas bill. A majority of the Democratic Senators and a minority of the Republicans opposed it.

On February 3, by the use of similar methods, the Eastland-Rankin bill was passed in the House. Despite the attempt of the Republican Party to hide behind its Southern poll-tax allies, the New York Times, which has been consistently sniping at the Administration, commented editorially on the partisan character of the fight:

The federal plan was defeated not because of the Southern votes, a majority of which would have approved it, but because of Republican votes. . . The record shows that 69 Southern votes were cast in favor of the federal plan and 62 in favor of the states' rights plan. . . . Of a total of 193 Republicans, only 18 supported the federal plan as opposed to 175 supporting the states' rights plan.

Clearly, for the Republicans, the decisive factor in the whole affair was their fear that a majority of the soldier vote would go to the President.

In the heat of the soldier-vote battle Walter Lippmann exposed the secret recipe for Republican victory in 1944:

The Republicans have allied themselves with the farm organizations. . . Their calculation is that they can take for granted the bulk of employers, that labor may be divided by the factionalism of men like Lewis or be in part disfranchised by change of residence or by being in the armed forces (italics mine).

The effort to disfranchise the soldiers is an attempt to prevent Democrats from voting. It is an attempt by one party to win political power by disfranchising its political opponents.

Discussion of Democratic strategy in other fields is beyond the scope of this article, but the soldier-vote issue, which Republican greed has thrown into the hands of the Democrats, can be converted into an immense political asset. The twelve million veterans of this war will be a far greater political force than the four million veterans of the last war, not only because of their greater number but because of the more dynamic character of the period. These men are at present predominantly pro-

gressive in their political outlook. But there is always the danger that, like the veterans of other periods and other countries, they will be exploited after the war by reactionary demagogues for purposes of their own. Fortunately, the reactionary elements in Congress now stand exposed as the very ones who, largely in the Republican camp, are bitterly opposing the soldier-vote bill.

The present cleavage of interest between the reactionary forces of America and our soldiers can be dramatized by the soldier-vote issue. Whatever the outcome of the present fight in Congress, the Republican record on the bill should be made a major issue of the Presidential election

#### 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

A LTHOUGH we cannot predict what will be the results of King Milan's sudden and theatrical return to Servia, it is safe to say that they are not likely to be for the good of the country or the peace of Europe.—February 1, 1894.

TO THE EDITOR of The Nation: . . . It seems to me that the time is already quite ripe to begin to take action in our several states concerning a form of advertisement from which America suffers as no other country ever has been or ever will be cursed. I refer to the medical advertisements in our newspapers. . . . We find every alternate column beginning with a "scare-head" that suggests momentous news, and we presently discover, coordinated with perhaps change of ministry in England, the annexation of Hawaii, or the passage of a tariff bill, accounts of Mr. Mingo's kidneys, Mr. Hawkshaw's bronchi, or Mrs. Hecla's skin-on which the grotesque pictures of the sufferers set the seal. Like Ulysses, these worthies have become a part of all that we have met; and all experience is an arch wherethrough their entrails gleam as it were iridescently upon us, until the world looms to our imagination in a sort of catarrhal vapor, or as if bathed in a cancerous and haemorrhoidal mist. . . . I returned home last September . . . and I remember that the first sight I got of the Boston Herald on the steamer wharf made me involuntarily jerk back my head and catch my breath, as if a bucket of slops had suddenly been thrown into my face. - WILLIAM JAMES, February 1, 1894.

BESIDES THE USUAL QUOTA of dialectical fiction, the Century contains . . . the vigorously sketched tale of "Pudd'nhead Wilson," genuinely and solidly American in subject and treatment.—February 8, 1894.

MR. GLADSTONE HAS AGAIN disposed of the report that he was about to retire from office immediately. He has returned to London in improved health.—February 15, 1894.

THE QUESTION WHETHER the game of football ought to be encouraged was discussed in Philadelphia last week by two college professors—Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, who took the affirmative, and Burt G. Wilder of Cornell, in the negative.—February 22, 1894.

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## The Cartels' Washington Friends

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 11

AST week I said I would tackle the task of naming some of the men and influences in Washington "which already make it seem an almost hopeless task to achieve full employment after the war and to prevent revival of the cartel system." Here goes:

Jesse Jones. One of the best ways to maintain free enterprise after the war and to prevent further hardening of our economic arteries would be to use government-owned war plants as publicly operated yardsticks, TVA style, in basic industries. This is the only good weapon we have against cartelization; anti-trust prosecution is a Sisyphean task resulting at best in flea-bite penalties.

On paper, we are in an excellent position to carry out such a policy. We have built some 2,600 plants for war purposes; the investment in them is variously estimated at from \$16 billion to \$20 billion. These governmentfinanced facilities include nearly all our synthetic-rubber and high-octane-gas plants, 92 per cent of our magnesium, 90 per cent of our aircraft plants, more than 50 per cent of our aluminum capacity, 50 per cent of our machine-tool capacity, and about 10 per cent of our steel. The RFC through the Defense Plant Corporation holds title to the bulk of these-1,753 in all. As Jesse Jones indicated in his speech before the New York Board of Trade last October, these include 534 aircraft plants, 164 iron-and-steel plants, 116 plants for the manufacture of machine tools, 98 plants for radio and similar equipment, 84 aluminum plants, 65 plants for ships and ship engines, 60 mining and smelter plants, 60 plants for synthetic rubber and its components, 35 plants for aviation gas, 6 pipe-lines for petroleum. This is far from a complete list.

A mere enumeration of products by no means indicates the full possibilities. The butadiene plants in the synthetic-rubber program provide the basis for infinite developments in plastics; the government's machine-tool capacity is a sleeping, and probably will soon be a chloroformed, giant, capable of spawning huge and multifarious industries. In socialist America what wealth, comfort, and happiness for all could be drawn from these resources!

Here I plead only for a "mixed" system, for the operation of enough of this capacity on a "yardstick" basis to prevent renewed restriction of production and the fixing of uneconomic prices. Such a policy was advocated by the National Resources Planning Board; the NRPB has been abolished. The war plants are largely in the hands of Jesse Jones, and Jones is unlikely to permit

their use for any such purpose—and would be back in Houston in a twinkling if he tried.

The trend of policy is to get rid of these plants as rapidly as possible, and there is little chance of an antimonopolistic policy in disposing of them. Jones's policy in the RFC has been inimical to independent enterprise, helpful to monopoly. He will sell most war plants to their present operators; the majority of these are monopolistic and will emerge well fattened from the war. Standard Oil, Alcoa, and du Pont, our leading carteleers, and their allies will be in a stronger position than ever to dominate domestic and world markets. A huge portion of our war-plant facilities will go directly or indirectly to these three concerns.

Leo T. Crowley. Another small-town banker taken into the big time. As Alien Property Custodian, Crowley has his hands on a second great instrument for the preservation of free enterprise—in a real sense—and the prevention of a cartel system after the war. The alien patents and properties under his control were the heart of monopolies in chemicals, pharmaceuticals, dyestuffs, photographic materials, magnesium, and a long list of highly important industrial components and products. The policies he is pursuing will help keep these monopolies intact or make them stronger than ever.

Crowley boasts that he is making alien patents freely available to American business. But he makes two kinds of exceptions, and these are broad enough to permit maintenance and revival of the cartel system. He makes an exception when an American concern already has an exclusive license under an alien patent; such patents will not be available except under very special circumstances. But exclusive licenses of this kind are one of the basic cartel devices, and it is no secret that many American companies deliberately took out licenses under worthless German patents to give them a legal weapon against competitors at home and abroad. The second exception is in the case of patents used in the operations of a business taken over by the Alien Property Custodian. This means that a concern like General Aniline and Film, the principal German property in the United States and the foundation of Germany's imperial power in North and South American pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and other materials, continues in possession of these basic monopolistic devices.

Crowley is still drawing \$75,000 a year as chairman and president of Standard Gas and Electric. He obtained that job from Victor Emanuel, president of Standard Power and Light, which controls Standard Gas. Emanuel

himself came to power in Standard Gas and in Aviation Corporation, our most important holding company in aircraft and shipbuilding, with the financial backing of the Anglo-German banking house of J. Henry Schroder. The Schroder firms of London and New York are linked by family ties with the Schröder Brothers bank of Hamburg and by business ties with the Stein bank of Cologne. A leading partner in the latter is the Baron Kurt von Schröder who was the go-between in Hitler's negotiations with the Rhineland industrialists.

The Schroder bank in London was a member of the notoriously pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship. In March, 1938, the London bank formed a company to finance the export of basic materials to the Reich. A year previously the Schroder bank in New York subscribed \$300,000 to set up a corporation to facilitate barter of German products for American cotton.

Next to the Schroders, the most important banking interest in Standard Gas before the war was Chase National. No two banks in New York had more dealings with Nazi concerns and cartels than Chase National and the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation. I think it inexcusable that the Alien Property Custodian should be receiving \$75,000 a year from Standard Gas, in view of the conflicting interests in which this double position might possibly involve him. Add the fact that Crowley is now head of the Foreign Economic Administration, and has actively furthered General Aniline interests in Latin America, and you have a situation that hardly promises to weaken the great cartels after the war.

Nelson, Byrnes, Baruch. I only have a line left for these dominant figures in the reconversion of industry. Their policies, whatever their intentions, move in the direction of giving big business the inside track on reconversion. I hope to return to this subject again soon, but I think I have indicated how powerfully intrenched are the forces which make for great monopolies after the war and for the revival of cartels.

## Legitimism—New Style

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

T THE risk of writing what is commonly called "philosophy" instead of an analysis of political "facts," I venture to quote an aphorism coined by a Hungarian professor of jurisprudence. Professor Plósz said: "A theory which cannot be put into practice is a bad theory, and a practice which has no foundation in theory is a bad practice." This method of appraisal can be applied to political institutions as well, notwithstanding Pope's familiar dictum: "For forms of government let fools contest." However, it is not contesting the relative merits of various forms of government to attempt to clarify what they really mean both in theory and in practice.

A current mistake which blurs the political vision is the assumption that republic is the correlative of democracy, while monarchy means an authoritarian or at least an aristocratic form of government. Coins of Napoleon bore the inscription "République Française, Napoléon Empereur," as, indeed, since the sixteenth century the English equivalent of the Latin respublica had been used in its signification of a commonwealth or state even if the state was ruled by an absolute monarch. Since Francis Lieber baptized England a "Royal Republic," or rather since the English "Glorious Revolution," monarchy has lost the right to be contrasted with republicanism; still more so since the First World War, as a result of which no one any longer denies that the popular will is the legal base of all politics and not even monarchists seek to justify monarchy with transcendental arguments. To some persons it has seemed that republican sentiment has thereby lost both its opponents and its significance. Professor Rohden, for example, wrote in the "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" that the struggle between the divine right of kings and popular sovereignty having come to an end, the choice between the monarchical and the republican form of government resolves itself into the question which is more opportune.

Recent events scarcely confirm this optimism. On the contrary, the unwelcome results in some countries of postwar revolutions which created republics without republicans have disproved Rohden's thesis and revived the old controversy. Persons who are anxious to shun "revolution and chaos" seem to pin their hopes on legitimism just as their predecessors did at the time of the Holy Alliance, which, however, in spite of Metternich's genius was unable to prevent the European uprisings in 1830 and 1848. It is of course unreasonable to attribute intrinsic value to one or another form of government. Only blindfold praisers of times past believe monarchy to be the penicillin of politics, the miracle drug which can instantly heal both the wounds in the body politic inflicted by the war and the internal ailments that preceded and resulted in the war. No unbiased observer of history needs to be told that neither monarchy nor republic is a panacea, or that checking the outburst of an overdue revolution does not remove its causes.

A priori, the maintenance or the restoration of a monarchy, in particular of a legitimist monarchy with

venerable historical tradition, is supposed to have a stabilizing effect on the social structure when its balance is threatened by the aftermath of war. But the steadying influence of a monarchy largely depends on the kind of tradition it continues and the moral power it exercises. Lord Bryce classified states as "flexible" or "rigid," and the value of their tradition varies accordingly. It was its flexibility which allowed Great Britain to develop from an oligarchy, first into a middle-class regime, then gradually, by extension of the franchise and limitation of the veto power of the House of Lords, into a democracy. These constitutional changes became traditional, and the dynasty reigning theoretically by the grace of God, in fact by a parliamentary title, conformed to this tradition. Combining the dignity of the crown with a strong sense of duty, the King of England personifies both national consciousness and sympathetic human feelings. British legitimism rests on a pliable tradition. It is perhaps an overstatement to call the case of the British monarchy unique, as the "Encyclopedia Britannica" does, but it certainly presents a shining contrast to monarchies based upon a right superior to the people's will.

Legitimate authority is no doubt a safeguard of law and peace, provided it lives up to the tradition which both law and legitimism express. There is, however, another proviso: the tradition must not collide with the development of public opinion in the community or with social progress. Whether our age will be in fact the Century of the Common Man may be doubtful, but it is unlikely to become the century of a privileged class, a clique, or a court camarilla, one or the other of which was the foundation of legitimism in bygone times. Even dictatorships have to be more democratic today than were the Oriental despotisms of the past. It is true, they have set back the clock of history, but only blind worshipers of authority can expect that the clock will be put right by replacing the dictators by those monarchs whose cracked divine authority the dictators impersonated. No one can foresee what social structure or what public opinion will emerge in the post-war period, but it is improbable that the enslaved nations will exchange their predicament for a self-imposed slavery or substitute the Weltanschauung of an out-of-date aristocracy for the ever-widening sphere of public opinion.

If we examine, for example, the tradition of the claimants to the Austrian, the Hungarian, and the Spanish throne, it appears that the Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties were always, to put it mildly, intensely conservative. For seven centuries, as A. J. P. Taylor has said, "the Hapsburg lands were a collection of entailed estates," based since Maria Theresa on a centralized bureaucratic system and an authority in which "the obstinate, unenlightened Hapsburg nature reasserted itself" after the interlude of Joseph II, the "people's emperor." Medieval Spanish etiquette was as traditional to the Hapsburg

court as the use of the Austrian aristocracy and the Hungarian squirearchy in support of this tradition. No one can accuse Sir Charles Petrie of bias against the Hapsburgs, whom he considers far superior to the British dynasty, but it was their misfortune, he wrote, "that circumstances made them the object of attack when the French Revolution spread the virus of nationalism and democracy throughout Europe" ["Monarchy," London, 1933]. Conservative, feudal, and Catholic elements being their historical support, the Hapsburgs had to protect themselves against the "virus" of nationalism and democracy; a national, democratic dynasty would have had no raison d'être in a multilingual, semi-feudal empire.

Renouncing the tradition of his ancestors, the pretender to their throne, Archduke Otto, spoke recently of his aim to transform Hungary into a democratic state of peasants and workers. A century ago one of the Archduke's distant relatives, the son of Philippe Egalité, performed a similar volte-face when he became the roi bourgeois of France. It is possible of course that the Archduke, in spite of this not very encouraging example, is not simply paying lip service to American democracy but hopes by advocating a "peasant and worker state" to win the benevolence of Marshal Stalin. If this should prove true, Hapsburg legitimism would become a real revolutionary movement, since the threat of a thorough agrarian reform would be sure to meet resistance from the landowning aristocracy and clergy. While it is obvious that by discarding the family tradition the pretender would lose the support of the conservative stabilizing elements, he could not, on the other hand, win over for this illegitimate legitimism those who stand for thorough agrarian reform. After the experience of 1848 the Hungarian people have little confidence in democratic promises offered by the Hapsburgs.

However, the supporters of the Hapsburg pretender are not found among the radicals whose gospel he is preaching but among Hungarian aristocrats, Catholic priests, propagandists of the Horthy regime, wealthy financiers and industrialists. Conscious of their own interests, these groups would scarcely back his efforts if they were not convinced that all this talk about democracy is but window-dressing for the benefit of those leaders of the United Nations whose support he is soliciting. Still less compatible with legitimism is the pretender's promise to be on friendly terms with the neighbors of Hungary. Hapsburg legitimist tradition is closely linked with the Austro-Hungarian Empire which it is supposed to restore. That the promise of a loan to Hungary would restore the pretender to his throne, as Sir Charles Petrie believes, may be wishful thinking, but a logical implication of this hope is that "once there, it will assuredly not be long before their [the Hapsburgs'] former subjects voluntarily return to the rule of the double-headed eagle." Whether the resuscitation of this ambiguous bird would

have this unlikely result is of less consequence than the effect which the hope of its revival would have in the successor states of the Hapsburg realm. Peoples which for a quarter of a century enjoyed national independence would feel that expectations aroused by the Atlantic Charter had been betrayed, and the result would probably be the civil war and chaos which legitimism is supposed to prevent. Without their tradition the Hapsburgs are of no use; with it they are a threat to European peace.

Apparently each of the legitimist aspirations must be dealt with separately. A century ago, when Don Carlos V, under British protection, had embarked in the Donegal for Spain, a pamphlet appeared in London (1835) entitled "Legitimism, the Only Salvation for Spain." It was this salvation which eventually produced Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco. In Italy the House of Savoy used its legitimism to work in "closest and most whole-hearted cooperation' with Mussolini, who after having called the king "simbolo della Patria, simbolo della perpetuità della Patria," proclaimed the Fascist republic which is now fighting against "the perpetuity of the Fatherland." Of still more doubtful value is the short-lived "legitimism" of the Balkan kings in exile, who as a protection against "chaos and revolution" have set up military dictatorships and hope to revive their dynasties with the help of the Allied armies.

In his last book, "The Principles of Power," Guglielmo Ferrero concludes that "legitimacies grow old for two reasons: either because they abuse the prestige they possess or because men's ideas undergo a new orientation, and they can no longer suffer the absurdity and injustice that every principle of legitimacy contains within it." In 1944, it seems, the second reason is operating. If the system does become outworn, it can be replaced, according to Ferrero, only by "democratic legitimacy as formulated by the last two centuries." But democratic legitimacy if it is not to be a contradictio in adjecto can be created only by the people, not by exiled monarchs who are no more capable of restoring their legitimacy than a maiden her lost virginity. Legitimacy based on a new democratic tradition reminds one, indeed, of the story about the president of a Midwestern university who visited Oxford and was told that, in accordance with a tradition handed down through more than four hundred years, dons were allowed to cross the campus while undergraduates had to walk around. On his return he had a signboard set up on his own campus with the inscription: "From tomorrow on the four-hundred-year-old tradition begins that only dons may cross the campus."



#### In the Wind

THE COMMITTEE FOR Constitutional Government proposes an amendment to the Constitution, to provide that the maximum aggregate rate of "all taxes, duties, and excises which the Congress may lay or collect on, with respect to, or measured by, income . . . shall not exceed 25 per centum."

ON PAGE 296 of Apperson's "English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases" appear these lines:

"From Hell, Hull, and Halifax Good Lord deliver us."

The first date given for the quotation is 1594. This little paragraph is in honor of its 350th anniversary.

HOW TO GET A CANDIDATE: The following item appeared under "Help Wanted, Male," in the Augusta, Georgia, Herald: "Honest, intelligent, conscientious citizen as independent candidate for judge of City Court of Richmond County. Would have backing of Augusta Citizens' Union if desired. Must be lawyer. Light work. Short hours. Good salary. Excellent opening for right party. References. Write for appointment Augusta Citizens' Union."

THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL of America has protested to the National Geographic Society "against repeated, wilful omission of the Republic of Czechoslovakia" from the society's new map of the world, published in December, 1943. The society replied that Czechoslovakia is a "part of Germany."

THE WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, Reporter-Dispatch refused to accept a paid advertisement announcing the moving of a cooperative store to larger quarters. The only reason given for the refusal was, "It is against the policy of the Macy chain to publish cooperative advertisements." The Macy chain, which publishes newspapers in Yonkers, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, Tarrytown, Peekskill, Ossining, and Port Chester, as well as White Plains, is the dominant purveyor of local news in Westchester County.

STARS AND STRIPES, the army newspaper, publishes a poem by a soldier who signs himself E. M. L. on the soldier-vote mess in Congress. It predicts victory over the Nazis and the Japanese, and ends thus:

All liberties we will defend At home, abroad, until the end. Then we will beat the rats who say, "You cannot vote Election Day."

FESTUNG EUROPA: From a speech by one Karmasin, leader of the "German Ethnical Group" in Spis, Slovakia: "No one should believe that he might be spared by the enemy because he did not take part in the last monthly meetings or did not pay his party dues and contributions."

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in January goes to Howard Poss of Cambridge, Mass., for the story of Representative Edith Nourse Rogers's remarks on subsidies, which was published in the issue of January 22.]

## Second-Front Strategy

[This article is by the military critic of the London Tribune and is taken from a recent issue of that paper. A commentary by J. Alvarez del Vayo appears on page 205.]

E HAVE come a long way since Lord Simon denounced the second front as a catchpenny phrase. Twelve months have passed since the Casablanca conference announced the unconditional-surrender terms and the coming engagement of the largest possible number of Germans on land, on sea, and in the air within nine months. Six months have passed since the Quebec conference turned the Allies to the invasion of Europe via what Mr. Churchill, in a moment of geographical extravagance, called its soft under-belly. On that occasion Mr. Churchill also announced to the United States Congress that Britain and America had decided to use their air power to beat Germany to its knees. At least, said the Premier, the policy will be given a trial and its efficacy judged by the results.

Before considering these two propositions, a word has to be said about a third decision which was taken at Casablanca-the war against the U-boat. Throughout the winter of 1942-43-until March-serious toll was taken by enemy submarine attacks. The actual loss of ships had become less seriously felt and was increasingly being replaced by the extraordinary speed-up in shipbuilding in the United States. But each ship sunk carried cargo destined for this or that war purpose, and its non-arrival seriously interfered with more than one planned operation. The hazards of winter weather bore heavily on both naval and merchant-marine personnel. . . . Yet by March the tide had turned; convoys reached the Mediterranean and crossed the Atlantic with little loss-and from then onward the supply across the sea was secured. It was possible to plan large operations without this serious hazard.

#### PRIORITY FOR AIR ATTACKS

The U-boat was the priority of the Casablanca conference in January; and when the Quebec conference met in August the situation at sea was so satisfactory that there was no longer need to maintain the order of precedence. The statesmen and soldiers who met in Canada had to make their second choice; it is clear from Mr. Churchill's statement to Congress and from the subsequent course of the war, and of Allied production, that priority at Quebec was given to the air attack on Germany, the occupied countries, and German satellites.

British and American aircraft output was increased to

11,000 combat planes a month. Of these about 1,400 were said to be heavy bombers. In other words, in the half-year after Quebec, Britain and America produced 66,000 combat planes, of which about 8,000 were heavy bombers. Anglo-American production alone was about four times that of Germany, and Allied air strength, according to press reports, has also reached a four-to-one superiority over the Luftwaffe.

Even so, this great production increase did not come up to the Quebec schedule; the development of the United States' day-bombing program was slower than had been anticipated. A strong propaganda campaign emanating from Bomber Command was at the same time hinting at dire consequences if greater allocations of heavy bombers were not made. This succeeded, and the weight of the Anglo-American air attack has been increasing; . . . neither bad weather nor more German defenses have held off the assault from the air. Great damage has been done to Germany. Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Essen, and smaller towns in the Ruhr and elsewhere have been partially destroyed and thoroughly disorganized. Now the attack is on Berlin, and the German capital is likely to share the ghastly fate of the other industrial cities.

#### THE NET EFFECT

... What is the military effect of this major Anglo-American effort in 1943? ... Twenty-four of Germany's fifty major towns have been heavily hit, and production and civil life have been severely disorganized. About 20,000,000 of Greater Germany's 97,000,000 people have been directly affected. Production has suffered heavily, but reliable accounts show that rebuilding proceeds rapidly, and the over-all effect on production is less great than the usual figures quoted in the press. Polish Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and the Balkan countries are producing an ever-increasing share of Germany's needs. ... The smashing of many Ruhr factories was not as catastrophic for German production as it would have been four years ago.

Reports on the way the German civilians are taking the raids show that the general consequences on morale are similar to what they were here. Bombing leads either to despondent apathy or to a hardening of the spirit; it also makes the Nazi regime more unpopular and makes people want to end the war. But except for the unconditional-surrender invitation there has been no way opened which would canalize the political consequences of bombing into action against the Nazis.

How far, then, has all this so-called "softening" eased the way of the Allied troops into the Continent? . . . Bombing, it has been claimed by Harris, Trenchard, and many others, will so daze the Germans, so soften the invasion road, and so disorganize defense installations that all the Allied land forces will have to do is to move in and occupy the ground so prepared. The great air battle which is to precede the invasion, according to Montgomery and many other air-minded spokesmen, will be a battle against the Luftwaffe and a bombing attack upon selected targets. But how is the effectiveness of this form of attack to be squared with the statement made in Washington that the Americans alone count on suffering 500,000 casualties in the attack? Add the British, and the estimate rises to something like 700,000 casualties.

The indirect form of weakening the enemy by attacking his industrial cities offered some hope of return if the process of destruction was to go on week by week with increasing force until ultimately the enemy's very will to fight would be broken. But this reckoning left the Russian front out of account. The urge of the Russians to finish the war is very real; they are demonstrating just now how much they are in earnest.

The great issue now facing the Anglo-American statesmen and soldiers is to adjust the heavy-bombing policy initiated in Quebec to the decisions taken in Teheran. There can be no doubt that the biggest military advantage which the Allies have at present over the Germans in the coastal-defense belt is the great numerical superiority of the Anglo-American air forces over the Luftwaffe. But can this superiority be turned to account in the critical phase of the attack on the Continent?

France is obviously a key position in the unrolling of Allied plans for the invasion. Since last August the R. A. F. and the United States Air Force have dropped about 30,000 tons of bombs on selected military targets in France. It has been estimated that about 30 per cent of this total causes military damage of more or less serious character. But against the background of the massive German defenses this is hardly noticeable. What happened in Ortona shows how well modern defenses can withstand shell and blast. This little town on the coast of the Adriatic was shelled continuously for over two weeks and received about 6,000 tons of directed fire before the enemy evacuated it.

#### A DANGEROUS FALLACY

The massive air force which the R. A. F. and the Americans have built up is unsuited for tactical bombing, which has to fit into the to-and-fro of battle. Nor can it be used for precision bombing of small targets such as gun positions, blockhouses, and the like. It has been argued that when the time comes the strategic bombing force now under the command of Air Marshal Harris and General Doolittle will swing into action in full harmony with the sea and land forces of the Allies. But this

is a dangerous fallacy. At present the briefing and assembly of heavy aircraft and their crews, the take-off, and the final departure in formation take some hours to complete. This is all right when static targets such as cities are to be attacked. But once the invasion battle is joined, while the target for air attack may still be a city, it may have to be hit quickly, when troops are passing through it or just before they are passing. Or the target may be an area where troops are assembling, or a defense zone where Allied forces are held up; but in every case the period between the call for attack and the need for its execution will be brief. Sometimes it will be a matter of a few hours; sometimes only of minutes. This sort of thing cannot be improvised, and to suggest that one can simply take the existing organization of the strategic bomber forces and integrate it into armies on the move is illusionary. The whole experience of the African, the Sicilian, and the Italian campaign goes to show that the full weight of Allied air power has not yet been deployed in battle because it is dispersed on what has been described as a long-term blueprint which will ultimately destroy German industry.

But the whole pace of the war has now been increased, and there are danger signals going up on the Continent in many places which point to an even greater speeding up. Again the crisis will center in France. The evidence reaching this country of what is happening inside France leaves no doubt that armed groups are fighting the Germans and their collaborators in the mountains and already also in many of the towns, . . . Sabotage groups are increasing, the secret army is extending its activity, and collaborators are abandoning the German side in large numbers. Swiss newspapers estimate that the total number of Frenchmen collaborating with the Germans does not exceed 5,000. . . . Added to this comes the fact that the Germans have had to call on all the occupied countries to furnish man-power for the defense of France. Their forty-three divisions at present manning the defenses include almost every nationality in Europe.

With such a heterogeneous force the Germans face great difficulties in resisting a landing accompanied by large-scale guerrilla and partisan activity in France. There is every sign that this will happen, but there is a definite danger that some of these most fruitful activities will be stultified by heavy air assaults on French towns and districts, which in their total effect will disperse our French allies rather than damage the German enemy. This happened in northern Italy in the crucial period of last August.

#### CHOICE BEFORE THE ALLIES

There is still lacking close integration of Allied air attack with French sabotage and partisan activity. For air attack and partisan warfare against communications are the only means by which the reinforcement of the enemy can be obstructed. In view of the nature of the Anglo-

American air forces it is clear that they will have to rely far more heavily on the disruptive activity of allied partisans than is usually realized.

The admission of the second front into the respectable circle of grand strategy has not come about as the normal development of Anglo-American policy. . . . Outside circumstances of compelling character have resulted in the acceptance of a revised time-table. And the operation against the enemy has to be carried out with large numbers of troops who have never been in battle and with an air force trained and fashioned for strategic bombing and not for close cooperation with the land army.

There are therefore as powerful military reasons in Western Europe as in the Balkans calling for collaboration between invading armies and local partisans. At one time this was an escapist cliché, Now it has become urgent necessity. To omit this is to make our own task very much more hazardous. The choice before the Allied leaders of the second front is between a Badoglio and a Tito policy. The attack on the Continent will have to be accompanied by great changes both in method of warfare and in the spirit behind it. Otherwise the walls around Europe will not fall without a heavy price in blood being paid.

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE war is everywhere having a bad effect on the conduct of young people. But lawlessness and a decline of morals began in Germany soon after the establishment of the Nazi regime. And without any doubt the regime itself—particularly the spirit and practice of the Hitler Youth formations—was responsible. The trend has now been accelerated by the war.

The degree to which people have been aroused by the situation is illustrated by a recent occurrence in Rostock. On January 23 the district leader called a meeting of "parents' representatives" in the municipal theater to discuss the subject "Errors in the Treatment of Youth." The district leader himself made the principal speech. According to reports in the local newspapers, he began by denying that there had been any substantial deterioration in the morals of young people. He admitted only "a few isolated cases of delinquency." And for these, he insisted, the party was not responsible. "He protested emphatically against attributing these cases—as was sometimes done, quite wrongly-to conditions in the Hitler Youth." On the contrary, he said, the families were at fault. "The sporadic instances of juvenile delinquency in Rostock could be traced back exclusively to the deficient education of racially inferior families." At the end he became threatening, and then the real reason for the meeting came out. Evidently a considerable proportion of Rostock parents had instituted a kind of sabotage of the Hitler Youth. These parents, the district leader disclosed, had invented methods of keeping their children out of the organization. "They invoke innumerable stock excuses," he said, and he threatened them with fearful consequences. "The obstinacy and ill-will of incorrigible individuals who fail to cooperate with the Hitler Youth will be dealt with as they deserve."

It should be mentioned that the next speaker, the local leader of the Hitler Youth, adopted a much more conciliatory and apologetic tone. He begged people to consider that the organization suffered from "a great shortage of leaders," and that the substitute leaders were frequently "very young themselves." He promised that "justified complaints would be scrupulously attended to and all defects remedied immediately." One can assume that the sabotage of the Rostock parents was checked.

This opposition in a specific matter should not lead one to impute a general anti-Nazi attitude to the older generation. The feelings of the average German today are an indistinguishable mixture of all possible ingredients. The strong Nazi fixation of a great majority of parents in the year 1943 is testified to by some curious evidence that has come to hand. The Swiss, whose communications with Germany are intact, occasionally use original methods to explore the German psychology. It occurred to the editors of the Basler Nachrichten that the names with which new-born children were christened should be an index to the views of their parents. They therefore examined the announcements of births in a number of German newspapers over a period of weeks, publishing the results on January 20. This odd bit of research revealed that by far the greater number of children had been given extravagantly Germanic-Teutonic-Nordic names—names which before Hitler would have occurred only to fanatical Teuto-maniacs. It is true that the boys' name most frequently chosen was still the familiar Hans, but right after it came, in this order, Volker, Hartmut, Rüdiger, Reinhart, Bernd, Ekkehard, Rainer, Dirk, Jürg, Horst, Uwe-all dug up out of the Teutonic folk epics. The most frequent girls' names had the same extreme Teutonic flavor. The order of preference was Uta, Ute, Elke, Ingeborg, Heidrum, Heide, Karin, Helga, Barbara, Heidemarie, Ingrid, Gudrun, and Heike.

So far as is known, the officials exercise no pressure when the names of infants are registered. The parents have free choice. That the overwhelming majority of them passed over the previously popular classical, international, and Christian names and decided on pretentious anachronisms from the race's romantic sagas is a frankly alarming symptom. Cultural Nazism, which is not less dangerous than political Nazism, must have penetrated pretty deeply beneath the skin.

## America Declares War Against Massacre

#### GREAT BRITAIN, TOO, HAS A PART TO PLAY!

When the President created the War Refugee Board he established a bridge-head in the battle against massacre. His definition of the board is forthright and clear:

"It was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other minorities of Europe.'

Thus, the two pre-requisites of rescuing the Jewish people of Europe have been attained:

- 1. The need for bringing to a halt the slaughter of the European Jews was established as a primary and imme-diate objective in the war.
- 2. A powerful instrument was created to assure success in the program of

The President's board is the powerful and effective machine, established, at last for saving, among others, Hitler's No. 1 victim, the stricken Jews of Eu-

WITH the appointment of Mr. John W. Pehle as Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, the road is surely paved for immediate and effective ac-tion. The choice of Mr. Pehle is singu-larly fortunate and Mr. Pehle himself is to be congratulated on his appoint-ment to so important, so humanitarian and history-making position-for the War Refugee Board is America's high command in the opening battle against

IT must be understood, however, that a bridgehead is not the battle itself— it is only the foot-hold that precedes the battle. The President's great move must be interpreted, not as an excuse for relaxation, not merely as an event to celebrate. On the contrary, it must be recognized as a rallying cry—as a stern warning that there is now no time to be lost.

RELIEVED as we are that America has taken up Hitler's challenge on the question of Jewish survival—this alone is not enough. In our time of global war one government alone cannot solve problems of international character.
The problem of saving the Jews requires the cooperation of other governments in the whole inter-Allied rela-tionship and the cooperation of a few neutrals as well.

RESCUE is mainly a problem of geography. Even were the United States wide open to all escaping Jews, it would be of little immediate help, because of the barriers of national boundaries, and an ocean to be crossed. The rescue, therefore, has to proceed along shorter and safer roads. These lead to Cypress, to North Africa, to Turkey, to Spain. One road, however, is short-est and surest. It leads to Palestine.

PALESTINE is the closest and most practical haven for the escaping Jews. From Bulgaria to Palestine is nearer than from New York to Miami. It is only a few days removed from the Axis countries by short, quick water-routes, by train, or even by bus! Palestine is the only country where population of Jews (600,000 in number) are ready and waiting to receive an equal number their escaping brethren, to share with them their bread and their homes.

THERE is room in Palestine, a country that wants the European Jews. There never was, there is not now, any justification whatsoever for keeping the doors of this country closed to the es-caping Jews. There is no justification for the anti-Jewish discrimination laws which exclude Jews alone from entering into Palestine. These discriminatory laws are the remnants of the shameful period of Munich and of appeasement politics.

THE heroic armies of the United Nations are today sweeping back the military hordes of the Nazi Attilla. It is time that the diplomatic and spiritual leaders of the United Nations sweep away the remnants of those gruesome and monstrous compromises and genuflections before Hitler and his power. A united public opinion in this country must demand that these discriminatory laws against Jewish immigration to Palestine be abolished immediately so that they no longer bar the way of escape to untold thousands.

#### BRITAIN-THE KEY

THIS too is not an insurmountable obstacle. The only practical key to the salvation of the Jews to Palestine is England, which gave the world the Magna Charta, the blueprint of liberty and humanity. It is only necessary for this great and gallant ally to realize that the Jews stand in Eastern Europe as they themselves did four short years ago at Dunkirk.

It is not in the tradition of Parliament, which rang to the speeches of Edward Burke, Disraeli and Churchill, that they do not rise in this great moment to take their part in halting one of history's most cruel massacres.

The people of England abhor these discriminations. They have been condemned in public by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who so eloquently said, calling for action, at this very point: "We all stand before the bar of history, of humanity and of God."

The Emergency Committee believes that the time has come when we must impress upon a great and heroic ally Britain, that the people of Israel as well britain, that the people or Israel as well as Coventry and Warsaw are innocent children of God. The Emergency Committee believes that a united public opinion must appeal to a democratic government and the oldest Parliament, which hold the key to the salvation of the Jewish people, to open wide the doors of sanctuary—Palestine.

In urging this, as in urging our own citizens to back the President and the War Refugee Board and Mr. Pelile, the Emergency Committee explicitly avoids political considerations. It is not the business of the Emergency Committee to urge or to work for any post-war definite political settlement. It is not the task of this Committee to effect changes in the political status of Palestine. The demand to open the doors of Palestine today is humanitarian, not politics. To keep the doors of Pulestine shut is—politics, as Lord Cranbourne, former Secretary of State for Colonies, admitted so candidly in a debate in the House of Lords: "It is not an economic but political problem."

We speak to the government of Great Britain, not in the name of politics, but in the cause of humanity and compas-

Declare the doors of Palestine open to the Jews about to be rescued from neighboring countries. Let the Union Jack now wave proudly beside the Stars and Stripes in the common battle against massacre.

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## BOOKS and the ARTS

#### SAMUEL JOHNSON AS CRITIC

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

J OHNSON'S "Lives of the Poets" was issued in two instalments in 1779 and 1781. Few works of criticism in English had ever achieved a more immediate popularity, but the romantic revolution was so close at hand that the editor of the second collected edition of the author's works could say: "With respect to Johnson's powers as a critic, we confess that he had but little natural taste for poetry, as such; for that poetry of the emotions which produces in its cultivators and admirers an intensity of excitement to which language can scarcely afford utterance, to which art can give no body, and which spreads a dream of glory around us."

This is a violent, one might almost say a perverse, overstatement of the case. Pope's famous comparison between the progress of the student and the progress of the Alpine traveler, which ends with the line "Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise," Johnson calls "perhaps the best that English poetry can show." But the passage in which that comparison occurs is certainly one in which the appeal is at least as much emotional as it is intellectual, and the truth is not, as his critic went on to assert, that Johnson "wanted that deep feeling which is the only sure and unerring test of poetic excellence," or that he sought in poetry only the didactic and "wished for reasoning in numbers," but merely that the emotions to which, in his case, poetry could make a successful appeal were not the romantic ones. A man who could never, until forced by necessity, bring himself to reread the concluding scene of "King Lear" was certainly not one whose emotions were untouched by poetry. Had Johnson lived to discover how powerfully certain romantic readers were moved by emotions which they could not name, and how frequently they wept for they knew not what sorrow, he would, in all probability, have said of their poetry reading what he said to Boswell when the latter described the violent and conflicting emotions produced in his soul by the sound of music: "I should never hear it if it made me such a fool." To admit that may be to admit that he was insensitive to even the genuine beauties of romanticism. But it is not to grant that he was incapable of poetic

It is a pity that present-day readers, who have outgrown many of the romantic prejudices, should nevertheless tend to accept the romantic estimate of Johnson as a critic without taking the trouble to read him or at least without discarding preconceived notions before doing so. Much that stood between him and the nineteenth century has vanished, and both the Preface to his edition of Shakespeare and the "Lives of the Poets" clearly reveal an attitude which we ought to find challenging even when we think we have good reasons

for refusing to accept it in all its eighteenth-century downrightness and clarity.

Johnson could become a popular critic partly because his premises and his methods were so well adapted to the understanding of the intelligent layman; because, that is to say, literary interpretation and judgment seemed, as Johnson presented them, to be no more than the application to literary questions of that generally applicable common sense in which the eighteenth century placed its faith. His appeal, as he had so explicitly stated in the Shakespeare Preface, was from authority and pedantic rules to nature, and nature was something which his contemporaries, lay as well as literary, were ready to assume that they clearly understood. But it is important to remember that such criticism is no more clearly distinguished from the pedantic criticism which preceded it than it is from both the romantic criticism which was so shortly to follow and the sort most frequently practiced by the "serious" critics of today.

"Common sense" as applied to literature meant, to begin with, the assumption that neither the aims nor the methods of the literary art were peculiar to it. Literature, the assumption is, seeks to give pleasure and to impart Instruction; but neither the pleasure which it gives nor the instruction it provides constitutes any world apart or requires for its proper appreciation any unique faculties. Johnson, of course, would have been indignantly astonished at anything suggesting the doctrine of art for art's sake. He would have been equally astonished to hear of "significant form" or an "aesthetic experience." One of his conscious aims was certainly that of taking literature out of the hands of the pedants. Had he been gifted with the power of foreseeing the future, he would undoubtedly have added another—that of keeping it out of the clutches of the romantics and the aesthetes.

Pedantic criticism and romantic criticism are alike in one important respect. Each addresses itself to some sort of specialist. To understand the first, one must be learned. To understand the second, one needs, it is assumed, a special sensibility which is the exclusive possession of a limited class. Both are therefore to some extent esoteric; both assume, at the very least, that the reader has either a special equipment or a special endowment without which his judgment is worthless. Johnson, on the other hand, takes it for granted that neither the enjoyment nor the understanding of literature requires any capacities or any knowledge not possessed by every intelligent man. There are no unique literary values. No special conceptions, no special sensitiers, no special terms, even, are necessary. Anyone who has the equipment to judge men and manners and morals

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has the equipment to judge literature, for literature is merely

reflection of men and manners and morals.

To say this is, of course, to say that for Johnson there is no realm of the exclusively aesthetic. A thing may be valid in poetry though in accordance with fact only in so far as it can suggest analogy with fact, and if such analogy is not suggested, it is poetically false, as well as false in every other way. For him there is no world of imagination except the world of memory, and the world of evoked memories is a relatively pale one. He pooh-poohed the idea that Garried or any other actor was carried away by his role. He was equally contemptuous of the idea that any spectator or any reader lost the distinction between fiction and fact, and he would certainly have been even more contemptuous of anyone who professed to find the world of "dreams" or the world of art either more real or as a whole more satisfactory than the world of reality.

What Johnson has to say in the "Lives of the Poets" is precisely the sort of thing that he had to say in his conversation, and he obviously regarded criticism as neither more nor less than good talk about books—which is, in turn, very much like good talk about anything else. He was no less aware than Swinburne or Oscar Wilde that some sort of splendor may surround things wicked or destructive, but he saw no reason why literature should isolate and then acclaim splendor which experience itself never encounters thus isolated; and the concluding sentence of the following brief passage on Waller's marriage to a lady who was not his "Sacharissa" is in its own quiet way an anticipation of Max Beerbohm's reductio ad absurdum in his satiric essay on the vulgarity of fire departments. Wrote Johnson of Waller:

He, doubtless, praised some whom he would have been afraid to marry, and, perhaps, married one whom he would have been aslaamed to praise. Many qualities contribute to domestic happiness upon which poetry has no colors to bestow; and many airs and sallies may delight imagination which he who flatters them never can approve. There are charms made only for distant admiration. No spectacle is nobler than a blaze.

It is obvious that the reader who seeks in Johnson for certain things which he finds or thinks he finds in some later critics will come away disappointed. He will not, to begin with, find Johnson discovering neglected genius or habitually reversing accepted judgments. Johnson happened. it is true, to run counter to the general opinion in the case of Milton, but on the whole his effort, even there, was to minimize rather than to emphasize the extent of his dissent. and Milton is the only important poet except perhaps Gray upon whom Johnson puts a value conspicuously different from that generally accorded him by conservative opinion. In the Life of Addison he observed that "about things on which the public thinks long, it commonly attains to think right." It had thought long on Dryden and Pope and the other poets. Its decision is therefore final, for as he had remarked in connection with some pettishness exhibited by Dryden, "what is good only because it pleases, cannot be pronounced good till it has been found to please."

More important perhaps is the fact that disappointment awaits also the reader who expects from a critic those flashes of half-mystical illumination which were to seem so important in the work of somewhat later exponents of criticism. Johnson would certainly have regarded the claims of "intuition" as skeptically as he did those of the transcendental imagination. He would never have aspired to supply the lightning by which Shakespeare or anybody else could be read, and he would have doubted the value of reading done by the aid of any light so dazzling or so fitful. The romantic critic was usually dominated by a sense that the literature upon which he proposed to comment had never been properly understood before. He felt himself surrounded by the mysteries of an undiscovered country and hence perpetually upon the threshold of dazzling discoveries. Johnson never supposed that he or any other critic could be "creative," and he did not even suppose that unsuspected beauties of major importance remained to be discovered. Pope and Dryden had, like Shakespeare, been appreciated too long and too enthusiastically to permit the supposition that any of their principal excellences had been unobserved or inadequately valued. Had he lived to see the first two dismissed, and Shakespeare treated as a poet whom ten generations had admired but never understood, he would certainly have risen to the defense of a public which had thought long and therefore correctly. Discrimination and judgment, not paradox and revelation, were the chief business of the critic.

This critic has every right to pass judgment on the poet. No claims to inspiration or membership in a sacred fraternity put the latter above the reach of censure. What is too silly to be said in prose remains no less unacceptable when put into verse. But the critic derives his right from the rights of the general public of which he is a part—not from the fact that he is a critic. He will generally agree with the public's considered judgment because literature is to be judged not in the light of learning—which most readers do not have—or by its effect upon sensibilities undreamed of except by the few, but in accordance with the same common sense which guides us as we go about the business of life.

Those who read the "Lives of the Poets" not with disappointment but with delight get from it something more than merely Johnson's sensible estimate of the merits and the defects of those whom he is discussing. But this something is simply the same thing which they get from the records of his conversation on literary and other topics-namely, the play of a vigorous and entertaining mind over a wide range of subjects. His criticism is not personal in the sense of proposing an account of the adventures of a soul among masterpieces. Its manner is objective, and its aim is to make statements which the reader will accept as true for himself and for all normal men. This criticism is, however, intensely personal in the sense that the manner and the matter alike are so highly characteristic of Johnson that the reader who knew him through his conversation and his other work would have little difficulty in identifying the author even if the "Lives" were unsigned. Johnson believed in the all-butexclusive importance of what has come in our time to be called "public" truths and methods of expression as opposed to "private" ones, but he makes no attempt at "scientific" detachment. In one sense no criticism was ever less "pure." What one gets is, among other things, Johnson on Pope. But one gets the whole Johnson in a sense that one does not get the whole of the personal critic who self-consciously

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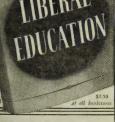
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proclaims his determination to talk about himself in connection with Pope or with Shakespeare. What one gets is, in other words, a personality revealing itself rather than a personality determined to reveal itself. Perhaps, one might add, a personality revealing itself rather than one showing

Whatever the admirers of this or that special sort of criticism may feel that Johnson fails to give them, there is rarely a page in which he does not give something shrewd or penetrating or ingenious or amusing. Speaking of the metaphysical poets, he first dismisses Pope's famous definition of "true wit" as too tame and then proceeds:

If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be considered as wit which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is upon its first production acknowledged to be just; if it be that which he that never found it wonders how he missed; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen. Their thoughts are often new, but they are seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found.

And if the present-day reader will almost certainly find this unjust when applied to the best of Donne, can this same modern reader find better words in which to comment upon Mr. Eliot's "dead geranium" or Mr. Cummings's "angry candy"? Or can he, on the other hand, find a partial apology for over-ingenuity more valid than that which Johnson goes on to grant:

To write on their plan it was, at least, necessary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphysical poet; nor assume the dignity of a writer by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery and hereditary similes, by readiness of rhyme and volubility of syllables.

Johnson seldom fails to be memorable even when he is wrong, and his criticism is seldom other than interesting even when it is not, by strict definition, criticism at all. The pleasure which we get from reading him is often, at least, as much the pleasure of learning about Johnson as it is that of learning about Dryden, Pope, Milton, and the rest; and if to say that is, in the opinion of the austere, to say that he is not really a critic, one can only reply that he is at least something which it would be a pity to miss. He himself would have considered it the reverse of dispraise had he been accused of mingling moral, social, or even merely prudential considerations with aesthetic ones, for he would have maintained that the last are nonsense when isolated from the context, which must always be present for anyone who is not some sort of literary hermit or monster. He did not think of his literary criticism as something which ought to be essentially different from the general criticism of life, which he had made it his business to offer since he first began to write. No praise would have seemed to him higher than that implied in a statement which some would make with derogatory intention: "The 'Lives of the Poets' are not written by, a scholar or by an aesthetician. They are, on the contrary, the work of a man whose wide knowledge of men and manners included, in due proportion, a knowledge of what men had written and of what they had found, by the test of time, worth reading."

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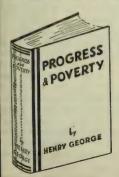
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#### Take It from Stowe

THEY SHALL NOT SLEEP. By Leland Stowe. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

NE of the appalling discoveries of anyone returning from abroad nowadays is how much time people here spend reading newspapers and how little they understand. No nation is more abundantly supplied with information, nowhere does the level of accurate reporting approach our own, and only in the most benighted lands is there more widespread confusion about meanings. The explanation perhaps lies in a slight rewording of an epigram of Henry Adams's —''Nothing in journalism is so astonishing as the amount of ignorance it collects in inert facts.''

Leland Stowe has written a book which puts legs and even wings on facts. Not all of them are new facts, but his book is far more than a mere recooking of his foreign dispatches. It is an interpretation of the war and its meaning in many countries, from China to America; and it is based on exceptionally wide travel and varied experience. Such a book necessarily repeats things already known to us, but the additional information presented—which censorship suppressed overseas—the personal impressions and the analysis of a skilled observer, the human contacts revealed, all together make "They Shall Not Sleep" itself a piece of news of major importance.

Mr. Stowe was abroad seventeen months and covered some critical events in Burma, China, India, and Russia. He tells how Burma fell and what led to the débâcle, describes Kuo-

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mintang China as he found it in contrast to the "romantic" view prevalent in this country, reports on India during the abortive Cripps negotiations and explains why they failed, and gives a good-picture of life in Russia during the summer and autumn of 1942. He ends up with about 30,000 words of comment—a useful little book in itself, and one that the War Department would be well advised to reprint for our men in uniform—which analyzes our relations with Russia, examines our State Department policy, warns Americans to wake up to the political realities, one of which he thinks is inevitably a socialist Europe, and emphasizes the danger of losing the peace—which he believes would mean a third world war.

Admittedly that's a big assignment for one reporter and one book, but it must be remembered that correspondents cover the earth in airplanes these days and Americans must adjust their political thinking to the facts which make that possible.

In China, where Stowe arrived "without any faint conception of the oppressive poverty and squalor which eats the flesh of one-fifth of humanity" and with illusions of a happy democracy fighting an all-out anti-fascist war, he was amazed to discover a one-party dictatorship in many ways resembling totalitarian Germany. Freedom of the press, speech, organization, and assembly did not exist. He found squeeze and corruption among high army officers and officials, a monopoly of transport on the Burma road and elsewhere. He found some of them preoccupied with plans to suppress the Communist armies, blockaded from all outside help, rather than with fighting Japan.

In Burma the British "disintegrated because they were products of a system—an exploitative and standstill, anti-progressive system." In India, where as in Burma "the vast natural wealth has been drawn out of the country for the enrichment of a small band of foreign capitalists who have no other interest in the people who are the sources of their fortunes," the awakening was "too little and too late." Only the absence of an invasion, he reports, saved the system from collapse.

In Russia, where this reviewer's path happened to cross Stowe's, he got one of the few genuine scoops of the war, where scoops are hard to come by. He went off for a week to the front, all by himself, and came back with a story which he here retells. Summarizing his experience, he concludes that we can "live with Russia," peacefully and profitably, by recognizing that its primary needs are peace and security in which to rebuild the devastated areas, and foreign cooperation for that aim, if it can get it.

Stowe reminds us of Russia's terrible blood sacrifices for victory and makes a good point in asking Americans, when judging Russian policy, to imagine themselves Russians and picture their feelings. It is necessary for us to use this method not only about Russia but about every country in the world, and although this may seem a simple thing to demand it is astounding how seldom people do it, even when actually living in a foreign country.

In the broad canvas Stowe covers there are only a few minor errors of reporting. One of them, for example, is his interpretation of the background of Demaree Bess's articles about North Africa, in the Saturday Evening Post. On the

whole his book is remarkably accurate, considering its scope, and one in which this writer, having himself lately visited every country Stowe describes, finds no major contention not borne out by facts.

EDGAR SNOW

#### Sir Thomas Beecham

A MINGLED CHIME: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Sir Thomas Beecham. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

BEECHAM writes (p. 60) that in the summer of 1899, in which he attended disappointing performances of Wagner at Bayreuth, he devoted his spare time to study of "a large bundle" of Brahms's scores, and "formed then the opinion which I have since been unable to vary, that Brahms was essentially a romantic composer, as far removed as is conceivable from the true classical spirit, and generally at his best in smaller forms." Shortly afterward (p. 82) a performance of a Grétry opera in Paris caused him to assemble all the scores he could find of this composer and his contemporaries and to make copies of those that were out of print; and he writes that in the music of Grétry "there is a lightness, a grace, and a melodic invention surpassed only by Mozart, while in that of Méhul there is a vein of simple and chivalric romance to be found in no other composer of the day except Weber." He observes (p. 192) that "in 'Petrouchka' the charm and poetry that peer out of nearly every page of his earlier tour de force 'L'Oiseau de feu' rarely make their appearance, the chief characteristics being

rhythm of extraordinary variety and vigor, a bizarrerie which although entirely different from that of Strauss is equally individual, and a fleeting hint of pathos that we find nowhere else in Stravinsky's work. It is in fact one of the musical landmarks of the past thirty years, and however interesting the later works of its composer may appear to that section of his followers which expects a fresh development of style from him every other year, I do not think that he has yet given birth to a second piece in which the best elements of his art are so perfectly blended." He came to realize (p. 295) that a first-rate operatic organization could be maintained only with government assistance: "Individual seasons might now and then be run at a trifling loss, and third- or fourth-rate companies could even make a little profit . . , on the condition of adhering relentlessly to a standard of performance liable at any moment to cause the outraged spirit of some dead master to walk the earth again like that of Hamlet's father." And (p. 169) in deference to the letters of protest from every corner of England "we arranged for an early conference at which 'Salome' would be trimmed so as to make it palatable to the taste of that large army of objectors who would never see it."

I give these statements not only for themselves but in order to convey the material of the book and the qualities of its author which make it that rare thing—a book concerned with musical matters that is worth reading and highly readable. What contributes to making it readable is the fact that it is written by a man whose strong interest in music is only one of the interests of an educated Englishman,



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and whose writing about music is therefore enriched constantly by his reading of literature and sharpened by his keen eye for human absurdity. On the other hand it includes confident *obiter dicta* on world economics and politics which make one grit one's teeth and rush ahead to the next of the observations on music that are so sound, perceptive, brilliant.

These observations tell us a great deal about Beechamthe intensity and unusual range of his musical interest, the excellence of his understanding and taste. And they are made in the course of an account of his activities up to 1924 which tells us more about him that is interesting to know. Journalism-first in England, then in America-has built up the idea of him as a rich amateur who, lacking professional training, used his money to create for himself the opportunities to do the things in music for which he was not prepared and equipped, and who by blundering along in this way long enough acquired competence in doing them—but even then only the competence of a rich dilettante. Actually he began as a youngster endowed with musical talent of professional caliber who happened to be the son of a rich man; and being untroubled by the guilt which has led some American sons of millionaires into neurotic contortions and expiation in the form of support of the Communists' termite activities, he used his father's money to buy himself scores of all the music he was interested in, instruction in all the instruments he wanted to familiarize himself with, and in harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, composition, and in this way to give himself a musical training as thorough and professional as a young German with the same talent would have obtained at one of the state conservatories. And at the point where the German would have begun to obtain practical experience and skill in conducting by beginning to conduct in a small state opera house, Beecham began to obtain the same practical experience and skill by knocking about with a touring opera company; where the German would have moved on to larger state opera houses, Beecham helped to finance the orchestras, choruses, and opera companies with which he enriched the musical life of his country at the same time as he developed himself into one of the world's great musicians. If money has ever been better used I haven't heard about it. B. H. HAGGIN

#### The Future of Germany

GERMANY AFTER HITLER. By Paul Hagen. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.

GERMANY WILL TRY IT AGAIN. By Sigrid Schultz. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY. By Louis Nizer. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. \$2.50.

HAT shall we do about Germany after we have obtained its unconditional surrender? Our leaders, mindful perhaps of the old adage about first catching your rabbit, are reticent on this subject. But their silence has done nothing to discourage unofficial cooks from publishing a wide variety of plain and fancy recipes.

Here we have the proposals of three of them with three

very different backgrounds and approaches to the subject. Paul Hagen is a young man but a veteran in the war against Hitler. He was one of the Socialists who attempted to instill new life into the German Social Democratic Party in the lark days when the Weimar Republic was breaking up. He was a leader in the underground movement after Hitler took over. Now he looks hopefully to a United Nations victory and a new opportunity for a democratic Germany.

Sigrid Schultz can also write with authority on Germany. American born, of Norwegian descent, she received part of her education there and later spent over twenty years in Berlin as a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune (a fact which should not be held against her). Her main purpose in this book is not to present any program for the future of Germany but to warn us that the pan-German movement, with its belief in Germany's right to dominate, preceded

Hitler, and will try to survive him.

Louis Nizer, a successful American attorney, has, so far is one can tell from his book, no first-hand knowledge of Germany or indeed of Europe. He has read widely but not too wisely, as is shown by his citation of Caesar and Tacitus too prove the ingrained aggressiveness of the Germans. If my memory serves, J. Caesar had some fairly unpleasant remarks to make about British barbarians also; and did not the Teutons of whom Tacitus wrote include some of the tribes which later invaded England? However, when writing about the problems presented by the prosecution of war criminals Mr. Nizer is interesting if not especially profound.

Both Miss Schultz and Mr. Nizer write in a don't-let-usbe-fooled-again vein, and it is easy to agree with them about the stupidity of being tough on paper and weak in practice. But we should beware the tendency to believe that if we squelch German aggression once and for all, the problem of European peace will be solved. Aggression is not a German patent, even if the Germans have been outstanding in adding new wrinkles to it, and the task of the peacemakers will be to attempt a settlement which will inhibit aggression anywhere by anyone.

It is at least possible, in view of the Nazis' Götterdämmerung strategy, that Germany will be so weakened morally and physically before it surrenders that it will not recover for generations, if ever. It may suffer a catastrophe comparable to that it experienced in the Thirty Years' War—a prime factor, as Hagen rightly points out, in its political and social retardation. It might sink into an apathetic state of permanent invalidism. This would not be a healthy development for its neighbors. We need to remember how sinister an influence Turkey exercised on the morals of its would-be heirs in the days when it was the Sick Man of Europe.

For similar reasons, it would be fatal either to divide Germany into separate states or to carve it up and distribute the pieces. This would start a game of grab, and the winning countries would find themselves cursed with irredentist sores which would inevitably infect their political systems. Both our American authors agree with Hagen that any attempt to dismember Germany should be ruled out. So too, they reject, as any civilized person must, proposals to expunge Germany either by extermination of its inhabitants or by mass sterilization. Let those who disagree volunteer to man the firing squads and the surgical wards.

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Boston Atlanta New York San Francisco Chicago Dallas Assuming, then, that Germany retains its identity more or less within its 1919 boundaries, what is its future to be, and how is it to be led to the paths of peace and democracy? All three of these books agree on one thing—that the economic roots of pan-Germanism must be utterly destroyed. This means that the Junker landowners, who have held a hereditary position of privilege, must be expropriated and that the great industrialists, who made their businesses political instruments, must be liquidated. It was these forces, operating behind the Weimar façade, that prepared the ground for Hitler. As long as they retain their economic basis of power, no development of democracy in Germany is possible.

I confess that my study of Lord Vansittart's ideas has been cursory, but I am under the impression that he missed this vital point. And, indeed, we must expect strong opposition by British and American conservatives alike to the destruction of property rights. After the occupation there is all too much reason to fear that Allied administrators will tend to listen to offers of cooperation from German counts and bank directors. Displaying charming manners and speaking perfect English, these men will explain that they were always opposed to the Nazis and express their eagerness to help the Allies preserve the country from anarchy. To fall for this confidence trick would be the first fatally easy step toward a pan-German revival. The alternative policy is outlined quietly but convincingly by Paul Hagen. He knows that the Germans must create their own democracy, and he does not shirk the obstacles they will have to overcome. He realizes that Germany cannot disclaim responsibility for Hitler, that it must serve humbly to recover its honor and work hard to make reparation. But he asks that the democratic revolution shall not be impeded and that the burdens imposed shall not be such as to leave Germany without any glimmering of hope.

Hagen points out that revolutionary situations usually arise from the military defeat of despotic powers, but I question his assumption that such a situation must be favorable for a democratic revolution. Liberties cannot be won for a people, only by a people. Historically they have been achieved when men have fought for them, taking the risk of challenging a strongly intrenched despotism. That is how the United States, England, and France won their revolutions. The German workers lost theirs because in 1918, presented with a revolution by the Allied nations, they failed to grasp the substance of power, contenting themselves with its shadow. And at the moment when they might have challenged and overcome the rising power of Nazism, when von Papen's high-handed dismissal of the Socialist Prussian government gave them a fighting issue, they hung back, too respectable, too afraid of the consequences, to seize the opportunity.

Because I agree with Hagen that Germany can only save its soul through revolution and because I question the worth of a revolution brought about primarily by outside force, I would like to see some consideration given to a proposal reported by Miss Schultz as coming from underground leaders. It is, briefly, that in the moment of victory, when the German army is thoroughly defeated and retreats within its own borders, the Allies should establish an iron ring around the German frontiers and let the German people fight it out.

The suggestion is that the army leaders would fall out with the Nazis, and that while a bloody struggle between the two was in progress, mutinous soldiers would supply the population with arms and give them a chance to cleanse their country and establish a democratic regime. It is most unlikely that any such plan will be adopted, but one way or another any lasting reform of Germany must come from within.

KEITH HUTCHISON

#### Smaller than Art

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO JOYCE. By Elmer Edgar Stoll. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.50.

PROFESSOR STOLL is, of course, one of the best-known living students of Shakespeare, but I must confess that beyond a stray essay or two I had read nothing of his before I took up "From Shakespeare to Joyce." In view of the imposing list of his books, my skimpy acquaintance with him made me hesitate about reviewing this one. Having read it, however, I am encouraged to believe that I know the nature and range of Professor Stoll's ideas fairly well. Nor is this a matter of ex pede Herculem. It is not only that, with almost excessive obligingness, Professor Stoll has correlated his present comments with more than a hundred footnotes involving his previous books. It is even more that his cardinal contentions are few and that they are stated with notable emphasis and restated with immoderate frequency.

Professor Stoll's title suggests a rather comprehensive study of most of English literature; the book itself, however, is largely confined to the period between Shakespeare and Congreve and, even so, seeks much less to assess or analyze writers than to use them as a tiltyard for certain attitudes about art. Professor Stoll's two main attitudes can perhaps, without too great unfairness, be whittled down to this: that a work of art must be taken at its face value, and that art and life are two very different things. The two attitudes partly coalesce in that they both deny, for art any larger frame of reference. The face-value theory forbids us to bring to bear any historical, social, or psychological data that might provide work of art with interior illumination or additional meaning-"In all art," says Professor Stoll, "what is not expressed does not exist." The art-differs-fromlife theory goes well beyond the obvious recognition that art is neither photographic nor formless; it is that great art is "exaggeration." Professor Stoll quotes many times Corneille's "Les grands sujets de la tragédie . . . doivent toujours aller au delà du vraisemblable."

Up to a certain point, of course, Professor Stoll's first contention has a corrective value and his second contention a palpable validity. Doubtless the trend of literary criticism, influenced by Taine, Marx, and Freud, has become a little oppressively historical, sociological, and psychoanalytic. Aesthetic criticism, with the eye square on the object rather than around and behind it, has accordingly suffered—and, along with it, our responsiveness to art has suffered too. But Professor Stoll's attitude forfeits most of its usefulness by reason of its extremism. It puts a work of art in a vacuum; it condemns as extraneous and injurious all those factors—social, historical, psychological—that make up the sensibility

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of an age; it assumes that a work of art only states and does not suggest; it denies to criticism the right to be suggesting and exploratory in turn. "Hamlet," God knows, has been twisted into a hundred shapes, some of them remarkably queer; but on the other hand if the full truth emerged unmistakably from what was "expressed," could a hundred theories have ever been formed about it?

Professor Stoll's separation of art and life seems to me equally excessive. To be sure, Professor Stoll is principally concerned with Greek and Elizabethan tragedy, where a bigger-than-life effect is paramount and where Aristotle's pregnant contention that plot counts above character is richly vindicated. But Mr. Stoll condemns later literature for turning realistic, for choosing "an action derived from the character." But since Shakespeare's time the distance between art and life has grown less: however vulnerable "realism" itself has proved, the realistic impulse—if only as something to rebel against-has pervaded literature. For one thing, our heroes, unlike the kings and great men of action of classical art, have become much more like ourselves. Art has had to abandon the old intensities for modern complexities, and these complexities involve the "psychology" that Professor Stoll presumably considers the arch-foe of "drama." Hence for him to insist dogmatically that "the essential and vital material of art is not actual experience but . . . an imaginative one" is to generalize unwarrantably. Any kind of experience-actual, observational, oneiric, or imaginative-can provide the essential material; what counts is the transforming and plastic power of the artist. Professor Stoll cannot lock up literature with the great but rusty key of classical tragedy; it is not, after all, a master-key. Imaginative experience may have created "Othello," but personal experience and direct observation were largely the "material" of works of art from "Tom Jones" to "A la recherche du temps perdu." Improbability and exaggeration may help make "King Lear" something bigger than life; but it is scope and multiplicity that make "War and Peace" something bigger than life.

But what further damages Professor Stoll's main contentions is the critical intelligence behind them. Strait-jacketed by his theories, Professor Stoll brings to literature such a rigid mind and conditioned sensibility that, while strongly insisting that we must judge works of art on their own terms, he happily proceeds to judge them on his. Moreover, one cannot avoid the suspicion that Professor Stoll's separation of art and life rests no less on a temperamental need than on an aesthetic theory. There are indications of an academic nature that can cope with art only when it is put behind glass, when its soundness or faultiness can be gauged by having recourse to the rules rather than to experience.

There are natures—in some respects, the most valuable sort of natures-that react to art as a purely aesthetic experience; natures that possess extraordinary taste, sensibility, and discernment. But Professor Stoll's is not one of them. He is, indeed, so uncertain in taste, wobbly in judgment, and stodgy in outlook that, for all his erudition and cerebration, he must be considered rather a controversialist than a critic. We can hardly put much trust in a man who includes Wilde in a list of "the greatest English poets and critics since Milton's day," or who considers Browning greater than Dickens or Balzac. We can hardly keep patient with a man

ho, while presumably operating at the most enlightened evel of criticism, reports that our current "high-class" novels cannot . . . be read in the family circle aloud." We can ardly keep a straight face with a man who, feeling that minness's needs defining to begin with, defines it as "the libernian intemperance beverage." We can hardly credit a an with the psychological awareness of an undergraduate tho, as proof of the folly of interpreting a writer through is work, cites the fact that Kipling glorified the practical an and Scott and Stevenson the adventurous! And when rofessor Stoll moves in on contemporary literature, the realts are striking indeed; his squeamishness is unimportant hen set beside his misapprehensions. The strangest people te linked together in the strangest pursuits; and anyone, would almost seem, who is more advanced than the Vicorians is disposed of as part of "the Vanguard." There isn't oom to enumerate Professor Stoll's vagaries; suffice it that fax Lerner bobs up u "coterie-writer." Psychoanalysis is, f course, the primal curse and Joyce the leading miscreant. rofessor Stoll has-I should think; I've read only a small art of it-a pretty good case with "Finnegans Wake," in ne sense that the labor involved is out of all proportion to ne rewards. But he plumb ruins his case by making it the oint of his attack that there virtually are no rewards.

Finally—and not just captiously—we have reason to woner whether Professor Stoll can even be a judge of good riting when, time and again, he passes for the press such triting as this:

As the King breaks with both daughters, cries out upon them, anticipates madness, and rushes out upon the heath into the tempest, the action, as we have noticed, reaches the climax; and the part of the scene that is in question—that is, the latter part, but still before the absolute rupture, when he turns, repulsed, from one daughter to the other,—is stylized in the sense that, not a trait of character, but the emotional motif of his forlornness and abandonment is presented, and is developed to the limit—even at the character's expense—as he falls back upon Goneril, whom he had cursed and at the sight of whom on her entrance, a few minutes before, he has appealed to the heavens.

Make mine "Finnegans Wake."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

### Architects of Young America

REEK REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War Between the States. By Talbot Hamlin. Oxford University Press. \$7.50.

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defeated. Today any such writing must carry a certain monastic flavor; you withdraw to it when you want to regain touch with that large spirit that must rebuild the world.

The term "Greek Revival" is, as Dean Arnaud says in his introduction, something of a misnomer. Not only were the architects and their patrons "American first, Greek second," but in some ways architecture was for the first time fully American. The Greek part of it was essentially a system of decoration-or an organizing device that served to put thought in order. This was the mask under which America started to grow a face. In the process the mask itself gradually dissolved. A familiar story appears again and again in the early part of the book, of condescension from foreigners at just those points where the canons were giving way to new needs and a new spirit; so creation had begun. The significance of the time was at least threefold: it marked the beginning of cultural independence from colonialism; it saw the first professional group of American architects; it witnessed, above all, the development of all sorts of new American building plans marking new ways of living as the country underwent a vast expansion.

In general histories of architecture plans are reproduced all too rarely. Even in this book, with its unusual number, we don't get half enough; but these-many of them from the splendid Historical American Buildings Survey-suffice to dispose of the widespread myth that the architect of the Greek Revival period, when he built a house, merely reproduced a Greek temple in wooden miniature and then filled it full of holes. The diversity was remarkable, as was the skill. Good plans have a way of cutting across styles, and such a plan as that of the Sears house-now modified as the Somerset Club-in Boston, by Alexander Parris, would be contemporary, with only unimportant changes, tomorrow. Again, this was the period of Western settlement; and a proliferation of plans, especially house plans, would have taken place under any stylistic mantle. So this story of a "middle period" in American building embraces, despite the limiting title, the establishment of important types such as the Midwestern farmhouse, with its L- and T-shaped arrangement-and recessed porch in one or more side wings-and one-story plans like the Kentucky one on page 243, which with minor changes would again be strikingly "modern." The scope, range, and explicit scholarship of Professor Hamlin's study make it the finest source, on a country-wide scale, of information on this basic building development for those of us who hitherto have known only the types of the Eastern cities, or the Southern plantations, with perhaps the usual smattering about the Vieux Carré in New Orleans.

Architects will find special interest in the detailed account of their first professional brethren. A turning-point was marked. Thus the competition for the national Capitol was won by Thornton, an amateur; but "all of his chief assistants and followers were architects in the modern sense of the word." Before that, most designs had been in the hands of foreign architects or, mainly, carpenter-builders. Familiar cries are heard, such as Latrobe's complaint against the Philadelphia Carpenters' Company: "My very follies and faults and whims have been mimicked, and yet there is not a single instance in which I have been consulted." But again there is the counter-criticism from Michigan: "I suppose

[the governor went out of the state for his plans] because the Mechanics of Michigan do not assume that dignified and name Architect! or any of those lofty titles as Esq'rs, &c the elevation approved is of the Gothic style of architecture, painted up to the eyes, splendid in appearance, but will be paltry in execution, on account of the limited means."

The volume is divided on a regional basis, and inhabitants of the major regions will use it as a veritable handbook in which to look up the local edifices, whether houses, public buildings, or institutions.

Such a wealth of talent was at work that execution and expression, of course, varied greatly. The use of Greek details was, as Professor Hamlin reiterates, far from slavish; indeed, many of the problems had no Greek precedents and were solved by new extensions, as for example the domed vault of the Subtreasury Building in New York.

In any event it would aid understanding to think of the Greek forms as a convention, one which was fortunately simple, pliant, and incisive. The exalted level-headedness and elevated clarity which the convention nurtured in the best work were qualities that could continue even after the Greek matrix was dropped, and do continue in one strain of contemporary work in which there is no visible trace of an anthemion.

In the last revealing chapter, Why the Greek Revival Flourished and Why It Failed, there is a penetrating summary of that free, tolerant, and libertarian early American culture which had "discovered that it is better to see and hear beautiful things than ugly ones; had, in a word, waked up from a nightmare."

DOUGLAS HASKELL

#### Grim Diary

WAR DIARY. By Jean Malaquais. Translated from the French by Peter Grant. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.75.

DON'T imagine that many readers will greatly cherish Jean Malaquais's war diary just now, even though it has been warmly commended by André Gide and admirably translated by Peter Grant. The diary pictures modern warboth the politics of it and the business of soldiering—in a starkly unheroic light reminiscent of Cummings's "The Enormous Room"; and as everyone knows, the time to publish an "Enormous Room" is after a war. Furthermore Malaquais writes, at times, a pretty self-conscious prose; even under heavy shell fire he can produce such glib rhetoric as the following: "I knew clearly, in that instant, that all those on our side and all those on the other, and all those who under the impassive gaze of the sky vomit out their life-I knew that what brought them close to me was the incommensurable grandeur of their loneliness." This is the kind of strained eloquence that one expects, not of a real French intellectual, but of an intellectual as imagined by some French novelist -say, a Jerphanion created by a Jules Romains. And the truth may well be that Malaquais, an uncompromising leftist, has suffered a kind of emotional deterioration as a result of his political isolation. Because he holds beliefs which have had less and less to do with immediate political realities and choices, he has been forced into a position where even the

most sincere convictions and the most deeply felt anguish sound at times like exhibitionism. The sense of unrealitythough not necessarily the histrionics—is no doubt a familiar phenomenon today, and many radicals experience it in proportion as they retain their earlier beliefs. Malaquais's is a new and more desperate "lost generation."

But Malaquais, the author of "Men from Nowhere," is in general a very promising writer, and his war diary, despite its faults, is a serious account of a man's conflict with a militarized world. The conflict is first of all a simple one between an uncommonly sensitive individual and the rude promiscuities of army life. Many writers have evidently been glad enough to surrender their equivocal artist's status-to escape its responsibilities, if you like-in exchange for a soldier's wider social recognition and more regulated life. Malaquais, called up into the French army in September, 1939, frankly resented the process and despised his fellow-soldiers. To him they seemed to accept militarization "not so much on account of the compulsion which obliges them to, as because of the license which they find in it"; and a large part of his diary is taken up with recording his disgust at the obscenity, drunkenness, belching, and wind-letting with which he was surrounded. We can't fail to sympathize with him; quartered with his squad in a miserable shed, he doubtless had an unusually cruel exposure to these familiar forms of animal crudity. But Malaquais generalizes too much; he is not content until he has converted his emotion into a kind of allenveloping misanthropy—a misanthropy which is all righteous indignation and little wit and which interferes with his attempts to describe his fellow-soldiers. Later on, it is true, he finds more acceptable companions; and after Hitler invades France he is too busy escaping from the Nazis to write very reflectively of mankind. Yet even amid the great rout of the French population in June, 1940, he pauses to observe with horror some odd eruptions of unregenerate human nature: a curé who suddenly and for no reason throws a strange girl from her bicycle and tramples her, screaming, "She's a whore! She's a spy!" and two fleeing women who perform an impromptu bacchanale in the road until some soldiers, noticing, break ranks and rush upon them. Certainly Malaquais-who is in fact Pole by birth-has no part in the indulgent naturalism of the French tradition.

But his quarrel with mankind has more behind it than simply the outraged fastidiousness implied by his physical disgusts. His feeling that man is a beast seems to be connected with his belief that man has proved himself a hopeless political coward in refusing to put an end to "this accursed system of human relations which exhausts its genius preparing one massacre on top of another." It is true that he shares the old Marxist conviction that we are what we are because of what he calls "social coercion." But this belief, formerly an optimistic one which expected man's nature to improve in proportion as he was freed from economic exploitation, is now for Malaquais a doctrine of despair. And from his experience it would be easy to decide that Marxism has come full circle, beginning with an unlimited faith in human possibilities and ending with unlimited pessimism; and a philosophical reactionary might try to draw appropriate conclusions. But even assuming that such conclusions could be safely based on one individual's experience, it is true that Malaquais himself tries to warn us against any such procedure. His diary, he tells us, is purely emotional; the jottings in it "express sensations, only rarely thoughts."

The diary ends in July, 1940, after describing with great reportorial brilliance how Malaguais escaped from a column of French war prisoners as they were about to be herded across the Rhine. F. W. DUPER

#### Wingate in Burma

WINGATE'S RAIDERS. By Charles J. Rolo. The Viking

ITTLE has been written about one of the most incredible episodes of the war. Last spring Brigadier (now Major General) Orde Charles Wingate smuggled a force of several thousand Allied troops from India into the very heart of northern Burma under the noses of the Japanese occupants. "Wingate's Mob" stayed there two months, wrecking communications, doing other mischief which cannot yet be revealed, and perfecting a technique of jungle warfare. This sub rosa invasion forced the Japanese to divert thousands of troops which they might have used against the Chinese in Yunnan or, perhaps, for an invasion of India.

Not the least incredible part of the tale is Orde Wingate himself, one of the military freaks, like Lawrence of Arabia, which England periodically produces. Wingate seems to be odder than most. His cantankerous contempt for his superiors in the British army would have landed anyone else in

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the guardhouse, but General Wavell knew genius when he saw it. If Wingate indulged one of his several manias by spraying Flit on the bald heads of two visiting generals—well, they would just have to put up with it. If Wingate was such a religious fanatic that he coded his military messages in Biblical quotations—well, he did get results.

The whole idea of the invasion of Burma last spring was so crazy that the British army wouldn't give Wingate firstline troops. He had to take draftees: factory hands from Liverpool and Manchester. First he spent six months making jungle fighters out of these city men; he taught them how to kill in the dark, how to march without leaving tracks, how to scare off wild animals, how to cook pythons. When his guerrilla invaders had finished their havoc in Burma, there seemed little hope of getting back to India; the entire reinforced Japanese army in northern Burma was on their trail. Wingate's own column stayed motionless in the jungle for a week, hoping to fool the Japanese. During that nerve-racking week Wingate recited poetry to his starving men-but in a whisper, lest enemy scouts hear. He softly lectured them on the painting of the eighteenth century. He argued quietly, stubbornly, that Wimpy in the comic strip was a more human character than Popeve. When it came time to kill the mules for food, Wingate knew how to do so without firing a tell-tale shot; he slit the carotid arteries, explaining the operation as would a surgeon in medical school. More men returned to India than Wingate originally had expected.

The story of Wingate's Mob is told by Charles J. Rolo, a young man in his twenties who works for the British Information Services in the United States. He talked to men who came out from the raid and had access to the official records. One would think that he had been along. His feat of creative chronicling is comparable to that of William L. White in "They Were Expendable." He picked up the human details that make the story live and wove them together with the skill of a dramatist.

The Wingate raid proved several interesting and heartening points. First, British men from Manchester and Liverpool could be turned into better jungle fighters than the Japanese, given the right leader. Second, a large army could exist in enemy-held territory without land communication with its home base. Wingate's men were supplied entirely by airplanes that dropped all their food and ammunition; and also dropped such items as mail, false teeth, a monocle, and an autographed copy of the new biography of Shaw. Third, the Burmese were not as anti-British as they had been painted, or else had changed their minds after sampling Japanese rule. Of course Wingate is a man who gets along better with native races, whom he respects, than with his army superiors. He had the wit to take with him a propaganda section, headed by a Burmese. The natives had many lucrative opportunities to betray the British, but instead helped them.

What Wingate is doing at the present moment is not disclosed. The way he cut through Burmese jungles encourages one to hope that he is continuing to cut through military red tape, and will return to bedevil the Japanese in his own brilliant, fanatical way.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

#### DRAMA

WASN'T going to mention "Decision" (Belasco Theater) because I thought it crudely conceived, execrably written, and for the most part ineptly performed. Frankly I didn't think the play could last as long as it takes to get a Nation review into print, and I see no point in kicking a bad play when it's down. I still doubt that "Decision" would have lasted as long as it has if most of the drama reviewers had not rushed in with phrases of praise which could easily be extracted, for advertising purposes, from the reservations that accompanied them.

The reviewers were motivated no doubt by a worthy purpose-"Decision" purports to deal severely with the coming American fascism-but to drum up a bad play for that reason, or for any other, seems to me of very doubtful value in the fight against fascism. There is something disturbing as well as ridiculous about the spectacle of a whole row of drama critics leaning over backward and burying their heads in the sand. (It was a great relief to find Wolcott Gibbs still upright.) And isn't it faintly ironical that the hero of "Decision" is a hero because he insists on sticking to his last?

As a matter of fact, the melodramatic events in "Decision," in which a courageous high-school principal gets murdered for opposing the "interests," have no more-if no less-relation to fascism than, say, the murder of Frank Little in Montana several decades ago or the current persecution of John Longo by Mayor Hague. The coming American fascism may be identical with old-fashioned American reaction, but I for one suspect it will be more subtle in form and content. And certainly a convincing and effective play about the subject would have to be a great deal more subtle—on both counts—than "Decision."

MARGARET MARSHALL

#### RECORDS

THANKS are due both Victor and Columbia for issuing recordings of important works that music-lovers in this country have had little or no opportunity to hear.

Columbia's contribution (Set 544; \$3.50) is Mozart's Piano Concerto K.414, which is smaller in scale than some of his other concertos but is written in their idiom and style, and which has a first movement that is characteristic in its mingled grace, poignancy, and gaiety, and an affecting slow movement, but a weak finale. Kentner's performance of the solo part is musically intelligent, though occasionally overpercussive; the orchestral part is beautifully done by the London Philharmonic under Beecham. The recorded sound is clear but not bright—which may be because the treble is too weak for the heavy bass; the surfaces of my copy are poor.

Victor gives us (Set 954; \$2.50) Nos. 1 and 3-"Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps"-of the orchestral "Images" by Debussy, of which No. 2 is "Ibéria," one of the greatest of his works. "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps" are smaller than "Ibéria," but are written in its densely polyphonic, harmonically rich and subtle orchestral idiom. The idiom is especially rich in "Rondes," where it is fascinating in itself, but also lends itself wonderfully to the purposes of an "image" of spring. "Gigues" is less impressive at first; but after several hearings one may be struck by "the capacity for investing an apparently insignificant and lighthearted tune with an almost tragic significance" that Constant Lambert, in his book "Music Ho!," finds in all three pieces, after pointing out that the original title of this one was "Gigue triste." Monteux's performances with the San Francisco Symphony seem excellent, and are recorded with great beauty of the over-all sound, in which individual strands of the polyphony are sometimes not clearly audible. Only one surface of my copy is noisy.

Other Victor records which I have played thus far include a single disc (11-8528; \$1) with the great Fugue in E flat for organ (often referred to as the "St. Anne") that concludes one of the volumes of Bach's "Klavierübung." It is usually played with the equally fine Prelude in E flat that opens the volume; but on the present record we get the Fugue by itself, well performed by Joseph Bonnet, and well recorded up to the last third, where the polyphonic texture becomes unclear. Surfaces are noisy.

On another Victor single disc (11-8580; \$1) is the performance of Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube" Waltz by Toscanini and the N.B.C. Symphony that took one's breath away a couple of years ago with its freshness of conception, its buoyancy, fire, and grace. It is recorded with remarkable fidelity to

the sound of the orchestra in acoustically hard and reverberant Studio 8H; surfaces are poor. And on still another single (11-8487; \$1) is an unfamiliar piece by Haydn, "L'Isola diabitata," which is pleasant to listen to, though not of great consequence. It is well performed by Sevitzky with the Indianapolis Symphony, and excellently recorded; surfaces again are noisy.

Columbia's choice from its catalogue for its February record classic is Fauré's Requiem, performed by French singers and instrumentalists under the direction of Bourmauck (Set 354; \$5.50). As before I find this work of Fauré very beautiful; and I continue to prefer this sensitive and clearly recorded performance to the one in Victor Set 844. In this set too surfaces are poor.

Having only now received Decca's set (359; \$5) of music from "Oklahoma," I can report that the delightful Rodgers tunes and Hammerstein lyrics are sung as well by Celeste Holm, Lee Dixon, Alfred Drake, and all the others of the New York company on these records as on the stage, and that the performances are excellently recorded. Present-day surfaces being what they are it is a surprise to find most of those in my copy quieter than average, and only a very few noticeably noisy.

B. H. HAGGIN

In Early Issues of The Nation

Action Tomorrow

A commentary on recent books by
Archbishop Spellman and
Monsignor Sheen

By G. A. Borgese

Konrad Heiden's "Der Führer"
Reviewed by Leopold Schwarzschild

Euclides da Cunha's "Rebellion in the Backlands" Reviewed by Elizabeth Wilder

Vernon Bartlett's "Tomorrow Always Comes" Reviewed by Albert Guérard

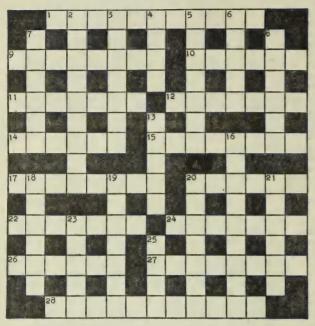
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## TO THE MEN

### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 52

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 As a fugitive or his trousers might be (two words, 4 and 7)
- 9 Just the girl to run away with a writer!
- 10 They advance backwards
- 11 Fringe of the Rame clan?
- 12 The winding course of Cockney courtship
- 14 Perhaps this ensemble from "Lucia di Lammermoor" is m favorite of vours?
- yours?
  15 Thrown into the shade perhaps
- 17 They require looking into for the future
- 20 Bring forward, with Signor Mussolini bringing up the rear
- 22 Opens out
- 24 What a tractor does in reverse?
- 26 Thanks to ruler, it is quite attractive
- 27 A disturbing person
- 28 He doesn't correct his own mistakes, a man of this type! (hyphen, and 6)

#### DOWN

- 2 "Arrest Abe!" (anag.)
- 8 If you make one of yourself, you can't complain if others wipe their boots on you!
- 4 Done effectively by a Scot very merry or sober
- 5 They cross the avenues in New York

- 6 Angelina sued him for breach of promise in the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta
- 7 Males come first in this household 8 "Without s -----, without a tide, She steadies with upright keel" (Ancient Mariner)
- 13 Richard III offered his kingdom for
- one
  16 It is not wise generalship to
  ----- the enemy
- 18 Ran down with Dan for a spree
- 19 A brisk movement in music
- 20 Never lost a war, or won a conference, according to Will Rogers
- 21 Bird which lays other birds' eggs, or something
- 23 Rosie in m tree!
- 25 A beastly place

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 51

ACROSS:—1 SESAME: © COPECKS: 10 SIDE ISSUE: 11 NYLON: 12 EIDOLON: 13 SUCCEED: 14 SPEAR: 16 INELASTIC: 18 UNPOPULAR: 20 WORTH: 22 MOONEYS: 24 HALIDOM: 26 TRIBE: 27 BRITISHER: 28 DONATED: 20 GEMINI.

DOWN:-2 ENDED; 3 A HITLER; 4 ESSEM. TIAL; 5 CREWS; 6 PANACEA; 7 COLLEC-TOR; 8 SYNODIC; 9 USHERS; 15 EXPLO-SION; 17 EARTHLING; 18 UNMATED; 19 PRESENT; 20 WILLIAM; 21 HOMERS; 23 EMBED; 25 DEHAN.

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#### RECENTLY PUBLISHED

American History in Schools and Colleges. The Report of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges. Edgar B. Wesley, Director of the Committee. Macmillan. \$1.25.

Tomorrow Always Comes. By Vernon Bartlett. Knopf. \$2.

Comparative Economic Systems. By Ralph H. Blodgett. Macmillan. \$4.

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · FEBRUARY 26, 1944

NUMBER 9

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CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 53 by Jack Barrett

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S.A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building.

## The Shape of Things

THE ATTACK ON THE STRONGHOLD OF TRUK is the boldest step yet taken by the Allied forces in the Pacific war, Destruction of this powerful base would so weaken the Japanese position in the Southwest Pacific that the entire area south of the Mariana Islands and east of Yap and the Netherlands Indies might have to be given up. The seizure of Truk is probably the most important single goal for the navy short of the Philippines and the China coast. For Truk is the only island in the entire South Pacific suitable for development as a major naval base for the final attack on the Japanese homeland. However, we have not yet attempted to land on Truk, and Japanese reports to that effect were either the result of panicky expectations, or, more probably, intended to preface stories of a repulse. The attack was a softening-up raid made by carrier-based bombers, which caught and sank an impressive number of Japanese naval and cargo vessels, as well as heavily punishing ground installations. At the same time it served to prevent any interference by the enemy with our seizure of the Eniwetok atoll, possession of which gives us an advanced base for later operations against Truk. Admiral Nimitz's offensive is rolling according to plan, and no one can any longer complain that the war against Japan is being neglected.

~

THE ARGENTINE POLITICAL CRISIS HAS arisen as the result of a clash of personalities, and a division of opinion regarding methods, rather than by reason of any ideological split in the ruling military-nationalist camp. The conflict came into the open with the leakage of plans for a declaration of war on Germany and Japan. Immediately a group of young officers occupied the Foreign Office and forced the resignation of General Alberto Gilbert, the Foreign Minister, and Enrique P. Gonzalez, Presidential Secretary, who together with President Ramirez composed the inner triumvirate of the government. There is no reason to suppose that Ramirez had suddenly become a sincere convert to the cause of the United Nations. But he was under strong pressure from America and Britain, and, to his disappointment, his mere break with the Axis in January had not produced any sign of the lend-lease armaments which he was counting on to regain parity with Brazil. In addition, according to some well-informed commentators, it was his intention to order a general mobilization following the declaration of war—a step which might have enabled him to regain control of the officers' corps. The Foreign Office coup, carried out by a group whose sense of solidarity with the Nazis did not allow them to stomach the triumvirate's opportunism, has put Ramirez in the humiliating position of being forced to deny that he contemplated war or that undisciplined officers had ousted his Foreign Minister. This revelation of weakness substantiates our frequent assertion that Ramirez is merely a dummy for still more sinister forces.

×

IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL accept most of the recommendations made by Bernard Baruch and John Hancock for demobilization and reconversion of industry, and, if he does so, business at least will have no cause to kick. For the report of these two eminent graduates of Wall Street is, as one would expect, based squarely on the philosophy of private enterprise. Its whole purpose is to get the government out of business as rapidly as possible, to dispose of all government plants and to liquidate all government controls. Provided we create "that atmosphere in which private initiative and resourcefulness can flourish," there is, we are told, no need for depression. Within this frame of reference Messrs. Baruch and Hancock have made a number of sensible proposals. They endeavor to provide speed in terminating contracts and clearing the way for reconversion to normal production with administrative safeguards against fraud. They urge measures to ensure that small business will be given full opportunity to buy surplus materials, machinery, and property, and suggest special credit provision for such enterprise, including liberalization of the Federal Reserve System loans. To guard against the cornering of surplus production facilities by monopolies they propose that the Attorney General be placed on a Surplus Property Policy Board. Their report leads off with recommendations for dealing with the "human problems of demobilization" but the sketchiness of this section contrasts oddly with the detailed provisions made for the solution of business problems. Another significant feature is that while great emphasis is placed on the usefulness of the industry advisory committees of the War Production Board and suggestions made for their strengthening, nothing is said about the need for close association of labor and consumer organizations in the tasks which the report outlines.

\*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S GENIUS FOR WINNING when the blue chips are down has never been more effectively demonstrated than in his triumph in the longdrawn-out subsidy fight. For months Republicans and recalcitrant Democrats had won overwhelming victories in every important test in the House and Senate on the anti-subsidy bill. But when the President delivered a scorching veto message, making it clear that those who voted against subsidies would have to assume responsibility before the American public for the collapse of the entire stabilization program, the House sustained him by a margin of twenty-five votes. Election-year politics undoubtedly played a much larger role in the entire fight than most Congressmen would like to admit. Many Senators and Representatives appear to have voted against subsidies in the secure knowledge that the bill would ultimately be vetoed, thus strengthening their position with the farm bloc without running the risk of actually destroying the stabilization program. The battle is not yet over, of course. The opponents of subsidies will undoubtedly try the same tactics again when the bill for the extension of the Price Control Act comes up for consideration. But with the election approaching, we cannot believe that the final result will be any different from the outcome on this occasion.

×

MR. CHURCHILL HAS PROMISED ARMS TO the French underground, according to unofficial reports from Algiers. We hope these reports are true, not only for the sake of the many brave Frenchmen who have been fighting the Nazis with bare hands, but for the sake of the American and British troops who must soon undertake the invasion of Europe. No one any longer doubts that the establishment of beachheads and the penetration of the German defenses which stretch far inland will prove one of the most formidable tasks ever tackled by an army. But it can be lightened if we give our friends on the Continent a chance to help us. Behind the German lines there is already the nucleus of a guerrilla army which could do untold mischief to enemy efforts to concentrate troops and supplies at the points of danger. The Germans are well aware how great this threat from within can be, and with the aid of their Vichy puppets they are making frantic efforts to conscript for slave labor all men of military age in France and to round up the thousands who have taken to the bush. Under Joseph Darnand, a veteran fascist terrorist who has been charged by Vichy with the "maintenance of order," special mobile forces have been organized to hunt down the underground fighters, and stringent economic measures are being taken to starve them out. To enable them to resist, to help them keep their organizations intact for the day of invasion, it is imperative that the trickle of arms that has been delivered by parachute to the French guerrillas be rapidly increased. In a recent speech President Roosevelt spoke of the approaching moment when the Nazis will learn that the people

of France are not out of this war. We can count on the French to fulfil this prophecy if we give them the tools for the job.

×

THE DIES COMMITTEE HAS ADDED LITTLE TO public knowledge of the Peace Now movement and in fact omits a lot of illuminating detail previously brought to light by enterprising reporters for the New York Post, World Telegram, and PM. These investigators had turned up a good many leads suggesting links between Peace Now and figures in extremist pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist organizations, including some now under indictment. The Dies probers, however, have chosen to concentrate much of their fire on a mysterious Norwegian, John Albert Collett, who for a time acted as field secretary for Peace Now. His official connection came to an end last fall with his conviction in Cincinnati as a "peeping Tom" - an offense which the Dies committee describes with understandable delicacy as "too disgusting to be recounted in all its details." Collett, it is alleged, obtained a passport from the Nazi authorities in Oslo after the German occupation of Norway, but this suggested link between the Nazis and Peace Now is not followed up in the report. In fact, the evidence presented by the committee hardly sustains the charges of treason it makes against this organization, pernicious as its propaganda is and indifferent as it seems to the company it keeps. Moreover, its membership and financial support appear rather picayune compared with that of some other organizations up and down the country which combine pacifism with divisive agitation of various sorts. If Mr. Dies really wants to expose treasonable activities, there are pools to be fished in the Mid-West promising embarrassingly big catches. Judging by his past performances, however, his hasty job on Peace Now is only a gesture of impartiality heralding a really riproaring "investigation" of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee.

X

THE FOURTH WAR LOAN DRIVE EASILY exceeded its announced goal and to that extent must be counted a success. But it was a success made possible by institutional and corporate investors—other than commercial banks—which topped their quota by a large margin. In spite of—or could it be because of?—the tremendous ballyhoo which accompanied the drive, individual sailed to produce the volume of dollars expected. Up to date, individual subscriptions total only 72 per cent of their allotted quota, but some of the leeway will be made up, as the campaign is to be extended until the end of the month. There is therefore still time for those who have been disinclined to heed the call to "sacrifice," or those who have been repelled by the use of this very

inappropriate word, to make a thoroughly sound investment yielding a very favorable return. Incidentally, it may be noted that the lower-income groups have made a much better showing than those more comfortably situated. Sales of the E bonds, the small man's investment, have been far in excess of those during the third warloan drive and will almost certainly exceed their quota at the final tabulation. The lag has been in the marketable issues which are designed to appeal to large investors, and the explanation is that subscriptions have been discouraged by the Treasury's efforts to prevent speculative purchases. In so far as such purchases merely served as window-dressing both for the Treasury and the "patriots" who made them, the lower total for this category of bonds compared with that achieved in the last drive may reflect a greater volume of real savings. But whatever the explanation, it appears that people in the higher income brackets are not, as a class "backing the attack" to the full extent of their ability.

## Wendell in the Lions' Den

THE country, it seems to us, is obligated to Wendell L. Willkie for launching the 1944 Presidential season well above the wardheeler's level. Dispensing with the calculated coyness of the professional, Mr. Willkie announces early in the game that he is a candidate and that he thinks the nation is confronted with certain major issues, which he proceeds to enumerate and discuss—all in violation of the traditional rules of winning blocs and influencing delegates. What is more, he challenges his audiences to make miserable the lives of all candidates. "Take no man on faith," he warns: "make him tell you what he believes."

Mr. Willkie thus assumes in fact what candidates generally concede only in rhetoric, to wit, the intelligence of the electorate. And he has made a good beginning of subjecting his own views to the test of that collective intelligence. It required political courage for a Republican leader to urge heavier taxes rather than "economy" as the way to reduce the national debt; to come out bluntly in favor of the federal soldier-vote bill, and to warn farmers against the "good-old-days theory that it no longer is necessary to depend on supported prices, a soil-conservation plan, and federal guaranties of stable market conditions." It required not only courage but political insight to call on the people for further sacrifice -the Churchillian appeal for blood, sweat, and tearsrather than pander to their natural but none the more noble inclination to grouse about gas restrictions and the nuisance of rationing.

By addressing himself in this way to the understanding and fundamental decency of the voters Mr. Willkie places other functionaries of his party in an unenviable position. The larger he grows in stature the more they tend to shrivel. Contrasted with his frankness, the cool slyness of Governor Dewey seems picayune rather than potent. Beside his posing of the issues Landon's cry that "fascism is here in America, and its name is the New Deal" sounds like the shrill hysteria of an abandoned fishwife. About the fatuousness of the Brickers and the manic raving of the McCormicks nothing need be said here.

But this very isolation of Willkie from his fellow-Republicans is the strongest argument against his candidacy. And it is on this score that he abandons logic and prefers to ignore the record. To illustrate President Roosevelt's failure to hold the support of his party in Congress, Willkie told a Seattle audience, "The Secretary of the Treasury presented what I regard as a wholly inadequate tax measure, and yet a committee, a majority of which was made up of members of the President's own party, refused to give him more than one-quarter of the amount asked for." Would the Republican minority of that committee, who were all too glad to join their Democratic colleagues in slashing the President's request, have supported the still higher figure suggested by Mr. Willkie?

No more than they did in fact support the head of their party on the most important measures of the past four years. Willkie favored repealing the arms embargo, but House Republicans opposed repeal by a vote of 143 to 21, and Senate Republicans by 15 to 8. Willkie favored lend-lease, but his party in the House opposed it 135 to 24; in the Senate 17 to 10. A majority of Republican Senators, like Willkie, favored the draft act, but House Republicans voted against it 112 to 52. The list can be extended indefinitely, but to add only the most recent instance of the gap between Willkie and his Congressional colleagues, we refer him to the fight in the House over the federal soldier-vote bill, which 18 Republicans favored as against 175 opposed. Judging by his own standards, there is little sense in Willkie's contention "that the most positive and constructive instrumentality to solve a task of such magnitude [post-war reconstruction] is to be found in the Republican Party."

The "constructive instrumentality" is furious enough at Mr. Willkie as it is. If circumstances dictate his nomination, the Hoffmans, Fishes, and Nyes will accept his leadership with the same degree of warmth and admiration that the Dieses, Coxes, and Wheelers entertain for Mr. Roosevelt, the titular head of their party. Enthusiasm will not be lacking, but it will be less the spirit of a following than that of a pack in full cry. The main difference between Roosevelt and Willkie in this respect is that the one is a veteran master in the art of handling politicians, the other a wide-eyed neophyte.

## The Test of Crowley

NE of the most interesting aspects of the report recently made available by the Kilgore committee on international cartels is the ease with which important German concerns slipped back into German hands after the last war. One of the most important of these was the Bayer concern, whose properties and patents were sold to Sterling Products after a promise in December, 1918, that they would not be allowed to return to German ownership or control. Prior to the sale the Alien Property Custodian of that time investigated and found "no taint of German ownership—direct or contingent—and no trace of German influence-near or remote-in the company." But by 1924 the dyestuffs part of the business was back in the hands of Bayer, subsequently becoming the core of the business now known as General Aniline and Film. And even earlier than that, by 1919, Sterling Products-now Sterling Drug, Inc.-had promised to pay the old German owners 50 per cent of its profits on the sale of pharmaceuticals in Latin America. By the time World War II began, Sterling was helping I. G. Farben—which Bayer helped to form in 1926—to blackjack anti-Nazi papers in the Argentine and to evade the British blockade. It is in the light of this past record of good governmental intentions, corporate deception, and broken promises that one must read Leo T. Crowley's first report as Alien Property Custodian in this war. Crowley does, indeed, say that in disposing of these properties he will reserve "the right to weigh, in addition to monetary considerations, the competence of the bidders to maintain the property as a valuable producing concern, their willingness to maintain it as a freely competing institution, and operate it with due regard for the national interest of the United States." Crowley, too, has pledged himself not to let these properties and patents slip back into alien hands, where they may again become the basis of international cartels.

But as our Washington editor, I. F. Stone, pointed out in his letter last week, the patent policies applied by Crowley, the men with whom he is associated in his \$75,000-a-year job as head of Standard Gas and Electric, the policies he is following in the management of alien business concerns, and the directors he has appointed create serious misgivings. The key to the job he has been doing lies in the directors and managers he has appointed to operate the alien businesses he has taken over. His report fails to provide a list of those directors and managers; it is clear from his veiled references that in many cases existing managements have been left in control. The public should be fully informed of such cases so that it may judge for itself whether the men are reliable. In one case uncovered by Stone in PM, a leading member of the Schroder banking family was long vicepresident and director of the Schering Corporation under the Alien Property Custodian, although the Schroders were the bankers for Schering in the international hormone cartel. Crowley has appointed Victor Emanuel, his employer in the utility business, to the board of General Dyestuffs and five of Emanuel's associates to the board of General Aniline and Film, although Emanuel was backed by the Schroders financially and the Schroders had many links with I. G. Farben, parent concern of General Aniline and its sales subsidiary, General Dyestuffs.

General Aniline is the most important German concern in the Americas. The Germans, shrewder this time than last, placed key stock control in the hands of Germans who became naturalized Americans and in the hands of Dutch and Swiss dummy corporations. It will be hard to keep the concern from going back to these nominal owners once the war is over; now, while we are in possession, is the time to reorganize General Aniline and to break its cartel ties with I. G. Farben. But after being two years in possession Crowley has yet to take such action. These policies and appointments and this inaction seem a better clue to what Crowley has been doing than his pious rhetoric about preventing "the reappearance of restrictive international cartels." Crowley has indicated his intention of resigning as Alien Property Custodian. We hope his successor will show more understanding of the problem. If he does he will reject Crowley's policies and many of his appointments.

## Peace Terms for Japan I: Military

RECENT revelations of the cruel and barbarous treatment of American prisoners of war by their Japanese captors have destroyed the possibility that anything short of the unconditional surrender of Japan will be tolerable to most Americans. But there has been little public discussion of what the actual terms ultimately imposed should be, though the United States will probably play a much more active role in settling the terms for Japan than those for Germany, with which both Russia and Great Britain are more directly concerned.

At the Cairo conference the leaders of Britain, China, and the United States agreed that Japan should be stripped of all territories seized by aggression since 1895. This means that Japan's future boundaries have already been established for the most part—the one element of uncertainty being Russia's possible attitude regarding the southern half of Sakhalin and the northern Kurile most important single step that can be taken to prevent Japanese militarists from renewing their bid for world domination in another twenty or thirty years. For Japan's

present economic and strategic strength lies very largely in its empire. Japan's armament industry is dependent on the iron and coal of Manchuria and North China. Sakhalin was its only important domestic source of oil before the war. And Japan's naval and air strength has been made far more effective by possession of strong outlying bases in Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, and the mandated islands.

It must not be assumed, however, that the loss of this territory, vital though its resources have been in building up Japan's present strength, will permanently destroy all danger of Japanese militarism. Numerous other military, political, and economic limitations will have to be imposed on Japan before there can be any such assurance. Most Americans are disposed to be severe without having any clear idea what effect any particular proposal may have on Japanese psychology or the future well-being of Asia's millions. Mere vengefulness, or an effort to keep Japan in a state of permanent subjugation, will, however, be self-defeating. The Japanese are an able, resourceful people. If they are left with nothing to live for except the prospect of revenge, they will ultimately try to make another bid for glory.

There will be general agreement on the necessity of taking every precaution against such an uprising of the Japanese militarists at some later date. As a minimum Japan should be required to surrender what may remain of its navy and air force. All munitions of war should either be destroyed or turned over to the United Nations. More important, all plants and all shipyards capable of producing military equipment should either be destroyed or converted to the production of peace-time goods. The Japanese army should either be limited to a small token force or disbanded, preferably the latter. All pilot training should be prohibited, even under civilian auspices.

Enforcement of these terms will require the stationing of international inspectors in all important Japanese cities for many years to come. Without question these inspectors will be resented as living symbols of Japanese humiliation. Yet not a single one of those restrictions can be safely omitted.

Alone, even these precautions cannot serve the purpose of keeping Japan at peace. The key to success in dealing with that country will not be the effectiveness of disarmament measures but the extent to which the outlook and motivation of the Japanese people can be changed. This in turn depends on whether the spirit of militarism can be rooted out of Japanese psychology after the defeat. Military safeguards will have to be supplemented by positive political and economic measures designed to encourage the growth of democracy and thus undercut the resurgence of militarism. The possibility of developing such measures attuned to the peculiarities of Japanese society will be discussed editorially in early issues of *The Nation*.

## Victory Lies in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ASIC Allied strategy in the Pacific war has been made clear recently both by the unfolding of offensive action and by the statements of high naval and military leaders. Although assaults will be made at many places on the perimeter of Japanese defenses, the main attack will presumably be straight across the Pacific, backed by all the striking power of the American battle fleet, its ultimate objective being the seizure of one or more ports in China to serve as bases for the final drive against Japan itself.

On his return from an inspection trip to the newly conquered Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls, Admiral Nimitz was completely frank regarding this basic strategy. Declaring that in his opinion "Japan can only be defeated from bases in China," he said that his objective was "to get ground and air forces into China so that we can start the ball rolling." He added that it was no secret that "we shall try to land wherever we can in China." The same view was expressed a few weeks ago by General Henry H. Arnold, chief of the Army Air Force, in a report to Secretary of War Stimson. General Arnold asserted that "potentially" China constitutes "our most effective base for aerial operations against Japan."

The qualification in General Arnold's statement is significant. For under present conditions China is hardly more than a minor front in the Pacific war. Most Americans find this gap between China's potential importance and its actual role puzzling. There has been relatively little analysis, even in general terms, of the difficulties which have hindered and still stand in the way of effective use of China's geographic advantages and immense human resources for a major thrust against the enemy.

The primary obstacle to full utilization of China as a base is, of course, the hitherto insoluble problem of supply. It is now generally recognized that the reopening of the Burma road will not materially relieve the bottleneck in transport. An increment of 20,000 or 30,000 tons monthly, which is the best that can be expected during the first year after the Burma road is reopened, would be insignificant in terms of supplying an American force, although it might strongly support the efforts which the Chinese themselves are making. Consequently no marked change in the situation can be expected until Canton or other South China ports are regained and placed in full operation by United Nations forces. Even then it will be exceedingly difficult, within any short period, to transport and equip a large foreign expeditionary army for operations in China. It is true that a

gradual improvement in the delivery of supplies is taking place, even under present conditions. Tonnage carried from India by air already exceeds the 15,-000 to 20,000 monthly maximum formerly handled by the Burma road. It will further increase when General Stilwell's new huge cargo carriers start operating in the near future. The next step, dependent on military successes in northern Burma, may be the extension of the Ledo road to some junction point along the Burma road. Then will come the reopening of the Burma road itself. The limited total tonnage that can be brought in, however, will continue to impose restrictions on strategy and to demand the greatest possible utilization of Chinese resources. Thus for the immediate future progress tends to be restricted to (1) the full equipment and activization of Chinese land armies, and (2) the establishment in China of foreign specialized units, mainly air forces.

The problem of placing the greatest possible number of adequately trained and equipped Chinese divisions in the field for the offensive that General Stilwell has said will accompany Admiral Nimitz's drive to the China coast is being tackled from various angles. For more than a year a considerable number of Chinese troops have been receiving training in India in the use of the most modern equipment. Some of these Chinese troops are now attached to the Fourteenth Army, which is operating in northern Burma. Within China itself the besttrained army divisions are already capable of sterling performance in the field under the most exacting combat conditions. An expeditionary Chinese force consisting of such divisions has been organized and placed under the command of General Ch'en Ch'eng, one of the ablest of China's military leaders. This force, it is expected, will drive into northern Burma-and later, probably, into Thailand and Indo-China-in coordination with an offensive launched by Lord Louis Mountbatten.

For the ultimate campaign that will drive the Japanese out of China far larger Chinese forces will be required. Some of these are already available and facing the Japanese, but they need additional equipment in order to pass from the defensive to the offensive. Others are immobilized by political conditions within China. One of the best of the Chinese central armies, generally estimated at about 500,000 troops, is assigned to a military blockade of the so-called Border Region, the base area of the Chinese Communist forces. The excellent equipment and leadership of this army, commanded by General Hu Tsung-nan, would make it a powerful contin-

gent of the forces needed for the final offensive against Japan. But its use requires a political solution of the differences between the Chinese central authorities and the Communist leaders.

If this political solution could be obtained, it would open the way to full utilization of the final contingent of land forces needed for a full-scale offensive—the Chinese Communist armies themselves. These armies are currently engaging the Japanese in all the North China provinces and in many parts of the Yangtze valley. Their exact strength is not known. Last summer, when civil war threatened, the Communist leaders indicated that they could rely upon 500,000 troops to counter any attack directed against them. The regulars of the Eighteenth Group Army and the New Fourth Army are the equals in organization and leadership, if not in equipment, of the crack divisions of the central armies. Much larger guerrilla forces are operating in conjunction with the regular troops. Ably led and well disciplined, they form a major reservoir of military effectives.

But before any offensive against Japan's armies of occupation can be undertaken, a powerful air force must be built up in China. The necessity of creating such a force is enhanced by the fact that the China front affords an opportunity to set up air bases within striking distance of Japan's vital industrial centers. A good beginning has already been made. In China today the United States Fourteenth Army Air Force is slowly extending the scope of its operations, both in tactical support of the Chinese armies and in the strategic bombing of enemy areas and supply lines. According to General Arnold, however, strategic bombing has merely entered its preliminary stage. "We have no intention," he told Secretary Stimson, "of allowing our air operations from the Asiatic mainland to remain on the level of guerrilla warfare. Neither Japanese shipping nor Japanese industry will survive the bombing in store for them."

At present the bases of the Fourteenth Air Force are restricted to the area south of the Yangtze River. Its strategic bombing orbit takes in northern Burma and Indo-China, most of Thailand, the islands of Hainan, Hongkong, and Formosa, and China's southern coastal waters and ports from Shanghai to Canton. While extensive, this orbit still lies too far south for maximum strategic effectiveness. Of the targets listed above, only Formosa possesses industrial installations of any importance; the primary targets lie farther north-in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. If concentrated bombing raids are to be launched against Japan's inner empire, air bases in North China are essential. From certain sections of the Shantung promontory or from the coastal areas of Kiangsu above the Yangtze estuary, for example, long-range bombers could attack the greater part of Japan's industrial heartland.

Units of the Eighth Route Army or its guerrilla auxili-

aries occupy much of the interior of Shantung, including the eastern promontory, and units of the New Fourth Army are operating along the coast of Kiangsu above the Yangtze estuary. These facts do not suggest that the Fourteenth Air Force would immediately find it possible to establish air bases in those areas. Air bases require secure lines of access and supply and must be defended by land armies capable of holding off large-scale attacks. But the extensive territory held by the Communist forces in North China should be utilized to the full in pushing the air war against Japan's economic centers.

In considering the possibilities in this field, it is necessary to have in mind the general military-administrative picture in North China. The whole area eastward from the bend of the Yellow River to the coast is covered by a network of guerrilla bases, ensconced between the main rail and river lines of communication held by the Japanese. Between the Yellow River and the coast five major guerrilla administrations exercise authority over large parts of Suiyuan, Chahar, Shansi, Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and Kiangsu provinces. No exact figures on the population of these guerrilla areas are available, but an estimate of 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 is well within the range of probability.

The guerrillas' headquarters base is west of the Yellow River in the Border Region, whose capital is at Yenan in Shensi. The Border Region consists of twenty-odd counties in Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, with a population of about 2,000,000. Here are located the Eighteenth Group Army's military headquarters, the major educational institutions and training schools, some of the medical centers, and the central offices of the chief Communist political and military leaders. None of the Border



Region is occupied by Japanese forces; the "regular front" of the Communists extends along the bend of the Yellow River, the region's eastern boundary.

We have seen that sooner or later, as our military operations make progress against Japan, it will be necessary to establish air bases in North China. What are the immediate possibilities of action along this line? The Border Region is securely defended against Japanese invasion. It also occupies a strategic position for the initiation of air attack upon Japan's inner zone. The greater part of North China is within effective bombing range of planes operating from a base in this area. The key installations of the Kailan mines, supplying a major part of Japan's best coking coal, could be attacked, as well as the vital North China rail system, which carries large amounts of coal, iron ore, cotton, salt, and grains, the ports of Tientsin and Tsingtao, and sections of Japan's northern sea lanes. If two conditions are met, it should be possible to establish an air base in the Border Region at once. These conditions are the accumulation of adequate supplies by the Fourteenth Air Force, and the lifting of the blockade which now prevents access to the region, even for foreign military observers.

After establishing an air base in the Border Region, it would be necessary to push out toward the coast, through Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung, and create additional bases in those provinces. In the last analysis, the military problem here would reduce itself to one of strengthening the land forces in the area sufficiently to defend such air bases. The effectiveness of the guerrilla forces operating in these North China provinces reduces the difficulties of such a task. In the key areas chosen for air-base sites, an adequate defense could be speedily assured by feeding in certain amounts of rifles, machineguns, and light mountain guns to the guerrilla forces. Over much of the North China territory lend-lease supplies of this kind would enable the local guerrilla commands to pass over to an offensive that would seriously embarrass the Japanese forces of occupation. Such action, however, must again wait upon a solution of the blockade problem.

The necessity for working out some settlement of China's internal political problems as a prerequisite to the development of an all-out offensive against Japan appears to have been faced at the Cairo conference. One of the correspondents covering the conference reported that "the conference stook cognizance of the fact that internal differences between the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist armies must be overcome before China could be opened as a primary base for direct attack against Japan itself." Subsequent reports from Chungking fail to say definitely whether progress has been made toward a solution. Direct negotiations are believed, however, to be under way between government representatives and Communist emissaries. An

agreement is by no means impossible. It will be recalled that a working arrangement between the rival groups existed in the early days of the war. Each side subsequently accused the other of violating this arrangement. But it could conceivably be reconstituted much in its original form if sufficient pressure were brought to bear on both groups. This pressure might well come from China's allies. For it is evident that what originally could be regarded as simply a private Chinese quarrel has become a basic problem affecting the nature and length of the Pacific war.

[The effect of China's internal economic difficulties on its functioning in the war will be discussed by Mr. Stewart in an early issue.]

### 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

HIS WOULD SEEM to be an unfortunate time for the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants of New York . . . to urge the discontinuance of the United States Employment Service. Whatever its failings, the Employment Service is the only organization prepared to combat on a nation-wide scale the growing menace of unemployment. . . The returned soldiers are everywhere demanding that the government which took them bodily from their homes and their work shall see that work is restored to them—good work at good wages. . . . It would be well for . . . employers who look forward with satisfaction to a glutted labor market to read the contemporary history of Belfast and Glasgow.—February 8, 1919.

STRIKES ARE MANY, widespread, and obstinate in all major branches of British industry. The City Corporation of Belfast has been superseded by a strike committee or industrial Soviet, "uncommonly well organized," as one dispatch admits, which administers the affairs of the city from its sessions in Artisans Hall. Important public utilities of Glasgow are controlled and administered by the local strike committee, whose power appears to be increasing so rapidly that the city looks forward . . . to a state of things essentially similar to that existing in Belfast.—February 8, 1919.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE, in dealing with the problem of the disposal of the German colonies and of parts of Turkey, is said to have adopted the policy of placing the colonies in charge of mandatory powers. . . . Mandatories have an ugly habit of forgetting their mandate and of considering their temporary charges as permanent property.—FRANZ BOAS, February 15, 1919.

"THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA. A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men." By Thorstein Veblen. . . . With so much of concession to those who insist that ways and means and balances of powers are the true ends of man, let the concluding emphasis of the book remain: that Mr. Veblen, like President Wilson, places himself with those who believe in principles first.—February 22, 1919.

## If We Take Arabian Oil-

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 18

THE proposed Arabian oil deal brings us to the first great crossroads of post-war international policy. In one direction lies a new world order; in the other, a return to imperialism, with all it entails. To go into a colonial country and buy oil concessions by favors to desert sheiks, to embark on a long-range program for the exploitation of natural resources which belong to another people, is imperialism, however we choose to disguise it.

We are going into an area without representative government, a Biblical corner of the world whose people are likely in this generation to be inundated by modern ways. It is quite probable that, after awakening, they may resent, as the Mexican people resented, the transfer of the natural riches of their country to aliens, particularly aliens as arrogant and ruthless as our great oil companies have shown themselves to be in dealing with the weak, whether at home or abroad. One may be sure that these companies will do nothing to hasten the region's awakening, that they will link themselves with and support the most backward elements, political and religious, in Arab lands as they did in Latin American. The familiar imperialist headaches lie ahead of us if the Arabian oil deal goes through.

If we are to depend on Arabian oil, we must be prepared to defend the sea and air routes over which it must travel to the United States. The air routes across Africa, the sea lanes through the Mediterranean; will become national lifelines. We have a two-ocean navy; we shall need a three-ocean one. The Mediterranean, as well as the Atlantic and the Pacific, will become our concern. Any increase of British or French or Italian or Turkish or Russian naval or air power in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern areas will call for a comparable increase in our own. Arabian oil is supposed to be very cheap, and no doubt will continue to be so as long as Arab governments are willing to sell their resources cheaply, and Arab workmen will provide their labor at low wages. But what will the real cost of this oil be when we finish paying for the armament required to defend it?

If we have learned anything from this war, it is the precarious condition in which even the greatest of powers may find itself when dependent on distant sources of supply. We have seen how quickly and easily the American, British, and Dutch empires, with all their power and their supposedly impregnable fortresses, were cut off from their sources of rubber, tin, quinine, and many

other raw materials, including the oil of the East Indies. We have seen that the possession of these raw materials was in some degree an obstacle to their national defense; Britain's oil and rubber interests, for example, successfully fought the establishment of synthetic sources of supply at home. For under capitalism these resources in lands which on the maps bear the same color as our own do not belong to you and me; these resources are in the hands of independent economic sovereigns whose profit and interest often run counter to those of the national sovereigns who defend them. Judging from the tenor of current discussion in Washington, I think all this needs to be spelled out again,

In peace time those who have the oil will be only too happy to sell it to us. In war time it will be sold to any power which controls access to it, whether its nationals were the pre-war owners or not. Military power will decide the question even before war has broken out, as the military power of Japan before Pearl Harbor provided the final argument for the sale to Japan of East Indian oil, nominally owned by the British, Dutch, and Americans. Economic interest will override national advantage; the Japanese had no trouble in buying scrap from us, though they were hardly in a position to seize Pittsburgh, as they were in a position to seize Borneo. It is true that in the "principles of proposed agreement" between the government and the oil companies it is said that "no sales of petroleum or other products will be made by the companies to any government or the nationals of any government when, in the opinion of the Department of State, such sales would militate against the interests of the United States." Let us not forget how easily these oil companies succeeded in deceiving the State Department, how willingly the State Department was deceived, how passionately it fought embargoes on the sale of our own domestic oil and scrap to Japan before the war.

The propaganda campaign which preceded this proposed Arabian oil deal is much like that which made it possible for Standard Oil interests after the First World War to muscle in on British oil preserves in Iraq. Now as then the aim has been (1) to spread fear that our oil resources are nearing exhaustion, and (2) to arouse suspicion of the British. Figures on oil resources need careful investigation; they seem to be adjusted upward or downward according to what the oil companies want at the moment. When it is proposed to begin the production of oil from coal, such Standard Oil experts as Per K. Frolich assure us that we have ample reserves of

petroleum for this century anyway. When it is desired to embark on the financing of foreign oil resources, we are told that our oil is on the verge of exhaustion. In 1922, at the height of the last post-war scare, a committee of noted oil geologists assured us that we had only five billion barrels in reserve; proved reserves today, twenty-two years later, are twenty billion barrels.

"There is little enough oil left in the Western Hemisphere and in the United States in particular," Secretary Ickes recently wrote Senator Mead; ". . . our reserves in this country have a relatively short life expectancy of fourteen years." But the report made here by the Truman committee puts this estimate differently. It says that proved reserves are equal to but fourteen years' supply "based on current consumption," which is a horse of another color, for consumption today is at abnormal war-time levels. Let us compare these figures with those in the report of the National Resources Committee to the President in January, 1939. This report, on "energy resources and national policy," says that in 1938 we had fifteen billion barrels in reserve, or a twelve-year supply at the 1937 rate of consumption. So that we find ourselves today, in the midst of a great war, with five billion barrels more in reserve than we had then and a twoyears-longer life expectancy, even at war-time rates of consumption. The final touch in this picture is supplied by a speech which Wallace E. Pratt, petroleum geologist of Standard Oil of New Jersey and its one "liberal" director, made before a Sigma Xi luncheon at Columbia University on December 6 last. Pratt said our petroleum reserves would probably last a hundred years; that recent scare stories were based on half-truths; that proved reserves were not necessarily a reflection of actual reserves; that the proved reserve has many times been low in our history; and that at least one-half of the prospective oilproducing territory of the United States has not been explored.

I believe the Arabian oil deal will serve to retard development of oil possibilities at home. I note that the big oil companies hope to couple it with "conservation" of resources in the United States-that is, restriction of domestic output and an international oil compact for restriction abroad. The National Resources Committee, in discussing the question of our future petroleum supply, dwelt on the role to be played by improved technology. The committee pointed out that from 1922 to 1936 the geologist had helped drillers add 10.8 billion barrels to reserves despite the production of 12.8 billion barrels during that period. It pointed out that from 1920 to the end of 1936 the chemist, by improved cracking processes. had conserved 8.5 billion barrels of crude oil, or an amount equal to three-fourths of total production from 1922 to 1936. It pointed out that today 65 to 85 per cent of the available oil still remains in the ground "after a field no longer yields oil by the older methods of production," and that this enormous margin of wastage is a challenge to the petroleum engineer. Finally, the committee reported that "the volume of the coal resources of the United States is such that they may be depended upon [by hydrogenation and other processes] to provide an adequate supply of motor fuel for many centuries after a shortage in crude petroleum arrives." Is money likely to be invested in the development of these possibilities so long as low-cost Arabian oil is available? Wouldn't we be better prepared against emergency if we developed these possibilities instead of becoming dependent on a distant and precarious source of supply?

The reserves of Arabia have been as exaggerated as the reserves of the United States have been understated. "Estimates by responsible authorities of the total reserves in Saudi Arabia," the Truman report says, "have varied from two and one-half billion barrels to twenty billion barrels, but most experts estimate it to be between two and one-half and three billion barrels." The figure used by most newspapers is twenty billion barrels. Coupled with this has been an alarmist and nationalistic exaggeration of the share we are supplying to the fuel requirements of United Nations in the war. The United States is currently producing about 70 per cent of all the petroleum used by the United Nations, and this is represented as a disproportionate sacrifice, though it would hardly seem so when equated with the greater sacrifice of men and resources by the Soviet Union and Great-Britain. But the real reason we supply so much of the war's oil is because we control so much of the world's oil within and without our borders. Our share in the fueling of the war is almost exactly the same as our normal share in world petroleum production, which was 70.6 per cent in 1938, the last peace-time year. Twofifths of the world's known reserves are within our own continental borders, and Americans control 571/2 per cent of the total world reserves. Under these circumstances, to picture the United States as a duped and plundered oil pauper is ludicrous. Just how much of the world's oil do we propose to hog! The oil scare hit the headlines in the wake of the tour of the five Senators to combat areas last summer. The Truman report is based, presumably, on their findings-actually, on their preconceptions. The best of the five, Mead and Brewster, proved themselves extraordinarily naive, shallow, and credulous in discussing the Near Eastern oil situation. The worst, Chandler of Kentucky, a member of the "Beat Japan First" and anti-British blocs, had obviously an ax to grind. The whole drift of the Truman report is in the direction of an intense Anglo-American imperialist struggle for oil in the Near East. Its frame of reference is not a new world order in which basic resources may be developed for the benefit of all peoples. Its frame of reference is that we'd better hurry up and grab some oil before those wicked British take it away

from us. It is not irrelevant to recall that before the war the Standard, Texas, and Gulf companies were allies of such great Nazi concerns as I. G. Farben against the Anglo-Dutch oil and rubber combinations. This kind of anti-British talk plays beautifully into German hands.

The kind of thinking the Senate has done in this field is indicated by the Truman report's discussion of the role government should play in the Arabian develop-

ment. Government ownership of foreign oil concessions, the report says, "would presuppose a radical change in our economic system," while "partial government ownership . . . might discourage private enterprise." Did Britain become a socialist country when Churchill in 1913, under similar circumstances, insisted on obtaining for the British government majority control of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company?

## Atoms at Work

#### BY ORLANDO ALOYSIUS BATTISTA

URING the past decade or two scientists have literally exploded the atom and in so doing have brought to light many phenomenal universes never dreamed of before. By a rather simple calculation, if you know how to make it, it can be shown that the air which occupies the finger space in a thimble contains at least thirty billion molecules. If all the clocks in the world were kept wound up, it would take them a hundred centuries or more to tick out the number of atoms in a single drop of rain water. If you were able to count the atoms on the surface of a speck of dust which could be seen only under a microscope, you would find they numbered millions. So when we talk about atoms we are talking about infinitesimally small particles of matter, particles so small that man will never be able to see them no matter how powerful he may build his microscopes.

Fifty years ago these atoms were looked upon by the world's foremost scientists as hard, discrete, indivisible particles of matter which formed the building bricks of everything in the universe. But the concept of the structure of matter that had held sway for some twenty-five centuries crumbled into myth when such men as Thomson, Rutherford, Lawrence, and a host of others published the results of their researches. Today we know with the certainty that comes from reliable experimental evidence that each little atom is a veritable universe in itself, having a sun-like nucleus at its center and many planetary electrons—units of pure electricity—whirling about this core at speeds exceeding those of many planets in their orbits.

The discovery of the atom universes with their incredible riches was speeded up by the invention of an American scientist, Ernest Orlando Lawrence. A little more than ten years ago Professor Lawrence succeeded in producing a powerful atom-smashing machine, called a Cyclotron, which already has opened up dozens of new avenues of scientific research. More than forty of these machines are now in existence, most of them in the

United States. The original one is at Charter Hill in Berkeley, California, where its inventor, with the aid of a capable group of associate scientists, hopes to use it to reveal even greater marvels in the hidden world of the atom. The Charter Hill Cyclotron is so powerful that it will be able to produce invisible electric bullets propelled by more than 100,000,000 volts and traveling at a speed in excess of 50,000 miles a second. The penetrating power of the "accelerated" electrical particles will be so intense that they could be made to cut through steel very much as a knife cuts through butter. The scientists who run this monster have to operate it by remote control in rooms 150 feet distant.

A glance at a few of the momentous discoveries made by our atom-smashing scientists delving into matter with electric rays instead of microscopes shows the possibilities of further work in this field. We know now, for example, that all matter, even the armor-plate on our battleships, is literally full of holes. It has been proved beyond question that 99.9 per cent of the mass of all matter is concentrated at a mathematical point in the center of each atom universe. This leaves so much free space inside the atom that the core, which contains all the weight, may be compared to an orange suspended in the center of Radio City Music Hall. The human body is so full of empty spaces that if we removed all of them from Joe Louis he would shrink to the size of an aspirin tablet.

But smashing the atom has brought forth a lot more than this amazing fact. Nuclear physicists can bombard an atom of mercury and change it into gold, an atom of magnesium and change it into sodium. In addition to being able to make new elements almost at will—though in relatively minute quantities at the present time—scientists can bombard the atoms of some of our most inexpensive salts with extremely fast electrically charged or neutral bits of matter and obtain what are known as radioactive salts. These salts are of great value in medicine, for they are as effective as radium in curing certain

malignant diseases. Their rays are as potent as radium's, but they give them off for only a few days, whereas radium will continue to give off powerful radiations for centuries. For this reason the artificially produced radioactive salts are more practical to use than radium, besides being far less expensive.

An important field of radioactive research today is concerned with the quest for specific radioactive salts that are not harmful and that will allocate themselves selectively in cancerous parts of the human body. Since it is known that cancerous tissue can be destroyed by means of carefully controlled exposure to radioactivity, the possibility of dispatching into various parts of the human body tracer bullets short-lived in their potency and capable of destroying diseased tissues selectively is a goal whose achievement would be invaluable to medical science.

When iodine that has been made radioactive is taken internally, it collects in the thyroid gland, a tendency that has enabled us to learn most of what we know about the workings of this vitally important gland. Radioactive calcium accumulates in the body in exactly the same manner as calcium which is not radioactive; with its aid it has been demonstrated that even when our teeth are fully developed they continue to absorb calcium from the food we eat. A speck of radioactive iron put in the food eaten by a cow enables us to see that in ten minutes' time the iron is present in the cow's milk. By putting radioactive substances in solutions or soil upon which plants depend for their nourishment, botanists have gained an intelligent insight into the complicated synthesis by which plant converts water and sunlight into sugars and starches. When the element yttrium is made radioactive it can be used to detect flaws in battleship armor. Of course, the reason these radioactive materials can be used to such great advantage is that they give themselves away by the radiations they are constantly sending out. Extremely sensitive electroscopic detectors have been developed which permit scientists to chart their routes accurately.

The atom also offers us unlimited stores of energy. Physicists have authoritatively proclaimed that there is enough useful energy locked up in a jug of water to furnish more than a billion kilowatt-hours of electric power. The extraction of energy from the atom has up to now been accomplished only in a very small way. The difficulties to be overcome in this field of atomic utility are far more obstinate than those encountered in adapting radioactive substances for use in medicine, biochemistry, or genetics. Nevertheless, there is definite promise that some day it will be possible to extract and control atomic energy.

Thus the remarkable work of atomic scientists is benefiting mankind in a thousand ways, and the inspiring fact is that this work has only begun.

## In the Wind

TUMBER, PLEASE! The commandant of an army camp tried to telephone an officer at his home in a nearby community. The officer's phone was on a three-party line, and for half an hour the commandant got nothing but busy signals. Finally he called the operator and asked if something couldn't be done about it. "After all," he said, "it isn't such a long distance. I could walk there in half an hour." "Okay, Bud," replied the operator, "get walkin'."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has taken official cognizance of the servant problem. The London Daily Mail reports that Mr. Bevin's office is going into the matter and will probably make recommendations as to minimum wages and maximum hours.

PHONOGRAPH-RECORD COLLECTORS tell us they are no longer allowed to do any international swapping. It seems that some records have unintelligible background noises which the authorities fear might possibly be code messages.

GEORGIA'S SUPREME COURT has declined for the second time to review an examination on the basis of which the State Board of Bar Examiners has refused to recommend a license for George Elmer Ross, a Negro. The law requires the board to recommend licenses for all who pass its examinations. Mr. Ross, a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School, insists that he made more than a passing grade. In refusing to look at the evidence, the court held that the board is the sole judge of grades and that there is no appeal from its decisions.

SEVENTEEN LIVES WERE LOST when the steamer Northern went down a year ago. The Union Steamship Company, owner of the ship, was recently tried and found guilty of providing insufficient lifeboat accommodations. The penalty was a fine of \$100.

THE QUALITY of the news broadcasts of the Nazi-controlled Paris radio is indicated by this item: "Alvarez del Vayo—typical representative of those Soviet-minded politicians who led Spain to her Calvary—has been in Casablanca since January 15." The staff of *The Nation* wonders who that man is who comes into the office every day. He looks, talks, thinks, and writes exactly like Alvarez del Vayo.

FESTUNG EUROPA: German reserve officers employed as supervisors in Belgian factories have been recalled to Germany for active service . . . Several members of Vidkun Quisling's private bodyguard have been arrested for listenings to news broadcasts from London. . . The greatness of the Nazi soul was recently demonstrated in Holland when a quarrel over precedence between two officials of the Dutch "Chamber of Culture" made it necessary to hold two formal openings of an exhibition.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—Editors the NATION.]

## Brazil Has an Underground

HOSE who believe that the worldwide struggle against fascism can be successfully fought in alliance with fascists have been taught another lesson in political realism. Hardly a week had passed after Argentina's break with the Axis before Colonel Peron, Minister of Labor and Welfare in the Ramirez government, and a number of other officers undertook to "readjust" matters with an eye to the interests of Germany. It was to be expected. As Ghioldi, Solari, and other democratic Argentine leaders have repeatedly said, the problem for the Allies was not to help Ramirez simulate friendship for their cause but to help the Argentine people rid themselves of Ramirez. Only a government that represents the Argentine people can bring Argentina to the side of the Allies. Only coming from such a government will a break with the Axis make sense. The Allied diplomatic victory at Buenos Aires was one of those Pyrrhic victories which appeasers have been winning since 1938.

About the Argentine situation the American public is at least well informed; it knows that the Argentine fascists have the upper hand. But it is under a dangerous illusion about Brazil, which it hears described as the Allies' best friend in South America. It has even been induced to think that Getulio Vargas is becoming a little Lincoln under the influence of his northern mentors.

Brazil is, for Americans, behind a veil. A conspiracy of the press, the news agencies, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, abetted by Allied diplomacy, allows practically no political news to come out 'of Rio de Janeiro. Some documents have come into our possession, however, which cast a revealing light on the temper of the people and which we are therefore glad to bring to the attention of our readers. They have not been published hitherto in the American press.

It is extremely difficult in Brazil, as in any dictatorship, to circulate unfavorable comments on the regime. It is even more difficult to find anyone willing to print them. The press cannot publish them, of course, since there is a rigid censorship. Usually even commercial printers do not dare to print any criticism of the government, and therefore the opposition's documents are distributed in typewritten form; duplicating machines of all kinds, including mimeographs, are subject to strict surveillance. Persons found in possession of such documents or suspected of distributing them have been sentenced to prison terms of years. The risks that must be run in attempting to send any anti-government material out

of the country explain why we have only now received this information.

To understand the significance of the documents, it is necessary to recall the background of the present political situation in Brazil.

Getulio Vargas first became head of the Brazilian government on November 30, 1930, as the result of a revolutionary movement to "perfect the democratic institutions of the country." He governed until 1934 with discretionary powers, and in 1934, when a constitutional democratic regime was reestablished, he was elected President of the republic by a Constituent Assembly. On November 10, 1937, he executed a coup d'état, under the pretext that the country was menaced by the Communists, and immediately decreed a "state of emergency." He then promulgated a new constitution, dissolved Parliament, banned political parties, arrested some democratic leaders and exiled others.

The "state of emergency" is still in force, and although the six-year Presidential term provided by the new constitution ended on November 10, 1943, Vargas continues to hold power. His excuse is that the war does not permit the holding of elections. To an increasingly rebellious population he promises that elections will be held after the war, of course according to the pattern of the corporate state as defined by the new totalitarian constitution.

MANIFESTO OF THE STATESMEN AND INTELLECTUALS OF MINAS GERAES

Early in November, 1943, a typewritten manifesto signed by numerous politicians and intellectuals of the state of Minas Geraes was circulated through the country. The signatories included Arthur Bernardes, President of the republic from 1922 to 1926; Affonso Penna, Jr., former president of the Liberal Alliance, from which the revolutionary movement sprang; Pedro Aleixo, former president of the House of Representatives of Brazil; Odillon Braga, former Minister of Agriculture in the Banco do Brasil; Alaor Prata, former mayor of Rio de Janeiro; F. Mendes Pimental, an outstanding jurist; and many former members of the national Parliament, some of them Vargas's friends.

The manifesto was long and, according to the traditions of Minas, phrased in moderate language. Its spirit can be shown by the following quotations:

Unity, in our opinion, is spontaneous harmony, not forced unanimity; voluntary and clearsighted of pur-

## THE RESOLUTIONS BEFORE CONGRESS

Similarly worded Resolutions have been introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressmen Wright and Compton and into the Senate by Senators Taft and Wagner, in regard to the White Paper on Palestine and the constituting of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The text of these Resolutions is as follows:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians, and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Appearing before hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 8th and 9th, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, made the following statement:

I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you in regard to the Resolution on Palestine that you are now considering. I am deeply grateful for the spirit that has animated you and your fellow-congressmen to take up the cause of the suffering, dispersed and persecuted Jews of Europe. The consideration that you are giving to that problem is one more testimony of the fine American tradition of sympathy with, and help for, the unfortunates of all faiths. It is of a pattern with the recent action of our President in naming . War Refugee Board and with the formation in this city of Committee headed by such distinguished public figures as Justice Murphy, Vice-President Wallace, Governor Goodland of Wisconsin, Governor Maw of Utah, and others, to counter the dread cancer of bigotry in our national life.

I appear here, both in my own capacity an an American citizen of Jewish faith and as President of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

This organization, let me explain, was founded only recently to enlist support among like-minded Americans of Jewish faith in our stress on the religious character of the Jews and in resistance to the forces of racialism which we believe to be false doctrines in Judaism.

It may interest you to know that in the brief period of a few months, we have enlisted an active membership of close to 2500
leading Jews all over the country and the
interest and approval of many, many more.
We are still, so you see, a young organization but, I daresay, we are probably the
most rapidly growing organization in the
Jowish community in the United States.

With this brief introduction, I beg to call to your attention the following, relative to the Resolution now before both houses of Congress: The text of the Resolution calls upon the United States to use its good offices for two purposes. I ask you to note that there are two purposes, that they are distinct and different and that they are, therefore, properly subject to different reactions.

One part of the Resolution calls for taking "appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be open for the free entry of Jews." I do not wish here to linger over the phrasing of this part of the Resolution. I do want to say that the purpose of this part of the Resolution is plainly humanitarian, consistent with American humanitarian traditions and characteristic of our desire to expand democratic processes wherever they can be expanded.

As you know, this Resolution has an its background the White Paper issued in 1939 by the British Government as the mandatory power for Palestine which, among other provisions, shuts the immigration doors of Palestine to Jews and restricts their acquisition of land in that country.

In mercent statement issued by the organization which I have the privilege of heading, we said as follows:

"We of the American Council for to those provisions. In behalf of the substantial section of American Jews whose views on Jewish problems coincide with ours, we petition our Government to use its best offices to prevail upon the British Government not to proceed with so prejudicial and unjust a policy.

"We base our attitude on this fundamental fact: that proposals which exclude Jews, as Jews, from right of entry and restrict Jews, as Jews, from the acquisition of land, do violence to the fundamental concept of democratic equality and thus to the very purposes and ideals to which the United Nations are pledged.

"The American Council for Judaism is dedicated to the view that Jews, a reli-

gious community, shall have, as of right and not on sufferance, full equality all over the world. As stated in our Declaration of Principles, 'For our fellow Jews we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nations.' This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migration.

"We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world. There is no compromise on this basic demand."

This is the position of our membership and we believe that this viewpoint is supported by all American citizens of the Jewish faith and by an overwhelming body of our fellow-Americans of Catholic and Protestant faith.

We are, therefore, in hearty accord with the purpose of the first part of the Resolution. We feel that it seeks to express the profound and invaluable sympathy of the American people for those driven from their lands by tyranny and terror.

There is, however, a second section of the Resolution on which I feel obliged to convey to you, frankly and fully, our questions and our doubts as to its wisdom. It now reads, "... so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

I urge you to read and reflect on this part of the Resolution with the utmost care. This is no longer designed to serve a solely humanitarian purpose. This brings you, and through you—the American people—at once into a field of international controversy and into a subject that has deeply divided the Jewish community in this country.

(Continued on next page)

The proposal, you will note, speaks of the establishment of a free and democratic "Jewish" commonwealth. I stress the word "Jewish." It does not say the establishment of a free and democratic "commonwealth." It specifically uses the word "Jewish," a word which has essentially a religious connotation only, although it has been used in a racial sense by the Nazi enemies of the Jews and of democracy.

But the concept of the theocratic state is long past. It is an anachronism. The concept of m racial state—the Hitlerian concept—is repugnant to the civilized world, as witness the fearful global war in which we are involved. We have reached a point of civilization where nations and states have their proper recognition without regard to the religious composition of their populations. I urge that we do nothing to set us back on the road to the past. To project at this time the creation of m Jewish state or commonwealth is to launch m singular innovation in world affairs which might well have incalculable consequences.

It may well be that this was in the mind of the King-Crane Commission in its report to President Woodrow Wilson and the State Department in the years after the last war.

You will recall that President Wilson, disturbed by the problems of the Near East, dispatched a Commission there in 1919 for a careful survey. This Commission, known as the King-Crane Commission, was to submit a report which would be of assistance in the final formulation of the peace treaties. With regard to Palestine, that Commission reported that "a national home for the Jewish people is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish state." No doubt, your predecessors of the 67th Congress of the United States had this report at hand when they adopted the Resolution which forms a preamble to your present Resolution.

I ask you to look at your present Resolution again and, especially, at that part of it which reads, "... so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

The language of the Resolution thus makes "the Jewish people" the agency for the establishment of a free and democratic commonwealth. Here are some serious considerations on that section:

The accepted procedure of democracy is to have a commonwealth established with the participation of all of its people or citizens. It is a self-contradiction to speak of a democratic state organism which is the creation of only a part of the population within the country. The population in Palestine is made up of Christian, Mohammedan and Jew. I believe you will agree with me that true democratic developments in that country can only come about as the result of the efforts and with the participation of all of the elements of the population. All of Palestine must share in the establishment of a democracy. Any exclusion is undemocratic in character and defeats the very purpose that your Resolution may seek to achieve.

Moreover, the language of the Resolution places the responsibility for creating a commonwealth at the door of "Jewish people," presumably those outside of Palestine as well as those in Palestine.

Yet I wonder whether the authors of this Resolution actually intended this to be the case. The "Jewish people" are not organized politically, are not and do not want to be a political unit. They are nationals, loyal citizens of the various countries in which they live. They are to be found in all classes, in all political parties, in all economic levels. They are united only in their common derivation from a great religion and in their natural resistance to those who would destroy them. This being the case, it must be clear why the language of the second part of the Resolution can only create confusion and encounter perhaps insurmountable difficulties. Tews in the United States and the world over, not being a national group but essentially a religious community, it is clear that they cannot assume responsibility anywhere as = political unit.

The development of such institutions, in the last analysis, must be the responsibility only of those in Palestine at the time such institutions are developed. All sections of the country, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, Palestinians all, whose proper concern is the welfare of their country, will determine and be responsible for its insti-

In the Statement of Principles issued by the American Council for Judaism, we expressed the following views on Palestine:

"Palestine has contributed in a tangible way to the alleviation of the present catastrophe in Jewish life by providing a refuge for a part of Europe's persecuted Jews. We hope it will continue as one of the places for such resettlement, for it has been clearly demonstrated that practical colonizing can be done, schools and universities built, scientific agriculture extended, commerce intensified and culture developed. This is the record of achievement of eager, hardworking settlers who have been aided in their endeavors by Jews all over the world, in every walk of life and thought.

"We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or any-

"We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism, and one which does not offer a practicular solution of the Jewish problem. We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America, or wherever Jews may dwell. We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Palestine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood. Palestine would today be harboring more

refugees from Nazi terror.

"Palestine is m part of Israel's religious heritage, as it is m part of the heritage of two other religions of the world. We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic, autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; m democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestinians whose religion is Judaism, even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism."

I earnestly commend these views for your consideration. I believe that your own compassionate purposes will be fully served by retaining only the first part of the Resolution or by modifying its second provision so that it reads as follows:

". . . and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization in Palestine, ultimately to be constituted a free and democratic commonwealth."

We invite readers of The Nation to send us their opinions and to communicate with us on our program

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pose, not a sum total of insincere adherents. A nation which is forced into silence and deprived of the privilege of thinking and freely expressing its opinion is a corroded body, incapable of assuming the tremendous responsibilities attendant upon participation in a conflict of such proportions as the one which engages humanity.

If we are fighting against fascism alongside the United Nations so that freedom and democracy may be reestablished in all countries, it is certainly not too much to claim for ourselves the rights and guaranties which characterize freedom and democracy.

The reaction to this manifesto came quickly. Those among the signers who held public office, even civil-service positions, were dismissed. Lawyers for private concerns were dismissed, or they tendered their resignations so that their companies might avoid prosecution. The Banco Hypothecario e Agricola of Minas Geraes, some of whose directors had signed the document, was immediately taken over by the government. However, the manifesto continued to circulate by secret channels, with new signatures added.

### MANIFESTO OF THE "CENTRO 11 DE AGOSTO" OF SAO PAULO

The students' association of the Law School of the University of São Paulo, known as the "Centro 11 de Agosto," has always been an active and fearless representative of public opinion in Brazil. It is the most important association of its kind in the country. At some of its meetings there were demonstrations for the reestablishment of democratic institutions in Brazil. Thereupon the police invaded the school and closed the Center's offices. Students who demonstrated for freedom in the streets were machine-gunned.

The Center then distributed a typewritten manifesto bearing the signatures of hundreds of law students. Some excerpts from it follow:

A little more than a year ago we, the law students, together with the other university students of São Paulo, led our people into the streets to demand that our country take a firm stand against the German aggression. This attitude was not prompted by momentary excitement. Long before our seas had been tinted with the blood of Brazilians murdered by the totalitarian enemy, we had been struggling for Brazil's effective participation in the war against the fascist gangs. The breaking of diplomatic relations with the Axis countries, the declaration of war last year, and the adherence to the Atlantic Charter were democratic actions on the part of our Foreign Office. They filled us with happiness and hope, for in them were foreshadowed definite changes in internal politics-that is, the country's return to its natural condition, to a regime of law and democracy. These hopes have now vanished.

The war policy adopted by the government in response to the appeal of our nation has practically lapsed. Unfortunately, the war is becoming more un-

popular every day. The people are apathetic, and their best energies are being undermined. What is the cause of such a deplorable situation? We believe that the growing apathy of our people has its roots in their distrust of Brazil's present political regime.

After many other declarations of this nature, the manifesto concluded:

In Brazil war has to begin in the country itself, against disguised fascism and for real democracy—that is, for human dignity. A cry has been heard and victims have fallen. History repeats itself. Let our password be the first battle cry: Down with the New State!

#### LETTER WRITTEN BY GENERAL MANOEL RABELLO

General Manoel Rabello of the Brazilian army was one of the military men who brought about the revolution of 1930. He has always supported Vargas. He has been Intervener, or Governor, of the state of São Paulo, and has had high military posts. At present he is a judge of the Supreme Court of Military Justice. He is also president of the Association of Friends of the United States. In a letter addressed to Vargas General Rabello makes important revelations concerning General Gaspar Dutra, Brazil's War Minister, who is a pillar of Vargas's "New State." He says, among other things:

for buying German equipment, although everyone except the pro-Nazis anticipated that Germany would not be able to furnish it. It was still to be manufactured, and the war would certainly begin before the date of its delivery. That is what happened. We paid in advance for the first consignment of the armaments ordered, but only a small part of it reached Brazil. . . . Up to now we have received nothing for most of the money we paid. For a long time there was strong opposition to buying American material, under the pretext that it would mar the uniformity of our equipment. Actually, this represented a very minor inconvenience, since the quantity of German material we had received was extremely limited, as compared to the total amount ordered.

#### And further:

In all his public declarations and speeches, with the exception of one or two occasions when he has been more explicit, General Dutra always leaves in doubt the identity of the enemy whom we have to fight. The words "fascism" or "Nazism" are never heard on his lips. In his orders to the commanders of corps His Excellency always mentions the Communist danger, but never a word of warning against the Nazi or Fascist regimes with which we are at war. From his speeches, which are so frequently quoted in civilian and military circles, one would think that Brazil's enemies were the Americans, the British, and especially the Russians, as well as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. It is only now, at the very last minute, on the eve of his departure for the United States, where His Excellency

is going to receive the homage of the American government, which has always been the object of his dislike— It is only now that we see with astonishment the sudden change in his opinions.

Other protests by prominent Brazilian leaders in exile, among them Armando Salles, former Governor of São Paulo, and Dr. Octavio Mangabeira, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirm the impression made by the documents we have quoted. We do not print them here since they have already been widely circulated.

A. DEL V.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

GERMAN political propaganda continues to observe the caution which it was taught by unhappy experience. It carefully avoids counting on the success of any military operation in advance of its completion. As these lines are written, the Germans are attacking at Anzio and Nettuno. The American newspapers are indulging in alarmed speculation. But the optimism that should be its counterpart in Germany is entirely lacking. There has been no announcement that the beachhead would be eliminated, no discussion even of such a possibility. Expectations are systematically kept low so as to rule out any disappointment.

In one connection only is there any deviation from this policy. The people are definitely assured that the coming invasion in the west will be a failure. That it will be attempted is not denied. But absolute confidence is expressed that the attempt will be smashed. A statement in the Münchner Neueste Nachrichten of January 20 is one of a thousand that might be cited:

We have no reason to conceal the fact that we are calmly awaiting the invasion attempt. We are even eager for it to be made, for, having confidence in our preparations, we consider it a means of shortening the war. The enemy's gigantic concentration between Iceland and the Azores will not bring him success. Germany, too, has planned every move very carefully.

It is more than questionable whether the German people share this confidence. An incident that occurred in Oberhausen, one of the great industrial towns of the Ruhr, shows rather that they are awaiting the invasion in a state of nervous tension. The leading newspaper of the region, Herr Göring's National Zeitung, on January 27 reported the incident as follows:

Some time ago the rumor spread like wildfire through Oberhausen that strong formations of Anglo-Americans had landed on the Channel coast. It can scarcely be imagined how much time and nervous energy were lost through the excitement caused by this rumor. The number of working hours lost cannot be calculated. Of course the news was discussed endlessly in the factories.

The newspaper went on to say that the source of the rumor had been discovered. A workman made it up one morning to scare a companion. "By noon the story was known not only to everyone in the factory but to everyone in Oberhausen. The next day it spread to the neighboring towns."

The Minister of Finance in Germany, as in all the belligerent countries, is constantly worried by the growing excess of money in circulation. And like his colleagues he tries to draw off or freeze as much of it as possible. One of his devices should interest Mr. Morgenthau. A variation on the English system of compulsory savings, it is called "iron savings."

In England, as is well known, a percentage of everyone's wages is set aside in a savings account which cannot be drawn on during the war. Because of the element of compulsion Washington has refused to consider this very effective anti-inflationary measure. Now the Germans have devised a way to stimulate saving by making it not compulsory but extremely attractive. Nobody is obliged to but everybody may start a savings account which cannot be touched for the duration—and the amount put in is exempt from the income tax. This exemption is a very strong attraction. Several billion marks have been paid into the "iron-savings" accounts, even though the majority of the people are convinced that after the war the mark, and therefore all savings, will be practically worthless.

The induction of boys into the German war machine is making rapid progress. The latest news on this subject is that (1) all the seventeen-year-olds are now in the army; (2) the sixteen-year-olds were obliged to register for military service in January and their induction has begun; (3) it is now the turn of the fifteen-year-olds. Recently all German newspapers carried an announcement signed by Hermann Göring asking fifteen-year-old boys to volunteer for the Luftwaffe. The notice promised that all who joined now would receive officers' training—and not have to wait long to be called up.

But even that is not enough. Mobilization is now reaching down to the ten-year-olds! On December 11 a decree was issued making all boys and girls between ten and seventeen years subject to compulsory war work. On January 28 detailed rules for their employment were published. In principle the war work is to be carried on in conjunction with school instruction and service in the Hitler Youth, but when the three cannot be combined "without overburdening" the children, war work has first priority. A dispatch from Berlin printed in the Aftontialningen on January 22 said that the first consignment of these youthful forced workers had been selected. Some 53,000 boys and girls between thirteen and fifteen have begun to work in the armament factories.

PHRITC LIERARY

## BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Action Tomorrow

ACTION THIS DAY: LETTERS FROM THE FIGHTING FRONT. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY. By Francis J. Spellman. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.75.

PHILOSOPHIES AT WAR. By Fulton J. Sheen. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

FLYING with him around the world, one learns to like Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York. A native, at some refueling place of his globe-spanning itinerary-February 9 to August 1, 1943-asked him how many stories high his archbishopric was; and no matter how tall the headquarters, the diocese of New York is large and mighty indeed. Yet its supreme dignitary has preserved the simplicity of a country curate. It is refreshing to read that "leaving Khartoum, one goes up the Nile flying south, which sounds strange to us, as along our rivers we usually go 'up' flying north"-or that "it is possible to see a great deal of Turkey from the car windows because many towns are located on the railway route." The reader who felt outraged by Monsignor Spellman's tribute to the Escorial of Philip II, the Inquisitor King-and gave public vent to his ire, heckling: "Better a pigsty!"-would have felt more relaxed if he had noticed how impartial is the elation of the winged prelate at whatever looms oversize and gorgeous. A priest of Baal, the man-eating god, he certainly is not; yet, no less than by the Escorial, he was overawed by the colossal ruins of Baalbeck-not to speak of the chandelier Queen Victoria presented to the Sultan, so huge that it could not be stood anywhere except in the custom-made palace that was erected as its container.

But the reader would also be wrong who thought that the charm of this diary lies only in its frequent attunement to states of mind whose classical models we recall from "Innocents Abroad." There is more than that. While preening himself with lovely candor on his proficiency in geography -or even in that auxiliary hobby, stamp collecting-the apostolic pilgrim keeps a truly open eye on all the shapes and colors of this attractive planet; and together with the poetic thrill goes the throb of a heart where all the griefs and trials of the human race are sure to stir an echo of mercy. There are, off and on, quick but memorable snapshots of his meetings with patient missionaries, with heroic nuns, in hospitals, in leprosaries, in scorched wastelands. And, above all, there are those paragraphs, as unassuming as they are impressive, in which he records how he felt when, a newly ordained young priest, he offered his first mass in Rome-how he feels now, an aging hierarch, as he offers mass in the other holy site, Jerusalem. No reader, be he stony agnostic or an impenitent heretic, will remain untouched by the genuineness and contagion of that fervor.

Spellman's temper is, to speak in popular terms, of the

"Franciscan" type. He knows it; indulging in occasional self-praise, he mentions his own "traditional meekness." In sharp contrast to it stands the mood of the other monsignor, Fulton J. Sheen, a "Dominican" character-if the word, as folklore has it, meant "hound of God, domini canis." The aggressiveness of his proselyting zeal is manifest from the very front cover of a book which, however thin, wears no humbler a title than "Philosophies at War." His confidence in his own wisdom and science is uncompromising; his ardent hurry stops at nothing. It does not matter to him whether, when accusing Herder of racial prejudice, he had in mind Hegel (we guess) or some other infidel assonance; to correct the spelling of Treitschke ("Treitzscke," on the same page-maybe a crossbreed with Nietzsche) is to quibble, since no tough armor of consonants will make that worthy hellfire-proof anyway; Hume, Kant, and Voltaire, "corrosive men," find themselves in the same boat, to their mutual surprise; the French Revolution doubts, in Pirandello style, its own identity when court-martialed for the crime of having "isolated man from responsibility to a political community or the state." But doubt has no shadow to cast over Sheen's unrelenting pages; for does he not know, does he not notify the reader, that "we [Sheen] look at the war through the eyes of God"? Does he not add, as a seal to so remarkable an affidavit, that "our [Sheen's] approach is from the divine point of view"? The reader is speechless.

Only on one occasion would the reader like to stop the author for a moment and have his say; and this is apropos of a short story in which God is inescapably on the spot. "Some time ago a Nazi soldier in occupied France took his French wife into a hospital. Seeing a crucifix on the wall, he ordered the nun to take it down. She refused! He ordered her again saying that he did not want his child ever to look upon the image of a crucified Jew. The nun took it down under threats. The father's wish was fulfilled to the letter. The child was born-blind." Reacting to so cruel a passage, the reader-who, like the devil, can quote Scripture-wonders whether the author is not behind the times, not only our own and those to come, but the times of the ancient Ezekiel, through whose encouraging lips the Lord waived the right to be a Sheen-like God, and pledged that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." Christ, we had been told, came as a healer to restore the eyesight of the sinner, not to blind his little children.

Yet even so strange a book has plausible pages. Those on the decay of the family are dictated by earnest passion—even though the thesis that a chief cause for this war lay in that decay is untenable if in Italy, motherland of Fascism and of Fascist aggression, the family institution was on the whole as firm as Monsignor Sheen and Monsignor Spellman might desire, with birth control banned by both church and state, and divorce forbidden, except when conceded under the name of annulment by the papal Curia to a few unhappy but wealthy pairs. The chapter on The Need of an Absolute is, in general, sensible. To be sure, it is difficult

to extricate in one's memory or notes the quotations belonging to Sheen from those we owe to Spellman or to a hundred others. The critique-often, alas, too vague or sophomorically documented—of our aimless past and our confused present has become stock material, with whole pages and chapters interchangeable among thousands of books and articles, Catholic or not, and with the repetitious strain cheapening the idea while, perhaps, widening its influence and, let us hope, ripening our tragic society toward more fortunate efforts. When Sheen in the wake of Spellman, or Spellman in the wake of Sheen, says that hatred of Hitler alone will not win the war and the peace; when one and the other warn us that we know what we are fighting against but not what we are fighting for; when both, in unison with a most undenominational crowd, state that "the Sword cannot breed Peace," that "only a faith can prevail against a faith"-we have no objection to make. We all wholeheartedly agree that what is needed, as Sheen puts it, is "the offensive of a great idea."

What weakens the aid-highly relevant and welcome, no matter how belated-that is being proffered from strictly Roman quarters is the minor premise of a sophism running approximately as follows: the brotherhood of man is possible only under the fatherhood of God; but God speaks only through the Roman pontiff; hence, etc. It is one thing to proclaim that a competent medical science—as they put it, the vindication of theology—is indispensable for individual and social welfare; and quite another to prescribe, and if possible to administer by force, a particular formula or nostrum as the one cure-all and irreplaceable elixir of inextinguishable life. Picturesquely, as usual, Spellman upholds the monopolistic view even as he reports that the temple of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, formerly "a place of worship," later on became "a mosque," thereby implying that the word worship cannot be applied, without sullying it, to the piety of a Moslem. Vehemently, as usual, Sheen goes so far as to propose that the Roman pontiff should be present at the peace table-an acceptable proposition if the same invitation be extended to all chiefs of great spiritual collectivities, starting with Gandhi-while proposing, no less forcefully although less acceptably, that a victorious Russia be excommunicated from the coming League of Nations unless it consent to enact "freedom of religion." On the other hand, when they write "religion" they mean that particular religion; and freedom is defined, by Sheen and Spellman alike, as the "freedom to do what one ought to do." The definition is irrefutable, provided that no one-individual or institution-claims the authority, and the power, to decide, infallibly, "what one ought to do." Otherwise their "freedom" was described by the mild humorist of milder years who devised a "liberal" slogan with the first three words in large capitals and the other four on a line below in nearly invisible type: "LIBERTY FOR ALL who think like myself."

Spellman, while borrowing from an eminent friend, Mr. Churchill, the title of his recent book, "Action This Day," omits to tell us what the action, so pressing, was about. If these "letters from the fighting fronts" were our only source of information, his "dear father"—to whom the epistolary is supposedly addressed—and ourselves would be

at a loss to understand how so conscientious a shepherd could roam so fancifully and extensively away from his diocesan flock—24 weeks, 46,000 miles—for the sake of sightseeing. We, however, and, we surmise, the good old man in Boston, are well posted on how weighty was the enterprise on which the Archbishop was engaged all through that time and space. No one played a more systematic role than his in promoting, between Casablanca and Salerno, what was to be called Demofascism, that is, Restoration; that is, liberty for all who think and act as they "ought to," in the shape of neo-Darlanism, or Badoglism, or appeasement of Franco, or any other variety.

Now the faith in that method of political warfare on the Italian battlefront is at the end of its rope. It does not seem to be much more successful in Algiers or Madrid. And the gate of Rome will open, perhaps soon; but it will be another Rome, sooner or later. "Just as we devote ourselves as a nation," said Dr. Douglas Horton only yesterday, "to putting down nationalism, so the denomination which is most in accord with the mind of Christ is the one which is the most intent on losing its life in a large whole." This applies to Dr. Horton's Congregational churches as it does to any other; and this is bound to be action tomorrow, outside as well as inside the Church of Rome.

Paying tribute not so much to the Escorial of Philip as to Franco Spain, Spellman blandly admits that "Spain needed reform and so does every nation and person." Yes, and every institution. Sheen exclaims, from the jacket of his book: "On the anvil of this war amidst the fire of sacrifice, there is being hammered out a new order and a new civilization." Yes, but new is not old. It has been said that no one can kill his successor. Neither can anyone, individual or society, beget his grandmother.

G. A. BORGESB

#### The Romantic as Actor

GOOD NIGHT, SWEET PRINCE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN BARRYMORE. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

JOHN BARRYMORE was a very good actor as actors go, though just what and just how much such a statement means might be lengthily disputed. John Barrymore was also a romantic egotist of the Byronic type, and it is his personality rather more than his art with which the present generally admiring biography by a professional cynic is concerned. Mr. Fowler—ex-sports reporter, and author, among other things, of a flamboyantly jocose account of the career of Mack Sennett—knew Barrymore, apparently liked him, and without denying himself the privilege of recognizing some of his subject's absurdities, presents him in a favorable as well as frequently "glamorous" light.

Barrymore's alcoholism and miscellaneous philanderings were, Mr. Fowler seems to think, more obviously than is always the case, motivated by a profound impulse toward self-destruction; and the obscene public clownings of the last days were, he believes, expressions of Barrymore's self-contempt quite as much as of his contempt for the audience. His sister Ethel and his brother Lionel are both categorical in their statements that none of the trio really wanted very

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much to become an actor. John seems to have resented more than the others a family tradition which all but forced him on the stage. His lack of respect for his profession was increased by the ease with which he succeeded in it, and he felt some genuine shame at the thought that his "beauty" made him the object of attention which he felt contemptible. Various facts tend to confirm this diagnosis. He easily tired of parts. Only during the relatively brief period between his first serious success in "Justice" and his triumphant appearance in "Hamlet" did he work hard. And after "Hamlet" there seemed no other worlds worth conquering. The notorious slovenliness of his off-stage appearance and his avoidance of the rich and famous who were anxious to lionize him confirm the impression that he found his kind of success more painful than gratifying to his ego.

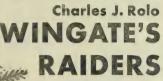
The question how much the romantic self-destroyer actually destroys is a question which is not only impossible to answer but difficult even to make a very responsible guess about. Other romantics usually tend to assume that almost any drunkard would have been a genius if he had stayed sober, but there is always, of course, the legitimate suspicion that the subject's own realization of how much more he expects of himself than he can ever hope to achieve is the real cause of the drinking. Bernard Shaw wrote Barrymore a blistering letter accusing him of having sacrificed a third of the text of "Hamlet" in order to leave time for his own pantomiming, but no one suspects that Garrick was not a great actor despite the fact that even more serious charges could be made against him; and when Barrymore refused to practice his own art he destroyed a performer who was, at the very least, a good deal better than most. If Mr. Fowler is to be believed, he also destroyed a rather attractive man who had wit-for example, the remark apropos the puffy ankles of his last phase: "It's the first time I ever saw an actor swollen at this end." But to judge the real personal worth of a romantic actor is even more difficult than to judge that of a romantic poet. As the biographer remarks in a-for him-unusually straightforward sentence, "One is never quite certain, when appraising the private lives of actors, as to where the realities cease and the simulations begin."

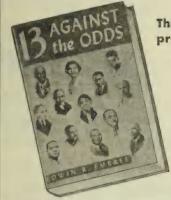
So far as the book as a book is concerned, it is unquestionably entertaining and full of the sort of gossipy anecdote which makes a wide appeal. It seems also intelligent in its analysis of character. Unfortunately, however, it is sometimes irritating in style, and it is not always presented in a fashion calculated to inspire complete confidence in its dependability. The author affects a flamboyantly jocose style in which a doctor is an "Aesculapius," a pot containing chili con carne is an "aromatic caldron," Broadway is "the street of fickle luster," and the fittings of a dingy bathroom are "cracked and homely porcelains." On the whole he depends less and less upon this sort of thing as the book proceeds, but he is also a victim of the dubious habit of being so anxious to be detailed and picturesque and vivid that he describes, both in direct discourse and with an abundance of particulars, scenes of which he cannot possibly have more than the most general sort of knowledge.

No doubt pedantry and footnotes are terrible things, but biography ceases to be biography unless the reader has at least some general idea of what is pure fancy and what rests

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upon some sort of evidence. Mr. Fowler seems to know, for instance, precisely what various ancestral Barrymores and Drews said on various crucial occasions. But it is remarkable that their turn of phrase is singularly like his own. If Barrymore père actually did call one of John's early teachers "a priest so honest that Diogenes would have put away his lantern, and so learned that Plato would have kicked Socrates in the behind," or if Grandmother Drew actually did say to Lionel after a doctor's visit, "Whatever it was that the learned calomel merchant has been telling you, pay no attention," then one can only say that the whole tribe spoke a language astonishingly similar to that later to be affected by the biographer of one of their descendants. And of course it is difficult, once one has begun to doubt the actual words, not to begin doubting the whole incident.

One elaborate story is told concerning some white mice which Lionel as a boy released in the house, with the startling result that the premises were presently overrun by hoards of mongrels, "blazed, piebald, calico, half-and-half, pinkeyed but brown-bodied." After that passage no Mendelian is going to have great confidence in the authenticity of any alleged incident reported without supporting affidavits.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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#### "Down Under"

PACIFIC PARTNER. By George H. Johnston. World Book Company. Distributed by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

BEFORE the war Australia had never made an automobile, chiefly because English manufacturers wanted to preserve a virgin colonial market. Now Australia makes not only tanks but also war planes. Before the war Australia had never disputed England in the matter of foreign policy. In 1941 Australia served notice upon England that it would not ratify any appeasement bargain which London might reach with Tokyo if it was detrimental to China. The land "down under" is growing up, and Mr. Johnston, a passionately patriotic Australian newspaperman, is proud.

He is proud of the fact that the Labor Prime Minister, John Curtin, is a policeman's son who had to quit school and go to work as a printer's devil when he was twelve, and that the Air Minister is a locomotive engineer, and that the Supply Minister began his career as a barber, and that the top military commander, Blamey, is a former police commissioner. He is proud that the income-tax rate rises to 92.5 per cent after \$16,000 a year. Mr. Johnston is particularly proud that the Australian rulers of New Guinea never have permitted exploitation of the natives; instead the colonial policy has been "Papua for the Papuans." As a result, the Papuans worked unstintingly to help beat the Japanese-except one notoriously bad tribe which allied itself to the Japanese, then discovered its error, and later shamefacedly presented to the Australians, as prisoners, its own former leaders who had entered into the Japanese alliance.

An American soldier in Australia asked Mr. Johnston to recommend a book which would give a good general idea of the nation. There was no book to recommend, so Mr. Johnston wrote one. He included a dash of Australia's history, an outline of its political ideals, rather too much about the glory of its feats at arms, sketches of its leaders, and a good analysis of the over-all strategical war problem in that area. Although his book is more journalistic than scholarly, it presents a useful and entertaining picture of Australia at war and simultaneously in transition.

On the subject of General MacArthur, Mr. Johnston is obviously puzzled. He thinks the General has led Australia's forces well, but he cannot relish MacArthur's flamboyance, his "incredible veneer of showmanship." The author's real enthusiasm is for Lieutenant General George C. Kenney, the air commander whom Washington sent out to serve under MacArthur; his appointment was "one of Australia's luckiest breaks." It was General Kenney, according to Mr. Johnston, who patiently and tactfully persuaded MacArthur that the airplane could be useful in warfare.

Mr. Johnston is "convinced that MacArthur has no political ambitions in his own country, the United States." This conviction is by no means shared by newspapermen who have talked to the General more recently. On the contrary, a mounting mass of later evidence suggests that MacArthur now regards himself as the one man who could rescue the nation from President Roosevelt.

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#### Thurber's Creatures

MEN, WOMEN AND DOGS. By James Thurber. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THE cartoon began as a reprover and corrector of manform I think two things are largely responsible: the breakdown of the Renaissance conception of the personality and industrialism's mutilation of man. Being the first to witness the latter development, the English produced in Hogarth and Rowlandson the first great cartoonists. Thurber, another Anglo-Saxon, continues in his own minor way the criticism of humanity and society which they began.

Thurber's cartoons express the shamed amusement at itself of our literate middle class, with its frustration and boredom, its inability to be spontaneous except when drunk, its impersonal energy, and its desperate, sociable aggressiveness. The incompleteness of his creatures grows out of their surrender to simultaneous environmental and internal pressure, which squeezes to the surface the unattractiveness that is inside us all. There it clamors for love, attention, and excitement—and the less we get the more we want, being the neurotics we are. "Please let every moment be an adventure." The convulsive passes Thurber's creatures make a tone another, their bursts of violence, exhibitionism, and irrelevance express the profoundest dissatisfaction with contemporary experience and, by inference, with society.

Thurber, whether he knows it or not, aims at specific class—the people who read reviews like this and find or might find that the New Yorker satisfies a need. Humanity in general is not at issue.

The deepest emotion we receive from Thurber's drawings involves our lack of any desire to have his creatures actually exist, as, say, we might want Mutt and Jeff to. It is a part of our reaction to neurotics and neuroses-which in our time seem the only things capable of compromising human beings in their very essence, as sin once could. And then Thurber's art itself does not do enough. To a drawing by Rowlandson, you can say that only part of you is like that; the art itself shows how much of the hopeful is still left to be said. But seeing yourself reflected in a Thurber drawing, you are forced to admit that accidental resemblances are disastrous: if you are in any way like that you are hopelessly compromised. The fact is that Thurber is not good enough to take us out of the plight in which he finds us. The great defect of any humor less than first-rate is to define our limitations without by that very act transcending them. The only world it knows is the one you never made-whereas first-rate humor avows that everything can be converted into consciousness and the world become thereby one of our own making. Of course, the fault is only partly Thurber's. In Rowlandson's time it was still possible to conceive of an attainable way of life possessing dignity and interest. Today we can scarcely even dream of one.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Coming Soon in *The Nation*"A Dictionary of American English"
Reviewed by George Genzmer

#### IN BRIEF

THE BOOK OF CANADIAN POETRY. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. J. M. Smith. University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

For the serious student of Canadian poetry this book is indispensable. In time it spans 118 years; 76 authors are represented by 250 poems. These authors are introduced by biographical notes and, frequently, by individual critical estimates. Their work is presented under six different headings: Part I, Indian poetry and French-Canadian folk songs (other poetry in French is excluded from the intention of the volume): Part II, Pioneer and Emigrant: the Rise of a Native Tradition: Part III. The New Nationalism, "The Golden Age"; Part IV, Varieties of Romantic Sensibility; Part V, Modern Poetry: the Native Tradition; Part VI, Modern Poetry: the Cosmopolitan Tradition. There are also a bibliography, divided into several useful sections, and indices. The editor, A. J. M. Smith, himself a poet whose work deserves to be better known, contributes an introduction. In addition to patient scholarship, he has that other patience which enables him to see the poet beneath the trappings of fashion; and he understands well the peculiar problems of dress that colonialism imposes on literary aspirants. Unhappily, the general reader who does not possess his patience and insight will be apt to find the search for Canadian poetry something like looking for a needle in a havstack: pages 35-429 assay a good deal more verse than poetry, until one begins to wonder whether our increasing delight in the poems toward the end of the book may not be as much a recognition of contemporary fashion as of a poetic naissance. For the reader who feels that Mr. Smith's enthusiasm requires some corrosive correction, the poem entitled The Canadian Authors Meet, by F. R. Scott, is recommended.

MY REVOLUTIONARY YEARS. The Autobiography of Madame Wei Tao-ming. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The life story of the remarkable wife of the Chinese ambassador to the United States is an epitome of recent Chinese history. Born into a Mandarin family and brought up under the regime of the Empress Dowager, Tcheng Soumay became a secret agent of the Kuomintang

at the tender age of fifteen, as a dynamite runner. Later as a student in France she was involved in China's refusal to sign the Versailles treaty. Doctor of Laws of the Sorbonne, she became China's first woman lawver, first woman magistrate, and first woman president of a law college. She was offered the post of Minister to France, but she preferred to remain at home as a leader of New China, where, like her husband and former law partner, she has taken a prominent part in civil administration and in national resistance.

THE INNOCENT EMPRESS: AN INTIMATE STUDY OF EUGENIE. By Erna Barshak, E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.50.

This is a sympathetic and well-grounded biography of a remarkable, fascinating, and curiously unsatisfactory woman. It is appropriately illustrated and written in a style characterized by both taste and point, in spite of a few minor lapses due to the author's lack of complete familiarity with the English language-turn of phrase, correct usage in regard to titles, etc. But these will not spoil the reader's pleasure. The author is a distinguished Central European psychologist now in this country.

THE END IN AFRICA. By Alan Moorehead. Harper and Brothers.

This is an unusually worth-while book of its type, written by an Australian correspondent. The author's personal history and portraits of himself and the people, great and small, whom he encountered are truly incidental to the story of the Tunisian campaign, and broad political implications and the principles at stake are not lost sight of in the hurry of events and impressions.

#### FILMS

PHANTOM LADY" is the first picture produced by Joan Harrison, who worked with Hitchcock as secretary, idea woman, and script writer from 1934 to 1941. Much of it is good, It is also a pleasure to see because Miss Harrison got to make it, apparently, through a combination of the strong arm, luck, and the sensible willingness of Universal's executives to take chance on a B thriller: because within limits she clearly knows what she is doing; and because the critical and popular success of the film may possibly encourage other film executives to take chances on other dark horses and may also encourage other horses, dark or white-haired, to take chances with their best rather than their merely safe ideas and abilities.

Even so, I feel the film is being talked about a little too excitedly. Miss Harrison is doing nothing that Hitchcock has not done a great deal better, and little, for that matter, which was not a commonplace ten to fifteen years ago in American city melodramas. She is simply an intelligent, entertaining werker in an idiom which badly needs not only restoring but developing. She gets from Hitchcock none of his finegrained business and eye for detail, only some of the broad and show-wise aspects of his style. She knows, for instance, when and how to use silence, and she has a better than average sense of place, mood, timing, cutting, and sound. She has a nicely unconventional sense of casting which brings one fine bit by a hatmaker who looks like a maltreated Renaissance angel, and which uses Franchot Tone as a cultivated paranoiac; but Tone's performance cannot get above his mediocre lines and her



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fancy lighting of his obsessed hands. Miss Harrison seems, in fact, to know much less about people, and how they think, feel, talk, and move, than about effects. Some of the dialogue ("You should see how they've twisted him, hurt him . . . and his mind was so full of beautiful plans for model cities") is like a nail on a slate; and the producer also permits a good deal of amateurish reading. Even the effects are not all they might be. There is a suspense scene on a late-night Elevated platform which is excellent up to the ten seconds which should tighten and pay it off; there it shifts into second gear, and not even the frightening jolt of the turnstile which relieves it can rescue it. There is another scene, a jam session used as a metaphor for orgasm and death-which in turn become metaphors for the jam session-which is good but would gain, I think, if it were less intensely romanticized; the chief mistake there, it seems to me, is a narrow table crowded to all its edges with liquor bottles. That, too, is good, physically vivid metaphor; but it is juvenile-delinquent jazz. The late reels of the picture slacken, and the ending, upon which Universal insisted, is half-heartedly done. But this is written as a would-be corrective of too much indiscriminate praise. There is plenty in "Phantom Lady" to enjoy, and to be glad of. JAMES AGEE

#### MUSIC

AHLER'S Fourth Symphony, when Bruno Walter conducted it recently with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, made me freshly aware of certain important qualities of Mahler's music and of the mind that produced it. The work is unusually relaxed, genial, gay, humorous; it is characteristically expansive and longwinded; but characteristic also is the unfailing alertness and attentiveness of mind that keeps the progression freshly interesting. It is only with such alertness and attentiveness that one can use a huge orchestra as Mahler does, choosing now these few instruments, now those to produce detail after detail that is as delicate and subtle as it is strikingly original. The same qualities of mind are evident in Mahler's daring harmony and counterpoint; and they make his thought as fascinating as his language and style.

In Mahler's music Walter's tendency to carry relaxation to the point of softness and slackness is not the weakness it is in Beethoven or Mozart; and the performance was superb. In its own way it constituted an additional devastating comment on the conception, the feeling, the style of Rodzinski's performance of Mahler's Second earlier in the season. And the pleasure which the orchestra had in working with a relaxed conductor instead of with a tensely driving one was audible in its playing.

Haydn's Quartet Opus 54 No. 2 in C major, which the Budapest Quartet played at its fourth Y. M. H. A. concert, is one of the works in which the Hadyn process that I have talked about produces a new breath-taking surprise with each movement-the unusual form of the slow movement, with lower strings gravely developing a single sustained phrase while the first violin soars above them in poignant quasi-vocal, quasi-improvisatory florid melody; the solemnity of the finale; and perhaps most amazing of all, the dissonances in the trio of the minuet movement, conveving a heart-piercing anguish. The effect of this trio was spoiled by the Budapest group's excessively fast tempo for the movement; aside from this the performance was one which only the Budapest Ouartet itself could have surpassed; and the group would in fact have played the work with the same phenomenal beauty of sound, precision of ensemble, and subtlety of phrasing as it did Beethoven's Opus 135 if it had worked as long on the Haydn as it has on the Beethoven. Actually the two works sounded as though they were performed by two different groups; and the roughnesses heard in the Haydn were also heard in Mozart's Quintet K.593 in D major, which has its own breath-taking moments, particularly in the slow movement.

Victor's February list includes a new set (950; \$4.50) of Chausson's Symphony in B flat performed by the late Frederick Stock with the Chicago Symphony. Chausson is known to most people through his "Poème" for violin and orchestra, which has long been one of the staples of the violin literature and more recently has been used by Antony Tudor for his ballet "Lilac Garden." The scale of the hauntingly lovely "Poème" is perfectly suited to its feeling and idiom; but in the Symphony these are inflated and expanded in a way that makes for grandiloquence and tedium. The performance seems excellent, and is recorded with superb fidelity, spaciousness, and richness. Played with a light, wide-range Brush pickup the surfaces of my copy are not quiet but are better than surfaces have been recently; with a heavy, limited-range Astatic Trutan pickup they are quiet.

Victor also has issued a set (929; \$4.50) of the first four of the seven movements of Holst's Suite "The Planets": "Mars, The Bringer of War," "Venus, The Bringer of Peace," "Mercury, The Winged Messenger," and "Jupiter, The Bringer of Jollity." I recall my first hearing of this music at a Stadium concert in the mid-twenties, and the impact of the crescendo of the ominous ostinato rhythm in "Mars." This time there is no impact from that device; and all these pieces realize their programmatic content in a facile flow of third-rate music. The performances by Sir Ernest MacMillan with the Toronto Symphony seem good; and their recorded sound would be excellent if it were not blurred in heavily scored fortissimo passages by reverberation. With the Brush pickup the surfaces are a little noisier than those of the Chausson set: with the Astatic Trutan they are quiet.

Victor's set (955; \$4.50) of excerpts from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" spoken by Ralph Bellamy I played for a friend with more knowledge of the subject than I have, whose comment formulated the impressions I had received. Briefly, it was that Bellamy does not have the vocal resources for the reading of poetry that Maurice Evans, for example, brings to the recorded excerpts from "Richard II"; and that his way of dealing with it is to speak it as prose.

B. H. HAGGIN

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THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y.
Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic:
One year 55: Two years \$5: Three years \$11,
Additional Postage per year: Foreign, \$1:
Canadian, \$3. The Nation is indexed in Readers
Digest, Index for Authorities, Public Affairs
Information Service, Dramatic Index, Two weeks'
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## Letters to the Editors

#### Mothers, Inc.

Dear Sirs: Although Mrs. Dilling is indicted again, her "thundering herds," as she calls her followers, are at their posts. They may seem to be under cover, as compared to pre-Pearl Harbor days when their mourners' veils darkened the Senate galleries and when they stampeded the offices of Congressmen who did not share their views, but the Mothers, Incorporated, are still on the job.

In Chicago their most recent appearance was at the United Nations Association Congress on January 15. They entered the last session separately and seated themselves in different parts of the hall almost as though they were normal human beings. What provoked their wrath was references to Russia, Great Britain, or a lasting peace. When the chairman had finally spotted all the incorporated mothers and had ceased to recognize them, they turned to noisier tactics. One of them stamped up the aisle shouting their favorite refrain, "Hucksters of Other Men's Blood!" while others screamed, "Slackers!" Apparently there was one incorporated father in their midst, a dilapidated-looking fellow who offered himself to the assembly as Presidential candidate. All he asks is cash to finance his campaign, and then he will settle "the doublecrossers in Washington," who "stole their ideas from the Nazis." His platform clarifies the five enemies of our country: (1) the British Empire, (2) the Russian Communists, (3) the German Nazi Party, (4) the Japanese Empire, and last and greatest, from the space given this point, the "F. D. R. Gang." Meanwhile, on a more dignified plane, other women distributed brochures announcing the Women's League for Political Education, whose lofty message to the "Mothers and Daughters of America" sounds like the League of Women Voters with a drop of poison underneath.

This particular appearance of the Mothers is of interest because it is typical and not unique. A liberal Catholic reports that these women haunt his lectures, and once in a paroxysm of enthusiasm two of them heiled Hitler in front of him. Chicago may be a center for such groups, and there were enough of them to fill their own meeting for

Gerald Smith the other night when they booed England, the Jews, Roosevelt, and Willkie. Nevertheless, delegates at the congress told of similar activities in cities as far apart as Los Angeles, Detroit, and New York.

During the next critical months these activities will probably increase. Since they are trained for the offensive, while an audience is unprepared and bewildered, the intruders can waste considerable time if they do not actually sow dissension and break up the meeting. Nevertheless, it is the Mothers who are really on the defensive. Ask them to state their names, mention the FBI and "Under Cover," and they become suddenly tongue-tied or look for an exit.

E. T. D. Chicago, Ill., January 19

#### Independent Poll

Dear Sirs: A few weeks ago Harrison Spangler announced that a Presidential poll had been taken in England by some army officers, and that the G. O. P. had come out on top by a small majority.

I decided to take a poll of my own unit as between Roosevelt and Dewey, the likeliest candidates. I intended to get at least 300 votes but stopped at 149 when I read about the hot water Spangler and his officers have got into for conducting the straw vote. Here are the results: Roosevelt, 112; Dewey, 29; Undecided, 8.

Incidentally, the soldiers here are mostly all Northerners. The main factor for the Roosevelt runaway was definitely "Don't change Presidents during the war." Many fellows told me they were 100 per cent Republican but absolutely would not vote for a new President. And a few others didn't believe me when I told them of the November elections. They said it was unlawful and unthinkable to hold a Presidential election in war time.

I was amazed and delighted by the results of my poll, which I believe is indicative of the soldier vote anywhere.

This is what I read in headlines on the second page of yesterday's newspaper: "Fourth Term? Soldiers and Marines Say No; Navy Yes." And here are the figures in the straw vote taken by Pat Robinson of INS in the South Pacific area: Do You Favor a Fourth Term for the President?

	Yes		No	
Army, Marine Officers	166 .		190	
Army, Marine Enlisted	220 .	.7	251	
Navy Officers	90 .		82	
Navy Enlisted	163 .		161	
Colored Soldiers	85 .		0	
Marke we don't all	044 4	ha	00000	

Maybe we don't all add the same way.

Incidentally, many men might not favor a fourth term but would still vote for Roosevelt in preference to the Republican candidate.

After talking to 149 soldiers there is no doubt in my mind that the election won't even be close—at least so far as the service men are concerned.

CORPORAL M. A. B. Somewhere in Texas, February 1

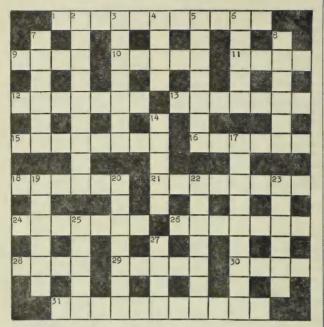
#### Russia and Bukovina

Dear Sirs: I do not understand how, in Leigh White's generally fair and competent review of "Road to Peace and Freedom," he came to make a comment so misleading to readers as his discussion of what I said about the Russian occupation of northern Bukovina. It is quite true, and I thank him for calling attention to it, that I incorrectly spoke of this phase of Russian territorial expansion as occurring in 1939 But in commenting on my statement that the purpose of the occupation was "to give Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia a common boundary along the Carpatho-Ukraine," he says that I ventured a little beyond my depth because, "actually, Bukovina was not occupied until June 27-30, 1940, when Czecho slovakia had ceased to exist and when the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine had bees occupied by Hungary."

Any reader of the review would assume that, in addition to the error as to the date, I had through ignorance failed to take account of facts which vitiated my argument. Who would dream that in the very next sentence I had said that "the actual effect at the time was to provide a common frontier with Hungary," because of its prior seizure of the Carpatho-Ukraine? Contrasting effect and purpose, I went on to say that "Russia's present [1943] support of the Czechoslovak title to the Carpatho-Ukraine, which would deprive Russia of a common frontier with

## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 53

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 People who snore do and are (two words, 5 and 6
- 9 A finger in the pie? No, fifty, and that's a heap
- 10 A model world
- 11 A kick from horse
- 12 Journalistically sent by telegraph
- 13 "One self-approving hour whole years outweighs Of stupid -----and of loud huzzas" (Pope)
- 15 Set free
- 16 Broadcasters, but not on the radio 18 Wrap up closely—anyway, with a couple of articles following direction
- 21 Belief that includes Paradise
- 24 Shades of Arabian Nights? Well, one of them (two words, 3 and 4)
- 26 "He's rude!" (anag.)
- 28 You couldn't dub Leander this
- 29 Hold forth
- 30 A jewel is as nothing with a real friend
- 31 Little looked after, and somewhat mean (hyphen, 5 and 6)

#### DOWN

- 2 Fly beyond the mark
- 3 An arm goes back and gets things worth finding
- 4 The people who run this throw off all restraint

- 5 His duel with Hamlet really started something
- 6 What a break of three produces 7 French poet who confessed that he knew everything except himself
- 8 Sporting employee who keeps his board in order
- 14 Order that is changed when cited 17 "Never mind the why and -----, Love can level ranks, and therefore ..." (H. M. S. Pinafore)
- 19 Character in Pickwick Papers ("Sam, beware of the vidders")
- 20 Oil added to a dying ember is likely to cause trouble
- 22 Ten pies for a sculptor
- 23 Living together
- 25 Great commercial activity about middle age—the prime, in fact
- 27 Far from excited; still it may be

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 52

ACROSS:—1 HARD PRESSED; 0 PENE-LOPE; 10 ROWERS; 11 MACRAME; 12 MEANDER; 14 SEXTER; 15 OBSCURED; 17 CRYSTALS; 20 ADDUCE; 22 UNROLLS; 24 RETRACT; 26 TAKING; 27 AGITATOR; 28 PROOF-READER.

DOWN:—2 ABERRATES; 3 DOORMAT: 4
REBL; 5 STREETS; 6 EDWIN; 7 MENAGE;
8 BREEZE; 13 HORSE; 16 UNDERRATE;
18 RANDAN; 19 ALLEGRO; 20 AMERICA;
21 CUCKOO; 23 OSIER; M LAIR.

Hungary and give her one with Czechoslovakia instead," leads to the conclusion "that Russia's occupation of northern Bukovina was in anticipation of the restoration of Czechoslovakia to its pre-Hitler status."

I can point to a couple of other dates in the book that are incorrect, but any-body who doubts the soundness of this interpretation of the motive for Russian seizure of Bukovina need only read the news accounts of the treaty just signed between Soviet Russia and Czecho-slovakia, and note the heavy emphasis placed upon a common frontier. Finally, I have never thought it necessary to discuss Czechoslovakia as if it no longer existed, even if the State Department did ask the National Geographic Society to eliminate it from its post-1939 maps.

IRVING BRANT

Gatlinburg, Tenn., February 2

#### Knockdown House

Dear Sirs: As a postscript to the exceptional article by Francis Westbrook, Jr., in your issue of January 8 on Houses on the Belt, let me say that the first prefabricated house of which I can find any record in this country was set up in Windsor, Connecticut, by William Holmes.

Holmes, a settler at Plymouth, Massachusetts, began trading knives and mirrors with the Indians in 1633. Two years later, having stored a knockdown house in his hold, he sailed defiantly past the fortified post of the Dutch at Hartford, notwithstanding a threat to open fire, and proceeded to the mouth of the Tunxis (Farmington) River, and set up his house at Windsor, the first permanent settlement in Connecticut.

One may reflect with envy in these days that the people of Windsor paid their town taxes in onions.

SILAS BENT

West Palm Beach, Fla., January 11

#### The Obverse

Dear Sirs: Your In the Wind department of January 22 took a gentle dig at me, under the caption "Immaculate Fertility," for a sentence in my book "The World of Sholom Aleichem"—to wit: "Jews were too busy having children to bother with sex." But if you invert the sentence you'll get the obverse truth: "People are too busy with sex to bother having children."

MAURICE SAMUEL

New York, January 27

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Asso-

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

WHETHER GENERAL PEDRO RAMIREZ FELL without fighting or after a heroic struggle with his colonels may be an interesting item in the military history of Argentina but it does not affect in the least the gravity of the South American situation. The only important fact is that the G.O.U.—responsible for the coup d'état of July-retains power. Indeed very little has changed in Argentina since the day the pro-Nazi clique in the army, considering President Castillo a toohesitant fascist, threw him out of the Casa Rosada. Even the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Axis, about which a section of our press and some officials in Washington so noisily rejoiced, was pure farce. Nothing has changed fundamentally in Buenos Aires; but the intentions of the instigators of the July revolt have taken more definite shape. Events in Chile, in Peru, in Uruguay prove that we are witnessing the development of an articulated plot to seize power in the Western Hemisphere and that Hitler, while losing battles in Europe, is gaining ground in Latin America.

~

IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE ONE OF OUR democratic friends, the former Consul General in New York, Anibal Jara, now at the head of the government press service, has just exposed the continued activities of Nazi agents in Chile, and a hundred of them have been arrested. From Peru comes word that again last week government circles feared developments in Buenos Aires might produce violent repercussions in Lima. Even in Montevideo new activities of Axis agents have recently come to light. In the face of a threat of such dimensions the reactions of Allied diplomacy remain slow and weak. It should not be necessary to wait until the last shred of evidence is produced to show whether General Ramirez left the presidency in good health, slightly indisposed, or collapsing with "fatigue." It is clear that the G.O.U. by its pretense of legality in substituting Vice-President Farrell is merely trying to avoid the difficulties which, in the case of Bolivia, led to the withdrawal of recognition by the United States and Great Britain. The only policy for the Allies to adopt is to break all diplomatic and economic relations with Argentina and to do it promptly.

THAT THE FRANCO REGIME IS BEHIND THIS whole troubled situation in Latin America is not doubted any longer even in official circles. The subversive character of the Falange was emphasized last week by no less an authority than the Attorney General of the United States. In a document remarkable for its precision and outspoken language, Mr. Biddle pointed out that General Franco headed the Falange and dictated its policy. The "national cause" of the Falange, he continued, looks to the establishment and preservation of a totalitarian state, the unity of Spaniards throughout the world, and the restoration of the ancient Spanish empire. "The Falange claims to have organized, in all the Latin American countries and in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, groups that subscribe to these doctrines." Following the Attorney General's denunciation of the Falange, Representative Coffee of Washington brought to the attention of Congress a series of specific cases showing the support given to the Nazis in Latin America by Franco agents. If obliged to choose between the concrete accusations of the Attorney General and Representative Coffee and the pious attempts to fabricate a new pro-Allied Franco undertaken by Archbishop Spellman and journalists like Henry Taylor, we choose Mr. Biddle and the Congressman from Washington. We consider both men more conscious of their responsibility to their own country and less susceptible to the influences of the Vatican and to the charms of Madrid society-where Mr. Taylor discovered that Spain under Franco is the happiest nation in the world. As long as the Spanish dictator is allowed to move his agents into the Western Hemisphere under the protection of diplomatic immunity we shall suffer one defeat after another in Latin America.

×

THE RUSSIAN WINTER OFFENSIVE SHIFTED into high gear as the Red Army celebrated its twentysixth anniversary. Within a few days two of the greatest Nazis bases, Krivoi Rog and Vitebsk, which had held out for months against strong pressure, were seized. At the same time the Soviets opened an attack on the longquiet center of the White Russian line, overrunning the important town of Rogachev. In the north, where the Red Army has been on the offensive for more than a month, it has been advancing an average of ten miles . day toward the key railway center of Pskov. This sudden speeding up of the Soviet offensive seems to be partly the result of a cold wave which has frozen the rivers and lakes hard enough to bear the weight of mechanized equipment. But the German defeat on the Leningrad front and the isolation of a sizable German force in the Dnieper bend may have so weakened the Nazi position that a general withdrawal could no longer be avoided. Having lost the iron of Krivoi Rog, the manganese of Nikopol, and the strategic positions in the Leningrad area, the German high command has little reason to defend positions east of the old Russian border.

\*

WE HOPE ATTORNEY GENERAL BIDDLE'S thoughtful and courageous address on the cartel system before Harvard Law School alumni in New York will get the attention it deserves at home and abroad. Mr. Biddle's program for the breaking up of such great German cartels as I. G. Farben and for rooting out its influence in occupied Europe must be an important part of any postwar plan that offers hope of eradicating the conditions in which fascism has been nurtured. His demand for full publicity on all foreign commercial agreements should help secure the passage through Congress of the O'Mahoney bill for that purpose. Especial interest attaches to his insistence that the fruits of Axis research during the past decade be thrown open to all of industry. This implies an end to the policy whereby the Alien Property Custodian has left untouched those alien patents under which a number of American firms enjoy exclusive licenses. We recommend to our British friends those portions of Mr. Biddle's address dealing with their probems. Thanks to Congressional investigations we know a great deal more about the harmful part cartels played in hampering England's defense than the British themselves do. If these revelations were better known in England the British might be less complacent thanthey tend to be about the cartel system.

>

THE NATION APPLAUDS HERBERT GASTON. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and his colleagues of the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations for the spirit and the findings of their first annual report to Attorney General Francis Biddle. "Administrative action," the committee says, "shall not disregard those traditional American principles whose fundamentals include free speech and liberty of conscience." This, rather than the Dies attitude, is the framework in which the committee has chosen to operate. It was set up in February of 1943 by the President to advise and assist federal agencies in determining the guilt or innocence of employees accused of advocating or belonging to organizations which advocate overthrow of the government by force or violence. Of 301 cases submitted to the committee, only 5 were found to warrant dismissal. The committee finds "no real basis for supposing that government service harbors any significant number of persons who are members of organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence, or who personally so advocate." It is too much to hope that this will end what Henry F. Pringle in the Saturday Evening Post recently termed "snooping on the Potomac." But the

report may at least provide progressives in Congress with ammunition against Dies.

\*

BY A SIX-VOTE MARGIN THE HOUSE HAS rejected the notorious Johnson bill, which would have deprived Japanese Americans of their citizenship if they could be shown to have made any statements regarded as disloyal to the United States. The bill had the strong backing of a number of West Coast super-patriotic organizations which seek to denaturalize and deport some 7,000 interned persons of Japanese descent who have given equivocal answers to the so-called loyalty questionnaire. In theory, a negative or equivocal answer to the question regarding their loyalty to the United States is presumed to indicate subversive or disloyal tendencies. In reality, according to observers who have studied the conditions under which the questionnaire was presented, the answers probably have no such significance. It can be assumed that saboteurs, real or potential, were careful not to announce their intentions by a negative answer. Those who did reply in the negative appear to have done so for a variety of reasons which have little to do with the issue. Great confusion prevailed in the camps at the time the questionnaire was presented. The directors were given no instructions on how to meet the barrage of queries as to the meaning of the test. Many of the internees regarded the inquisition as insulting in view of their long record of loyalty and gave negative answers as a protest against the indignity. Others believed that an affirmative answer would force them to leave the protection of the camps.

## Politics, Grand and Petty

In THE dramatic exchange between President Roose-velt and Senator Barkley it is possible to see one of those historic contests between the ruler and the people—but first you must strain your imagination until it cracks and blind both eyes to the realities of American politics in the year 1944. If you reject this prescription you will probably not fall into the illusion of the New York Daily News that Roosevelt is Charles I and Barkley is Cromwell; you will be surprised to learn from Representative Reed of New York that the episode is part of the "age-old contest between Anglo-Saxon liberty and attempted despotic rule"; and you will not confuse the gentlemen of the Seventy-eighth Congress with the noble barons of Runnymede.

Under the Constitution there has always been a tug-ofwar between the executive and legislative branches of the government. The creators of that document were wise enough to know that the lines of jurisdiction could not be drawn rigidly, that there would have to be a measure of give-and-take, depending on circumstances that could not be foretold generations in advance. They assumed that the safety of the Republic at any given time would be the measure by which a wise Executive and a responsible Congress would regulate the ebb and flow of their respective powers. In time of war the tide of authority necessarily and inevitably flows toward the executive branch, and there has never been a war in which Congress has not subordinated itself to the President. War Congresses have always grumbled, "investigated," and stood on their dignity, all of which they had a right and obligation to do. But, fortunately for the country, they have gone along on major matters.

The Seventy-eighth Congress has not contented itself with these traditional vents for letting off steam. Having displayed more than its quota of bitterness over the exercise of war-time powers by the Executive, it is now prepared to raise the question of constitutional jurisdiction in the midst of the most desperate war in the nation's history. Its choice of the tax bill as an immediate issue and the political circumstances of the Presidential campaign arouse grave doubts of its sincerity.

Do the rebellious followers of Senator Barkley really question the President's constitutional right to veto a tax bill? Do they think he had any recourse but to veto a measure which he regarded as inadequate to meet the financing of the war, inequitable in its distribution of the tax burden, and gravely short of what is needed to head off a calamitous inflation? They complain bitterly of "a small group of irresponsible theorists in the Treasury Department who advise the President on taxation and who seem to have lost patience with constitutional government" because they want Congress to follow their recommendations. But haven't these complaining Congressmen ever heard of the constitutional provision that the President, presumably advised by his Cabinet, "shall from time to time . . . recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient"?

Descending from the realm of high theory to the level of election-year politics, where we believe the true issue lies, we find that the Barkley coup confronts the President with the greatest challenge since he took over from Mr. Hoover the reins of a depression-ridden country. Congressmen do not gang up on the Presidential leader of their party when they think he has the backing of the country. Particularly do they avoid such behavior in an election year. Clearly, then, the Democrats who vociferously followed the Barkley lead count on one of two eventualities: that Roosevelt can still be headed off at the party convention, or that even if he is nominated and elected, he will represent a reluctant, war-dictated choice, and the voters will express their real sentiments by supporting hostile Congressional candidates.

In this situation the President has no choice, moral or political, but to face the issues, to present his case and his program to the people. If he surrenders, or glosses over the differences that separate him from the majority of his party in Congress, his victory, if any, will be worse than meaningless. For, like Wilson, he will be forced to work with a Congress bent on frustrating his every aim and armed with a fresh mandate from the people. In that sad eventuality he will be even less able to achieve an enlightened peace than a Republican executive supported by a Republican Congress. If, on the other hand, he explains to the voters the absolute necessity of Congressional support in such matters as war financing, he can, we believe, still achieve the one kind of victory that will have meaning. The stakes are too high for cleverness; they call for stature.

## Fiscal Fiddling

Politics aside, the Barkley affair served the tories issues that the President was striving to illuminate by his veto of the tax bill. It is doubtful whether Mr. Roosevelt cared very deeply whether the tax bill was enacted into law or not. The defects in the bill, though irritating, were scarcely important enough in themselves to justify the veto. Although the suspension of the automatic increase in the social-security tax was wholly illogical at a time when revenue is desperately needed, the President must have had some qualms about favoring a tax that is wholly regressive while rejecting a bill that provided some additional revenue from corporations and highincome groups. But the two points which the President was trying to drive home through the veto were far more important than these details. The first was the utter inadequacy of the revenues provided by the bill in the face of the grave threat of inflation. The second was the failure of Congress to seek additional revenue in the pockets of those who have profited most by the war.

The crucial importance of taxes in the struggle against inflation cannot be overstressed. The President almost alone among our political leaders has understood from the beginning that the excess spending power created by the war must be absorbed by taxes if inflation is to be headed off. A year ago he pleaded with Congress to provide \$16,000,000,000 in new revenue-a figure which competent economists even then regarded as an absolute minimum. Mr. Willkie's grasp of the essentials of war economics was not revealed until quite recently, too late to have any effect on the Republicans in Congress, who must share responsibility for the inadequacy of the bill just enacted. Mr. Roosevelt has probably reconciled himself by now to the probability of a financial breakdown on the home front, but he would not have been discharging his duty as President if he had not made one last effort to avert it.

No less important from the standpoint of sound wartime policy is the principle of equality of sacrifice. Both for the sake of morale and financial stability, the needed revenues must be raised from those who possess the existing surplus of spending power. The present tax measure violates this principle fundamentally. Special groups actually receive relief from existing taxes, and the special privileges granted to mining, lumbering, natural-gas, and commercial aviation industries invite invidious comparisons. The President was thus merely stating a fact when he said that the bill provided "relief not for the needy but for the greedy"—an expression that seems to have angered some members of Congress by its aptness.

The record is clear. The President has consistently and patiently urged a tax program that would uncover the hidden pools of excess spending power and prevent war profiteering. He asked for a war-time ceiling on incomes, after taxes, of \$25,000 a year. Under his leadership the Treasury submitted a series of tax proposals that would have thrown the weight of taxation primarily on those who could pay higher taxes without sacrifice of essential living standards. But the Administration has been rebuffed on these proposals by a Congress bent on fiscal fiddling while inflationary fires burn. When the inevitable day of reckoning arrives, the voters may not be concerned about whether or not their Congressmen voted to override the President's veto of the tax bill, but they will ask why prices are out of control.

## Mr. Churchill Reports

NWILLING to recognize the revolutionary implications of the war or to encourage the revolutionary forces it has set in motion, Mr. Churchill has depended heavily on nationalism to provide the driving power of the crusade against Hitlerism. Nor can it be denied that this emotion has deeply stirred the peoples of the occupied countries and inspired them to heroic resistance. Nevertheless the principles of nationalism provide no solution of the problems that beset Europe and form the most insecure foundation on which to build peace. Even now, before victory is assured, we are finding the ranks of the United Nations confused by rivalries of a bitterness which bodes ill for the future. The nationalist spirit is taking forms which Mr. Churchill obviously views with alarm but knows not how to exorcise. No wonder that his latest report to the House of Commons indicates both a loss of political bearings and an unwonted lack of confidence.

We do not complain because the military picture he painted was rather more somber than that which has recently been presented by eminent American and British authorities. Victory in 1944 has long seemed to us not a certainty but a reasonable hope, particularly if the United Nations developed a political third front as well as a military second front. But Mr. Churchill made it plain that, whatever plans were made at Teheran for the others.

no basis was laid for a political strategy which would assist in the disintegration of the enemy. On the contrary, his statement that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to Germany, the indications that he gave of a developing "spheres-of-influence" policy, the snub he administered to Italian democracy—all these things pointed toward sole reliance on military methods to win the war and sole reliance on power politics to maintain the peace. These are not policies which can in any way be presented to the German people as an inducement to abandon Nazi leadership. Rather they play right into the hands of Goebbels in his constant effort to bolster German morale, and provide valuable grist for those American propagandists whose aim is to weaken American morale and break down the United Nations front.

In his discussions of the military situation Mr. Churchill laid special stress on the air war. The intensity of the raids on Germany, he said, had by no means reached its climax, and "spring and summer will see a vast increase in the force of the attack." Since the Prime Minister went on to speak of this offensive as the foundation of Allied invasion plans, this may mean that the final attack on the Continent will not begin as early as had been expected. In any case Mr. Churchill seemed anxious to forestall any criticism of delay by stressing the total British contribution to the war, the extent to which Anglo-American air power was diverting the Luftwaffe and decreasing German ability to make war, and the importance of the Italian campaign as an absorbent of German military man-power.

It is, of course, perfectly true that the achievements of America and Britain on the sea and in the air, together with economic assistance to the Soviets, have made a bigger contribution to the Red Army's victories than Moscow has been willing to acknowledge. But the fact remains that Germany is a land power, which will only be finally crushed on land, and it is on the eastern front that the most spectacular steps toward this end have been taken. Until equally positive action is seen in the west, Russia will appear in its own eyes and in those of most of the world to be winning the war by itself.

That is why the successful invasion of the Continent as early as possible is vital from the political as well as the military angle. Until the Anglo-American forces are firmly established in Europe, Anglo-American diplomacy cannot take the initiative. At Teheran Stalin seems to have told Churchill and Roosevelt how he proposed to secure Russia's western frontiers, and they could only acquiesce—even though his plans conflicted with the Atlantic Charter. Mr. Eden, it is true, has denied that spheres of influence were agreed upon, but Mr. Churchill's speech certainly points toward an understanding about regional responsibilities which would amount to the same thing under a less provocative name.

Thus, while expressing a wistful desire for the post-

ponement of territorial questions until after the war, the British Prime Minister asserted that some agreement regarding the Russian-Polish borders was urgently necessary. Declaring that Russian demands did not go "beyond the limits of what is reasonable and just," he went on to say that he had agreed with Stalin about Poland's need of compensation at the expense of Germany "both in the north and in the west"—a phrase which suggests the inclusion in Poland of much purely German territory.

Anticipating objections, Mr. Churchill explained that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to Germany "as a matter of right." But it did state that its signatories sought "no aggrandizement, territorial or other," and that they desired "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." These declarations, it might well be argued, represent an unwise reversion to Wilsonian self-determination. Nevertheless, as they stand, they cannot easily be squared with the dismemberment of Germany.

Nor can the democratic guaranties of the charter be squared with our Italian policy. Nevertheless, Mr. Churchill defended the continuation of King Emanuel and Marshal Badoglio on the ground that they command the allegiance of the Italian armed forces. But he was not able to give any very convincing evidence of the value of those forces, and it is clear that so long as the old regime in Italy continues, the Italian people are going to be fairly apathetic. The Anglo-American authorities, however, seem to have decided that a subservient Italian government is better than an enthusiastic one. A democratic regime, Mr. Churchill explained, might try to strengthen its position with the people by resisting the demands of the Allied armies.

Strangely enough he moved straight from this cynical dismissal of popular government in Italy to a tremendous eulogy of Tito and his followers. We welcome this belated tribute, wondering at Mr. Churchill's inability to realize that the same kind of social energy that suffuses the Partisans might have been released in Italy also if our armies had come truly as liberators. The difficulty, as we pointed out earlier, is that Mr. Churchill understands this war only in nationalist terms and so must fight it with one arm tied, unable to make use of the explosive political and social forces in Europe which transcend all national boundaries.

A dinner on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Freda Kirchwey's association with The Nation was held at the Hotel Commodore in New York on February 27, 1944. Excepts from addresses made by Raymond Swing, Thurman Arnold, Reinhold Niebubr, Dorothy Thompson, Archibald MacLeish, and Miss Kirchwey will appear in early issues of The Nation.

# Reaction's Unhappy Prisoner

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 25

T IS difficult for us who live so close to great events correctly to appraise them. Even those of us who happen to be Washington correspondents, and are reputed to be conscientious, know extraordinarily little of what is actually going on. The philosopher in Connecticut, with nothing to rely on but his daily paper and his knowledge of history, may have as clear a view of the operations of the men and forces which really determine the course of events as the reporter in Washington. The former's thinking is at least unaffected by the terrific clash of personalities in the capital, by the huge volume of supposedly authoritative but not very reliable information the reporter picks up, by the pull of partisan struggle and the undertow of wishful thinking. It is with this apology that I should like to contribute the little I can to an understanding of what has happened in the past seven days here. I am inclined to think it of momentous importance in American and world history.

The background of the week's events is comparatively simple, and may make the events themselves easier to understand. It is that the United States is emerging from the war enormously enriched and comparatively unscathed, and faces the post-war period the greatest capitalist power on earth. This country will henceforth, until adversity reawakens the people and revives the progressive movement, be the citadel of world reaction. As a result of compromises believed necessary to mobilize the nation, one strategic post after another has been relinquished to men representing monopoly capitalism. Wartime prosperity has stilled the desire for social reform from which the New Deal drew its life, and war-time disarrangements and hardships-petty as these are in perspective-have provoked a vast amount of dissatisfaction with the "ins"—the feeling among large sections of the people is on just that low plane. The producers in all ranks-labor, agriculture, and business-seem chiefly worried that someone else may be making more out of the war than they are, while the representatives of the great aggregations of wealth, tremendously increased by the war, use these dissatisfactions further to make the President their prisoner and the future their secure domain. In the process the ugliest reactionary tendencies of middle-class America are awakening and being encouraged. These are clearly visible in Congress.

The House that cheered Rankin after a speech in which he called Walter Winchell "kike" booed O'Con-

nor of Montana into silence when the latter jumped to his feet, red-faced and shaken, to accuse his colleagues of not giving the President "the revenue to fight this war." The mob spirit of the House in overriding the President's tax veto was matched by the sentimental orgy with which the Senate celebrated Barkley's repudiation of his party chief. The whole affair has served to dramatize the fact that Mr. Roosevelt is in name only the head of the Democratic Party. On taxes, as on consumer subsidies and the soldiers' vote, the President no longer controls the party. The Democratic Party has always been a rickety vehicle for progressive Presidents, and what Mr. Roosevelt has been able to accomplish in the past has been done not so much because of the party as in spite of it. His strength has lain in appeals to the people, but the people are distracted, and the President himself seems undecided as to how far he can go in appealing to them over the heads of the party and of Congress. The apologetic telegram to Barkley on the eve of the Democratic caucus may have served to make Barkley's reelection seem less of a defeat for the President. But the price paid for that typical maneuver was to put the President back on the defensive, to rob him of the moral advantage of continued attack, and the people of the clear line of leadership only such attack could provide.

The weakness of the tax-veto message was that it did not sufficiently place the complex technical issues in their large framework. Its strength was the resurgence of the old Mr. Roosevelt, notably in its one great fighting phrase, its reference to the bill as providing "relief not for the needy but for the greedy." The tax-bill veto was a courageous document. It struck directly at some of the most powerful economic interests in America, among them mining, lumber, natural gas, and aviation, and it collided head-on with the general business antipathy to renegotiation of war profits. It could be, and may still be, amplified into a series of speeches to bring home to the people the great issues of the home front and of the post-war period. But at least temporarily the President has again decided on retreat, though it would seem that he has reached the point where there is little more to lose by a complete and open fight with Congress and a large section of his own party. This, of course, is an observation easily made from outside a situation which may appear considerably different to the man on whom final responsibility for the war rests. Further compromise will certainly be the advice of the President's major advisers, most of whom are now men of much the same outlook as the men in Congress he is fighting.

The most powerful of these advisers is James F. Byrnes. Never a progressive, he was appointed "assistant President" in the hope that his old contacts in Congress would make it easier for the President to obtain legislation for carrying on the war. But the compromises such an alliance entailed have proved one-sided; they have increased the power of Byrnes without perceptibly helping the President "on the hill." The President has become so entangled in the consequences of these compromises, become so completely the prisoner of the reactionary influences Byrnes represents, that it seems no longer possible for him to provide any clear line of progressive leadership. The same President who sent a fighting tax-veto message to Congress on Monday had surrendered over the week-end on a far more important front. Quickly and quietly he signed the "blank-check" directive written for him by Byrnes putting into effect the major recommendations of the Baruch-Hancock "millionaire's Beveridge plan" for post-war America. The one important instrument we have for a better life after the war. our vast government-owned productive resources, were thereby handed over to Will Clayton, Jesse Jones's chief lieutenant, a man of the extreme right, a trader in cotton of imperial and worldwide power, a dealer with Axis countries before Pearl Harbor, and a monopolist to the core. At the same time Frank T. Hines, a reactionary hack politician, a leftover from the Republican '20's, an opponent of New Deal work-creation measures, was placed in charge of the job of providing work for returned soldiers. These appointments and the Baruch-Hancock report represent a crucial victory for monopoly capital, and make a farce of the repeated promises of "full employment" after the war. When these two major events of the week are placed side by side—the fight on taxes and the surrender of resources-is it any wonder people are bewildered?

# The Civil Air War

### BY KEITH HUTCHISON

ALTHOUGH all phases of post-war aviation are newsworthy, its international aspects have won most of the headlines in the past year. The prospects of air rivalry between the powers, the debate on the future of lend-lease bases, the quarrel between the nationalists and the internationalists, the struggle between the advocates of monopoly and the proponents of competition, the problem of translating the ideal of "freedom of the air" into practical terms—all these are matters with which even casual newspaper readers have become familiar.

It would have been fairly easy, however, to have over-looked another conflict which has developed in the last twelve months, a conflict over the post-war exploitation of America's own skies. News of this civil air war has seldom made the front pages, perhaps because it was less easy to summarize in large, dramatic terms, although the fact that the two chief antagonists—the air lines and the rails—are both prolific advertisers may also be relevant. In any case the comparative lack of publicity is no index of the warmth of the battle, for in many ways the intensity of competition is sharper in the domestic field than in the international.

The future of aviation has been depicted in such glowing terms that it is hardly surprising that a flock of imaginative entrepreneurs should be seeking to elbow their way into a preferred place in its development. Most of

them, however, are content to seek opportunity at home. Realizing that overseas ventures would involve them in the mysteries of foreign politics, they are prepared to leave the international sphere to the big boys with the big money who know their way about. What the average would-be domestic operator is looking for is a flying truck route or a helicopter feeder line from his home town to the nearest metropolis.

One result of all this hopeful enterprise is that the offices of the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington have been flooded with applications for "certificates of convenience and necessity," without which no flying common carrier in interstate commerce can leave the ground. Many of them have been filed by the existing air lines, which are seeking both overseas routes and extensions of their present domestic operations. Thus American Airlines, which already serves thirty-five cities in twenty-two states, has applied for new routes and extensions which would increase by 50 per cent the area it now covers. United Air Lines, another of the "Big Four," is asking approval of plans which would almost double the mileage of its present system. Ambitious schemes are also being promoted by many of the railroad companies. The Missouri Pacific, emerging from bankruptcy rich in cash, thanks to the war boom, has announced the formation of a subsidiary, Eagle Airlines, Inc., which has applied for a 6,000-mile network paralleling the parent

company's surface lines. Dwarfing even this plan is the proposal of the Greyhound Corporation to combine its nation-wide bus operations with seventy-eight helicopter feeder routes covering 49,000 miles of air travel.

The possibilities of the helicopter—a matter of heated debate among aeronautical experts—are stirring imaginations even outside the transport business. Several big department stores are hoping to bring customers through the air directly to their roof tops. William Filene's Sons, for instance, has petitioned for six routes connecting its Boston store with forty-five cities scattered through New England. Its helicopters, it is suggested, would not only provide a passenger service but could also be used for the rapid delivery of parcels.

These are just some samples of applications filed with the CAB by large, well-financed corporations. But there have been a host of proposals by small companies and individuals, some of which are far less modest than the resources behind them. The story is told of a woman with a baby in her arms who presented a petition for the right to operate two transcontinental cargo and express routes. She was mightily disappointed not to get her certificate over the counter. A Washington schoolboy was better informed and more patient. He put in his bid with the idea that approval might be forthcoming by the time he had finished a college engineering course.

These are extreme examples, but obviously a great many of the applications now being so hopefully deposited in Washington must be turned down cold. Before the CAB can grant a "certificate of necessity and convenience" it has to hold hearings and decide on the basis of the evidence offered whether the proposition has inherent merit, whether its promoters are technically capable and financially responsible, whether there is a sufficient public demand to warrant the new service. Naturally, in cases of regularly scheduled services, existing air lines which have won their spurs have a big advantage. And among the active lines the "Big Four" trunk systems-American, United, Eastern, and Transcontinental and Western—which account for 76 per cent of air-line operating revenues, inevitably have a pull over the little fellows.

A vast extension of air-carrier routes is in prospect after the war. Civil airways within the United States at present total around 35,000 miles, with stops at 284 places. To give complete air coverage, according to Edward P. Warner, vice-chairman of the CAB, it would be necessary to increase route mileage to 200,000 and provide for service stops at 3,400 places. Granted that any such development is far in the future, there remains tremendous scope for enlargement of the services currently offered, and, indeed, there will have to be great expansion if civil aviation is to achieve its well-advertised aim of carrying all long-distance first-class mail and 80 per cent of first-class passenger traffic.

But who is to get the business? Are the big lines with their through routes to share the bulk of it by multiplying schedules where the traffic is heavy and by extending their systems so as to include the new local and feeder services? Or are the smaller lines to have an opportunity to catch up by being given first chance where there is competition for a new route or where the growth of business warrants increased service on existing routes?

Again, it is to be anticipated that a good many fliers returning from war service will be interested in getting into the aviation business on their own. Any attempt to restrict the field of air transport to the companies which have already staked out a claim would be bitterly resented. Finally, there is the hotly debated question of the extent, if any, to which surface carriers are to be allowed to take to the air. At present that matter is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, which provides that the Civil Aeronautics Board may permit control of an air carrier by a surface carrier if it "finds that the transaction proposed will promote the public interest and will not restrain competition"; and then only where the proposed service is incidental to the operations of the surface carrier.

The present tendency of the CAB is to interpret this clause far too narrowly to satisfy the railroads, which are pressing for a change in the law. This is one of the reasons why the Lea bill, which was favorably reported on last year by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, has since encountered very heavy weather and is now stranded on the rocks of the Rules Committee. The purpose of this bill is to codify existing aviation laws and to provide for an expanding future. Its two most controversial features are its omission of any mention of the surface carriers, whose ambitions will continue to be curbed by the 1938 act, and its assignment of all authority over "common-carrier" air operations to the federal authority-an attempt to preserve aviation from the regulation by forty-eight different authorities which has so bedeviled road transport.

This proposal to establish the principle that air sovereignty is a federal and not a state attribute has raised the usual clamor about states' rights, and it is under that banner that the Lea bill is being most hotly fought. There is some reason to believe, however, that this agitation is, in part at least, a cover for railroad opposition. In any case the alternative bill introduced by Congressional opponents of the Lea measure would, while preventing surface carriers from engaging directly in air transport, prohibit the denial of an application for an air route on the ground that the application was controlled by a surface company. In other words, the railroads would only have to form subsidiaries in order to gain entrance into the air-transport business.

It is, of course, very natural for the railroads to wish to obtain a share in a new form of transport that threatens to take away some of the cream of their own business. But it does not follow that the public interest would be served by ministering to their desires. The railroads' propaganda line is a clever one. They do not hint, of course, at any desire to dominate the airways; they do not even talk a great deal about their aerial ambitions. Their slogan is the blessed word "integration."

The case is argued in an elaborate brochure, published by the Transportation Association of America, which declares that the "present national policy of compelling competition between modes of transport" is likely to lead to widespread bankruptcy in the common-carrier industry and ultimate government ownership. To avert this catastrophe, the most effective method, it is suggested, would be "to provide for a limited number of competitive transportation companies under private ownership, each being permitted to develop and render all types of services under proper regulation." Such companies should be organized by negotiation between the existing common carriers subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in which all federal regulation would then be centralized.

On the surface this plan provides certain safeguards against monopoly, although the authors of the plan stress that competition between transportation companies should be on the level of services rather than rates. But as Wendell Berge, head of the Department of Justice Anti-Trust Division, showed in his recent statement to

the Senate Military Affairs Committee, railroads have been in the habit of combining not only to block rate reductions but also to discourage the use of improved equipment and the provision of better services.

None of the air lines have shown any disposition to accept the invitation of the railroad spider to walk into its pretty integrated parlor. They have no illusions about the fact that any kind of vertical consolidation would, in view of the enormous disparity between the financial resources of the railroads and of other common carriers, leave the former in full control.

And they are hardly to be blamed for suspecting that the main object of any transportation trust so dominated would be to protect the existing investment of the railroads at all costs.

Rapid expansion of air transport depends primarily on a reduction of charges which will enable travelers and shippers to take advantage of the savings in time made possible by flying. Is it reasonable to suppose that railroad interests would be enthusiastic about reducing airplane fares and freight rates if it meant diverting traffic from the railroads and rendering equipment redundant? Would there not be an irresistible temptation to freeze air charges at levels which would leave flying a luxury and insure the maintenance of railroad rates?

On the other hand, if natural competition between air and surface carriers is stimulated, we can reasonably expect that the latter will find ways and means of cutting costs and prices. In an interview with the Railroad Age (quoted in American Aviation of December 15, 1943) an unnamed railroad executive declared that while some loss of business to the air lines was inevitable, competition could be met by providing faster, more comfortable, and cheaper trains. "Fares," he said, "must be reduced, and I ardently hope that they will be lowered immediately before the railroads empty their trains by incorrect pricing." How much chance would a policy so beneficial to the public have if air lines and railroads were integrated?

To the threat of surface-carrier encroachments the air



lines, large and small, oppose a united front. It is not enough for them, however, to inveigh against the monopolistic designs of the enemy; they need to take more active steps to maintain competition among themselves. One of the most damaging arguments used by the railroad lobby is that the present setup in air transport tends to concentrate traffic in the hands of the trunk systems. The "Big Four" have 23,596 miles of route against 17,314 divided among the twelve others. And as they also cover the most productive territory, each mile yields them three times as much business as the smaller operators can gather per mile.

At a recent hearing before a CAB examining board concerning conflicting claims for the Detroit-St. Louis-Memphis route, a spokesman for the Chicago and Southern Air Lines propounded the theory "that the development of the sound domestic air-transportation system envisaged by the Civil Aeronautics Act requires that the present disparity in size between the Big Four and the twelve other domestic carriers be reduced." In reply Captain E. V. Rickenbacker of Eastern Airlines declared that it would be fatal to build up the small lines at the expense of the large. In allotting routes, he said, the ruling consideration should be which carrier can "most conveniently, efficiently, and economically" provide the service the public needs.

Granted that this must be the standard, the problem the CAB faces is not much nearer to solution. As between large company A and small company B, the former can probably offer better terms to the public at any given moment. But if the big boys are fattened by new business while the little fellows starve on the unprofitable crumbs, will the long-term interests of the public be served? The reasonably probable outcome is that the small companies will go broke or be forced to merge with larger competitors. And this in turn would result in the domination of domestic air transport by a handful of very powerful concerns, which, like most other businesses in a similar situation, would tend to find means of moderating their competition with each other in order to maintain monopolistic standards of profits.

With most types of public utility, competition is either uneconomic or impracticable. But as Oswald Ryan, a member of the CAB, has pointed out, "The inherent characteristics of air transportation, especially its freedom from the necessity of large fixed-property investment, the relatively small amount of capital required in proportion to the volume of the service rendered, and its relatively small fixed costs, make this industry peculiarly adapted to a competitive economy."

If the CAB adopts this view when formulating its general policy in relation to the mass of applications now in hand, it must surely decide to encourage competition to a greater extent than it has done hitherto. It will not leave heavily traveled routes to a single company; it will

give the smaller operators a chance to expand and consolidate their systems; it will open a gate for entrance into the air-transport field by qualified newcomers. Such a policy need not cramp the present leaders, especially if they are permitted to expand overseas. And they ought to be the first to recognize that a certain restraint in their ambitions is the best justification of their demand that the air be left to the airmen."

## 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ROPAGANDA from Germany in behalf of its present government continues to clutter up my desk. . . . I am appealed to on behalf of the Deutsche Auslandsinstitut in Stuttgart with the request that I join them in explaining to the American public what a magnificent thing the Hitler government is. . . This is sent to the publisher and contributing editor of the first American periodical to be excluded from Germany by Adolf Hitler!—oswald Garrison VILLARD, March 7, 1934.

PERSONAL: Consider life for the masses not worth while. Organizing an Anti-Life Society. Members to bring no children into world. Communicate if interested. (ADVT.)—March 14, 1934.

IN AN OBSCURE CORNER of the financial section of the New York *Times* the following interesting item recently appeared: "Alarm over the slowing up of the destruction of coffee in Brazil was allayed in local trade circles yesterday when the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange received a cable dispatch from the National Coffee Department of Brazil stating that there has been no change of policy. . . ."
Who said the depression was over?—*March* 14, 1934.

THE CATHOLIC and landowners' program in Spain is Catholic fascism, but though they have plenty of money they lack the mass base upon which fascism was able to step to power elsewhere, and they are faced by an almost completely united front, such as German and Italian workers were unable to form. The prospect in Spain, therefore, is prolonged, violent civil war, and the outcome is by no means as easy to forecast as it was in Germany or Austria.—

March 21, 1934.

THE NAZI DRIVE to coordinate Austria with Germany is not an end in itself. It is but an initial step in the realization of Nazi dreams of a self-contained Third Reich stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic.—JOHANNES STEEL, March 21, 1934.

THE MACHINE-ART SHOW at the Museum of Modern Art puts ball bearings on black velvet, laboratory glass in rhythmic procession against a calculated light, and springs. propellers, plumbing, and stoves against fine woods and fabrics. . . A screw and a spring and a propeller are surely beautiful, but they are not art unless everything that is beautiful is also to be called art—a tree, a girl, a horse.—ANITA BRENNER, March 28, 1934.

# G. I. in India

UR first thought, when we were assigned to this place, was to try to find it on a map. But it was not on the map we had, or on any of the larger maps of India we bought in town. When we arrived here we understood why.

Our camp was simply a cluster of tents and bamboo huts at the bottom of a valley. It was in a clearing ringed by tea fields and jungle grass. The inhabitants of the nearby villages were dressed in loin cloths and carried long curved knives. It was all rather like a story in the National Geographic. If Osa Johnson had wandered up to say hello, no one would have been surprised.

Instead, our receptionist was a billeting-office sergeant who, like all his kind in the army, seemed terribly harassed and wondered where the hell he was going to put us. He put four of us into a tent so full of holes that we swore it had been meant for a shower bath. The monsoons were on, and it rained almost every day, sometimes without halt for forty-eight or seventy-two hours. We built small platforms for our barracks bags, to keep them off the soaked earth, and arranged our cots so that they were not directly under the holes. But for six weeks, until we moved into bashas with raised brick floors and grass roofs, we never had dry beds or dry clothing. After a while our possessions became a moist, mouldy mass. One morning in disgust I threw away a pipe, a pound of tobacco, and a number of other things I had wanted sufficiently to carry halfway around the world.

Our tent was at the edge of camp, and every day small herds of cows would come to graze on the surrounding grass and on our tent ropes. We had once been at a place where a Burmese ape made a practice of cavorting across the mess table, at another where we had to guard the contents of our mess kits against marauding crows, but the cows were the most irritating of all. Their noisy chewing waked us up, and several times a day one would stick its head under the tent flap and moo.

The valley had been described to us as the "land of three M's"—mud, mosquitoes, and malaria. The description was dismally accurate. The whole valley bottom was thick, brown mud. Trucks moving along what were known euphemistically as roads were visible only above their wheel hubs. The mosquitoes were thick everywhere. One morning a tent-mate found eighteen bites on a small patch of his shoulder which had apparently touched his netting. He had heard somewhere that it took malaria three weeks to develop, and until the time

was up suffered many imagined chills. It was a camp order to sleep under mosquito netting, and to tuck trousers bottoms into socks and roll down shirt sleeves at sundown. Most of the men required little urging. We used our nets as much to keep out flying cockroaches and stray snakes as mosquitoes. One man spent a long morning under his net waiting for a seven-foot cobra to move on.

During our first two months in this place our work schedule consisted of four twelve-hour day shifts followed by four twelve-hour night shifts, with a break of thirty-six hours when we changed over. At fourthirty in the morning we struggled into our damp clothes, walked out through mud and darkness, and usually rain, to the washroom, and from there to the mess hall for breakfast. Breakfast consisted of hotcakes, sausages, and a hot, dark fluid which the cooks sometimes identified as coffee and sometimes as tea. Later there was a gratifying improvement in our cuisine, but during the first month we lived on hotcakes, frankfurters, corned willy, and C ration. After breakfast we climbed into an open truck, and bumped and lurched over four miles of the world's must rutted road to the communications shack where we worked. Often we arrived in a sodden state and had to work in our shorts while our clothes dried. By the time our shift was over the sun would be going down, and the ride back through the tea fields in the soft light of evening was fine-when it did not rain. We had dinner as soon as we got back. and afterward, since there was nothing else to do. went to our tent to write letters. We wrote by lantern light. The lantern attracted swarms of insects. They flew into our faces, settled down on our paper, buzzed distractingly in our ears. We spent twenty minutes flicking them away for every ten minutes of writing. We soon took refuge in our damp but net-protected cots and talked lazily until we fell asleep.

It was a rigorous routine, but we had no acute sense of hardship. What bothered us most, I think, was the monotony and such inconveniences as lighting cigarettes with wet matches and trying to have clothes laundered in a place where the sun was the only drying apparatus and it rained most of the time.

One evening I walked into our tent and found the other fellows laughing over a copy of Life. There was an article in it by Hanson W. Baldwin complaining that American soldiers thought too much of steak and other equally pleasant American institutions, and that they were unwilling to endure hardships. He wondered how well American soldiers would "take it" in m Scottish

commando camp, where men slept on plank beds six feet and some inches long and three feet wide. Several weeks before, our most comfortable bed for sixteen days had been a pile of railroad ties. For the last two of those days the four of us had had only three small cans of cold beans—about three spoonfuls for each of

us a day—and some tea. The memory of it made the stern Mr. Baldwin seem very funny.

[This is the second of a series of intermittent letters which we began publishing last spring under the general title Letters from a Pfc. The author, now a corporal, is a veteran contributor to The Nation.]

# William Allen White

BY LEWIS GANNETT

ILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, who died on January 29, was an American legend. He was the small-town boy who won international fame as small-town editor. Some folks thought of him as a great liberal; he was really great as a super-average American, and he never thought of himself as anything else.

When, in 1895, he borrowed \$3,000 and bought the good-will and equipment of the Emporia Gazette, he knew how to do everything that had to be done in his one-room office. He could set type, feed the press, kick the jobber, keep books, solicit advertising, deliver papers, and write the whole sheet. He was twenty-seven years old, and he had been in the newspaper business, as printer's devil, substitute printer, reporter, and editorial writer, for ten years. He was coming home to the town he was born in, after growing up across the Flint Hills in El Dorado, going to college across the Kaw in Lawrence, and making good in the state capital of Topeka and in the big city of Kansas City, Missouri, across the state boundary.

"The new editor," he wrote in his first owner-editorial, "hopes to live here until he is the old editor. . . . He hopes always to sign 'from Emporia' after his name, when he is abroad. . . . He will support the Republican nominee first, last, and all the time. . . . The main thing is to have this paper represent the average thought of the best people of Emporia and Lyon County."

He was "Will White of Emporia" for thirty-nine years after that, and, except for a detour with Theodore Roosevelt, he always supported the Republican ticket. (He was mugwump enough to support a Democrat, Polk, for governor of Missouri, once, and between elections he was very friendly to both Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.) To the end of his days he stoutly insisted that he wasn't much if any better than, and very little different from, a dozen other Kansas editors; he'd just had more luck.

A year after young Mr. White took over the Gazette, he got into an argument on Commercial Street with a Populist who did not seem to him to be one of the best people of Emporia, and he was pretty mad by the time he arrived at his office desk. So he sat down and wrote

a peppery editorial called What's the Matter with Kansas?—arguing that the matter was poor people, reformers, and assorted hell-raisers. Mark Hanna, the Republican national boss at the time, read it, liked it, and reprinted it by the million to help elect his William McKinley. So doing, Mark Hanna made William Allen White, at twenty-eight, the best-known country-paper editor in the United States, or in the world.

Will White meditated a lot about that editorial in later years. At first he boasted of it; by 1904 he was writing that "there wasn't an original idea or expression in the whole piece; it was merely what had been heard on the streets, in offices, or on trains. It was a mirror of the popular temper at that time." By 1906 he was calling it "paleozoic." Before he died he was ashamed of it, in so far as he was ever ashamed of what he regarded as the normal vagaries of the growing human animal.

He had the courage to grow. And it wasn't just courage; he liked growing. He loved living. On his sixty-fifth birthday he wrote, pretty honestly: "I have never had a bored hour in my life. I get up every morning wondering what new, strange, gorgeous thing is going to happen, and it always happens at fairly reasonable intervals." He said that years before he had seen a banner stretched across the Coney Island boardwalk reading, "Ain't It Grand to Be Bughouse," and that had been his life's motto ever since. That wasn't quite true. He wasn't bughouse; William Allen White's genius was that he was usually one, but seldom two, steps ahead of his fellowmen; he never doubted that Emporia, and Kansas, and the United States would catch up with him next year if not this.

That averageness was one secret of his success. His very unaverage talent for peppery phrase was another. Virtually every young newspaperman in the United States in the last third of a century has dreamed of buying a paper and rivaling William Allen White's success, but, as Mr. White himself often pointed out, even little county-seat newspapers can't be picked up these days for a borrowed \$3,000; and furthermore, most of the would-be super-Whites lack both his invaluable sense of averageness and his actual superiorness. He was always on the

wave length with Emporia. He had no itch, as so many young men of today and yesterday have had, to uplift and alter it; he just wanted to help it grow, and grow with it. He happened also to have a pungent writing talent that helped no end in consolidating his business position in Emporia. He paid off the mortgage the year after Doubleday and McClure, of New York City, published his book "The Court of Boyville"; he bought his Associated Press franchise after Scribner's issued "Stratagems and Spoils"; and the Saturday Evening Post's checks for his In Our Town sketches paid for the Gazette's first linotype machine.

Though he made fame and money outside of Kansas, his faults and his virtues were a part of his Kansasness. The geographical center of the United States is in Kansas, and that's where William Allen White belonged. Russell Fitzgibbon in 1937 collected a bookful of his editorials in "Forty Years on Main Street," and some of them were pretty bad-though Mr. Fitzgibbon didn't print the worst; and Mr. White added footnotes to the book pointing out how very bad some of them were. John T. Flynn, in a recent book, dug up some appalling pieces that Will White wrote during the Spanish War; Hitler himself couldn't have been more blatantly superior-Aryan. That was the mood of the American people at the moment; and White would not have been as effective as he was had he been far out of step with it. He had no talent or taste for the impossible lost cause; he fought his best fights when his people were divided and uncertain and movable-as about the Klan in Kansas in 1924, and about aid to the Allies in 1940-when his not inconsiderable weight could effectively help to tilt the scales.

He was, in other words, a genuine democrat. He believed in people. He expected to grow with the people, not to "make" people grow. And in that he was ably seconded by Sallie Lindsay White. If Will White was the legendary American country editor, Will and Sallie White were the legendary American couple. "I have never made even a secondary decision that we have not canvassed it together and agreed before the decision was made," he wrote on his fortieth wedding anniversary. "Sometimes she had her way, sometimes I had mine. But never until we had worked out what we felt was the truth and the way to go together. In the conduct of the Emporia Gazette she has been a full partner. She can come down to the desk and run the paper as well as I ... and she knows the town better than I do."

What Will White wrote about his daughter Mary, twenty-three years ago, in what is probably the most republished editorial in American newspaper history, was pertinent to Mary's father too. "She was the happiest thing in the world. And she was happy because she was enlarging her horizons," he wrote. "She was mischievous without malice, as full of faults as an old shoe. No angel was Mary White, but an easy girl to live with, for she

never nursed a grouch five minutes in her life." Nor did her father.

If I'm right that Will White's genius was his superaverageness, it's a pretty proud thing to be able to say about Emporia, Kansas, and the U. S. A. But it isn't an encouraging phenomenon for neurotic intellectuals in the cities who dream of reforming the country by means of country newspapers, bought cheap.

### In the Wind

A FRENCHMAN WHO RECENTLY arrived in New York brings this story from the underground. A Nazi colonel in Paris bought a newspaper from the same boy every day. The boy always said, "Voici le journal, grand con." Those last two words are a filthy term of abuse, which The Nation leaves untranslated to spare the sensibilities of the Postmaster General. The colonel asked a French acquaintance the meaning of con, which he could not find in any dictionary. The Frenchman, thinking fast to save the newsboy, told him it was an abbreviation of conquérant. Next day, when the newsboy used the term, the colonel patted him on the shoulder and said, "Non. Je suis le petit con. Le grand con c'est Hitler."

THE PLANNING BOARD of Nutley, New Jersey, has submitted to the Town Commission an agreement which post-war residential builders would be required to sign. One of its provisions reads: "No person belonging to any race except persons of pure Caucasian blood shall use or occupy any dwelling house erected on any lot, except that this covenant shall not be construed to prevent the occupancy by domestic servants of a different race when actually employed by the owner or tenant of any such premises."

THE COMMUNIST PRESS is not what it used to be. The New Masses criticizes I. F. Stone for deploring Roosevelt's omission of the Wagner Act from his list of New Deal accomplishments, and the Daily Worker comments thus on Henry Wallace's Seattle speech: "Vice-President Wallace unfortunately doesn't help the struggle against the anti-Teheran elements by his general attack on Wall Street. The widest kind of national unity is necessary to defeat them, including clear-headed business men from Wall Street."

AN ARTICLE on the renegotiation law in the Railway Clerk quotes Maurice H. Karker, chairman of the War Department's Price Adjustment Board: "In reaching a conclusion we allow an adequate margin of profit, plus a margin of generosity, plus a margin for good measure."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A current joke in Prague is that war daylight-saving time was introduced not to save an hour of daylight but to permit the Nazis to stay in the city an hour longer on the day of their defeat.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

BILLIE CAN

# Can We Make Use of Hirohito?

BY EDWARD HUNTER

NITED STATES forces have made their first conquest of Japanese territory, American warships have bombarded at least the northernmost fringe of what the Japanese regard as their mainland, and "a Pearl Harbor in reverse" has been inflicted upon the great South Pacific base of Truk. The recent shake-up in the Japanese high command is good proof that the leaders of Japan recognize the seriousness of the military situation.

I fear, however, that their confidence in ultimate victory has not been shaken. As long as the Emperor sits upon his throne, supported by American propaganda, they know that military defeat can be made a temporary condition, a matter of a few decades of renewed preparation. As long as the Emperor is inviolate, Japan will not admit that it has been truly conquered, whether it officially accepts Allied terms of unconditional surrender or not. The Japanese people are patient. Defeat may jolt their pride; it may deprive them of land and resources. But if their man-god sovereign is permitted to lead them, then the road to world domination, though it be long and hard, lies straight ahead. Reverses mean only that faith has not been sufficiently strong to carry Japan to its final destination, and faith must be revived. This was the fundamental concept of Emperor Meiji, the creator of modern Japan. His minister, Hotta, proclaimed it when a department of foreign affairs was set up in 1858. "In establishing relations with foreign countries the object should always be kept in view of laying the foundations for securing the hegemony of Japan over all nations. . . . To have such a ruler over the whole world is without doubt in conformity with the will of heaven."

This "will of heaven" still governs the Japanese Foreign Office. Any compromise peace we might make would be an invitation to further aggression, an overture to new Pearl Harbors. In discussing the question of Allied political policy toward Japan, Dr. Sun Fo, son of the founder of the Chinese Republic, recently said that there can be no decisive victory over Japan unless "the Emperor and the cult of Emperor worship" are swept away, along with "the military caste and its officer cadre." The Japanese people, he pointed out, will no more be able to maintain peace in the future than they have been in the past "if the Emperor remains a divine institution and Emperor worship the state religion." China once had a Son of Heaven of its own, who lives in the memories of hun-

dreds of Chinese. They know how distorted is the reasoning which would perpetuate such an anachronism.

When Japanese leaders examine the transcripts of American short-wave broadcasts and propaganda leaflets, it is not difficult for them to detect the reverent attitude which we assume toward Hirohito whenever we mention him, or to note that we usually go out of our way not to mention him at all. They can conclude, and justly, that our diplomatic and military forces have been warned to take no action, verbal or otherwise, against the Japanese Emperor. This policy of respectful silence is never violated by the Office of War Information, either in broadcasts to Asia or in propaganda for home consumption. In an article published in the New York Herald Tribune on December 13, 1942, Wilfred Fleisher, who has spent many years in Japan as a foreign correspondent, quoted Elmer Davis as saying that our propaganda made no reference to Hirohito "because of a policy laid down by the State Department." Those who administer American foreign affairs, the article continued, feel that Hirohito "may yet play a useful role in the peace to follow Japan's defeat." Our deference toward Hirohito, therefore, it said, was not merely a military expedientthe usual apology for political action-but the cornerstone of the post-war structure we want to set up in Asia.

Mr. Fleisher's statements were substantiated last November 15 by the Washington correspondent of the New York Journal-American. "The suggestion," this correspondent said, "that the 'high standing' of the Emperor in the affections of his people would make him an admirable democratic figurehead has been tossed out to news correspondents of late by officials whose duties carry them frequently into the White House."

Immediately after the United States declared war upon Japan, the government began to censor speeches in which the Japanese Emperor was criticized. Indeed, American propaganda short-waved across the Pacific has actually attempted to boost the stock of the Japanese Emperor in the eyes of his subjects. We have placed the entire responsibility for Japan's aggressiveness upon temporary figures like Premier Tojo, who can be replaced overnight without altering a single aspect of imperial policy. And we have implied time and again that Japan's militarists have acted contrary to the wishes of the Emperor. "On some future day known only to the gods," said Senator Elbert Thomas, in a short-wave broadcast prepared for the OWI, "the Japanese people may again bring forth

the red-and-white victory lanterns. . . . That victory will commemorate the defeat of all Japanese militarists and the return of the Japanese people to the ideals of His Imperial Majesty-the Tenno."

Can we blame the Japanese people, then, for cherishing the comforting thought that if and when the war turns decisively against them, all they need to do is drop a few well-known generals and admirals, and lo, they may return to the status quo of December 6, 1941?

The idea that His Imperial Majesty is a mere puppet in the hands of his generals is either wishful thinking or a deliberate distortion of the facts. Members of the Emperor's family are in active service and hold key military positions. Imperial military headquarters have been established inside the Emperor's palace in Tokyo. There the attack against us was planned, and there decisive policy and strategy are made. John Goette, a veteran American correspondent in the Far East, reported in "Japan Fights for Asia" that Japanese imperial headquarters frankly stated in a broadcast on March 8, 1943, that the general plan of the war against the United States and Great Britain had been submitted to the Emperor for his approval. Hallett Abend, long the Far Eastern correspondent of the New York Times, wrote recently that Hirohito "is directly responsible for Japan's military adventures. He knows of his army's excesses and its offenses against civilians, and more than that, he approves of them." Abend quoted a Japanese consul general in Shanghai as saying that when he described the Japanese rape and pillage in Nanking, the Emperor listened eagerly and approvingly, demanding sadistic details.

Hirohito enunciated his policy in an imperial rescript when the Japanese-German-Italian pact was signed: "It is the bequeathed instruction of our imperial ancestors that justice be enhanced in all directions and the whole universe be placed under one roof. This instruction is the one that we are faithfully observing day and night." The "instruction" of Hirohito's "imperial ancestors" was contained in a proclamation by the Emperor Jimmu, who ruled Japan twenty-six centuries ago. It is recorded in the "Nihongi." "Hereafter," Jimmu said when he established his capital, "the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof."

This conception, known as Hakko Ichiu, is the official policy of Japan, unalterable as long as the Japanese imperial system exists. "The co-prosperity sphere in the Far East," declared Foreign Minister Matsuoka in a Diet session, "is based on the spirit of Hakko Ichiu, or the Eight Corners of the Universe Under One Roof. It is not that America's leaders can't understand this, but that they don't try to understand it."

Try to understand it we must if we are ever to admit Japan into the community of nations. We must understand that the tribal teachings of orthodox imperial Shintoism are responsible for the threat that Japan offers to all other peoples of the world; that the power of the Emperor derives not from any qualities of his own but from the holy garb in which the national religion has vested him: that while he holds the scepter the world will not be safe from Japanese conquest by divine command.



The Son of Heaven

The fear that insurmountable chaos would follow the overthrow of the Emperor is exaggerated and defeatist. The Japanese are no more deeply imbued with a belief in the necessity of an imperial system than were the Chinese hardly a generation ago. Moreover, a Japanese tradition will have been broken by this war, if we avoid appeasement—the tradition that Japanese soil never has been and never will be "desecrated" by foreign invasion. Allied and Chinese troops will march down Tokyo's Ginza. The Japanese have been indoctrinated with the idea that the Chinese are inferiors, to be despised. Chinese soldiers in Japan, victorious, cannot fail to arouse the deepest emotion in the breast of every Japanese peasant. That, indeed, will be something the simplest among them will be able to understand.

A Free Japan movement, a movement for a Japanese republic, will start spontaneously as the result of such a shock. The Allies can foster it by pursuing a statesmanlike policy. By subjecting Japanese people interned or resident within our borders to a vigorous propaganda campaign, we can gain powerful allies to further the republican cause in Japan. By maintaining an intelligent system of military government in Japan until a system considered safe for world peace has been established, we can supply the necessary impetus to the creation of a truly democratic regime. Moreover, we can make the Japanese "liberals" of whom Ambassador Grew and others have spoken in such hopeful terms into real liberals, not pretenders who use liberalism as a political mask. These "liberals" have been tainted by orthodox Shintoism more profoundly than Americans suppose. When Japan is freed of Shintoism with its worship of the Emperor, the "liberals" too will be freed, and will be able to assume an active role in the development of a progressive democracy.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, are practical about their gods. If one god does not answer a man's prayers, he is replaced by another. The Japanese have a host of gods and many religions. Many individuals, in fact, profess several religions. I have met persons who insisted that they were Christians, Shintoists, and Buddhists, all at once. The Emperor is a god because he has succeeded. Let him fail and he will be dispossessed—unless the United States government takes it upon itself to polish the jewels of the crown.

# Behind the Enemy Line BY ARGUS

ANY prisoners of war from General Giraud down have escaped from Germany. Many stories about their escapes have been published in the newspapers. But none of them have contained any suggestion of the facts which a French officer who fled from Germany in the summer of 1943 confided to a Swiss newspaper, the St. Gall Tagblatt, and which that newspaper printed on February 2. The gist of the officer's surprising story is that the French war prisoners and forced laborers in Germany have a well-organized "resistance movement," that messengers go back and forth constantly between the prison camps and the "resistance" in France, and that the movement receives continuous aid from German sympathizers.

The officer who reports these facts escaped from the *Stalag* at Königsberg, but in the course of his three years' imprisonment he had been in several other camps, and he says that the same thing went on in them all. "The French resistance," he declares, "is perhaps more tightly organized in Germany than at home." He speaks of "central committees" in each camp and of a directing head on French soil.

What this organization actually accomplishes remains obscure. For the moment it seems to do little except try to keep up the spirits of the prisoners and maintain and increase its own strength. To further both aims, the officer writes, "we concentrated our efforts on one thing":

To prevent our work from being isolated, from being carried on, so to speak, in a vacuum, we had to form permanent connections with the resistance at home. The task before us was complicated and difficult. It was necessary to establish n liaison between the various camps, a liaison with the civilian workers, a liaison with the home country and with Algiers.

In order to make these liaisons, delegates are continually being helped to flee from the camps. In recent months an average of eleven persons a day is said to have escaped from all the camps in Germany. They make their way to France, but not to remain there permanently; "only to inform the maquis [the underground] of our

activities and proposals and then to carry back to the prisoners of war word of the activities and decisions of the home front. In order to do this, the messengers, after fulfilling their mission in France, return to Germany in the guise of civilian workers."

But the most interesting part of the officer's story is his account of a widespread German organization which cooperates with the French prisoners:

Of course the whole scheme requires a vast network of branches which can procure false identity cards, money, clothing, and food. Had we not been able to rely on the active help of German workers and soldiers, nothing could have been accomplished. I left many good friends among the Germans when, one stifling summer night, we cut the barbed wire of the Stalag at an unguarded place and left the camp.

Our officer even goes so far as to intimate that the military police gives them some aid, at least to the extent that it does not allow the Gestapo to destroy their organization.

The Gestapo [he says] has exact information about the organization, which has been in existence for two years, but the military police, which has jurisdiction over the prison camps, does not tolerate any interference from the Gestapo, and thus the latter is unable to do anything.

The author of this report did not return to Germany. "An order came from Algiers not to leave the country, as a great task was before us. We have therefore stayed in France and become soldiers of the resistance army."

In one respect, he says, a marked cleavage exists between the French resistance, one may say the French people, and the escaped prisoners of war:

We soon realized that our attitude toward the Germans was very different from that of the people at home. We had seen Germans in their own homes, their daily sufferings, their weakness, and their fear of the future. But in the mind of the average Frenchman under the cruel occupation regime a German means the Gestapo. Whereas our hatred is directed chiefly against the collaborationists and profiteers, the hatred of Frenchmen at home is concentrated on the occupying nation.

These different points of view naturally caused tension between us prisoners of war and the members of the resistance movement within France.

So much for the officer's report. The writer of this column wishes to emphasize that he cannot test any of its statements, but that the St. Gall Tagblatt is not an irresponsible or sensational newspaper. It should be added that the French officer—obviously a Communist—is as wrong to form his judgment of Germans from a few sympathetic individuals as are those who form theirs from the most obnoxious specimens. With this reservation, his story seems important enough to be reprinted here.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

### The Dancing Star

GARCIA LORCA. By Edwin Honig. New Directions. \$1.50.

EDWIN HONIG'S book on García Lorca is conscientious, systematic, scholarly, and not a little pedestrian. But Lorca's own brilliance is sufficiently intense to offset considerable dullness on the part of his interpreters; moreover, Mr. Honig quotes him copiously, both in the original and in his own translations, which while not exactly inspired are accurate enough and adequate to give the general idea.

Both as regards biographical and bibliographical detail Mr. Honig presents, compactly, more material than has so far appeared in any book on Lorca in English. This material makes up Mr. Honig's opening chapter. In the second he traces, painstakingly, the poet's heritage, going back in his search as far as the eleventh century. He might have gone back even farther, for Quintilian, writing of Roman writers who originated in Spain, makes comments that indicate that certain elements, familiar in the pattern, were fixed even in his day; and, for that matter, who knows what archetypal strains of cante jondo may not have risen round Hannibal's campfires in the night, before Saguntum, or along the Ebro? From the eleventh century Mr. Honig traces the line through the period of the Golden Age, from Lope de Vega and the double spell of Góngora, through the gipsy influence of the fifteenth century, all the way to the transmarine impact of Rubén Darío and the trans-Pyreneean attractions of French classicism, symbolism, Parnassianism, and surrealism.

Lorca's work, in Mr. Honig's opinion, is readily divided into two periods, one from 1918 to 1930, the other from 1930 to his death in 1936. To the first period belongs most of the poetic composition; to the second, the dramatic. To each of these periods Mr. Honig devotes two chapters; it is clear that he considers the dramatic work the more important, but he is careful to show that the course of development was not single monolinear advance, but that there was a good deal of interaction, a simultaneous advance on several levels, as well as periods of distraction, regression, and confusion. Mr. Honig's last two chapters are devoted to summation. "The secret," he writes, "of Lorca's whole art is that as a poet he had an overwhelming impulsion to supplement the written word by a union of various artistic media; and that despite the consequences to which this led him, he succeeded in remaining primarily a poet."

Reading Mr. Honig's book, one is impressed, more than ever, with the fact that the trouble with Lorca—I use the phrase in its most literal sense, without derogatory connotation—was that he was so many kinds of thing at once. In answer to some political questionnaire, he once wrote, intending to be facetious, that he was a Catholic, Communist, Anarchist, Libertarian, Traditionalist, and Monarchist. But there's many a true word spoken in jest; and he might have added that he was also Granadan and globe-trotter; classicist and surrealist; man and woman; cinéaste, painter, musician (one hopes that some scholar, some time, will collect his com-

positions), lyricist, and dramatist; as well as student of philosophy and the law. Few artists in our time could have declared so truly, "Nihil humanum alienum a me puto."

But whether this is entirely good for the artist in our time is another question. Our Alexandrian culture, with its insistence on multiplicity, on specialization, pervades even those feudal, those medieval, areas which would seem strong enough to put up more than token resistance. The Leonardolike man is none of its requirement; and the artist like Lorca, whose energy responds so abundantly to any stimulus, is hard put to use all, without subduing any, of his potential talents. Like Yeats, whom Lorca surpasses in variety, he could be distracted occasionally, if never long detained, by phony seductions; unlike Yeats, he did not have to contend with a conflict against official religion. He could hardly have endured, with all his energy, much more conflict than he had to face. Mr. Honig seems to feel that in his later work with the poetic dramas he was making progress toward peaks of integration far beyond those attained in the "Romancero Gitano." Still, one is not too sure of this, not too sure that the extravagance might not have become, before too long, wearisome and self-defeating, and that Lorca might not have turned, in new directions, toward a simplicity and austerity, subsumed, as with Yeats, by all he had ever learned and much that he thought he had forgotten. What renunciations he would have had to make, what reconciliation he might have won, the Fascist bullet saved him the trouble of learning. But in his thirty-seven years what brilliance, what tenderness, what grace, music, perception, gaiety flowered from his confusion! ROLFE HUMPHRIES

### Heiden's Hitler

DER FUEHRER: HITLER'S RISE TO POWER. By Konrad Heiden. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

UP TO the early thirties people in Germany looked on Hitler and his movement as typical Munich buffoonery. The educated did not feel called on to pay them much attention. Not until the party's success at the polls in 1930 and 1931 were they aware that something serious was afoot. Then they asked: What is this thing? What are these men?

A young writer was able to give an immediate answer. Ten years before, as a student at the University of Munich, Konrad Heiden had wrestled with Hitler's first followers. Even at that early stage of the movement he had felt impelled to gather all the information he could about Hitler and his enterprise. So now he had enough material to describe them to a curious public—in the first critical monograph on Hitler and his party. Shortly before the Nazis came to power he brought out "Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus" ("The History of National Socialismus").

Since then Heiden has written the same book several times, a book about the beginnings of Hitler and the Nazi Party. The second time it was called "Die Geburt des



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Nationalsozialismus" ("The Birth of National Socialism"), and the story was carried to 1933. The third time, in "Hitler, a Biography," it was continued through the murder of Röhm in the summer of 1934. With this event "The Führer" now also ends. It is therefore the author's fourth presentation of the same early phase of National Socialism, a phase which ended ten years ago. The advantages which the book owes to this fact are obvious: the writer is well acquainted with the available material, and his literary skill has remarkably improved. The disadvantages are not less real. For an author who has stuck to certain interpretations for many years does not find it easy to revise them. In this case some of the interpretations were hardly acceptable when they first appeared. They are still less so today. And while the space allotted to this review might be used to acknowledge the book's excellences, it seems better to point out its disputable elements, which in fact touch basic questions.

Among these is a persistent overestimation of Hitler. In spite of Heiden's aversion to the "Anti-Christ" who is his hero, he cherishes an immense admiration for him, "As a human figure lamentable, as a political mind one of the most tremendous phenomena of all world history" is his verdict. Expressions of extravagant though hostile respect for Hitler's political ability are sprinkled all through the book. "Almost unerring feeling," "greatness of will," "unquestionable intellectual power," "uncanny acuteness" are only a few of the qualities ascribed to the "man of genius" in the domain of politics. "Greatness emanating from human

nullity" is the formula used to sum him up.

That is an amazing combination, and in order to make it credible Heiden conducts the reader on many explorations into the depths of Hitler's soul. On page after page he describes the reflections, the sensations, the conflicts, and the illuminations which at times of stress are supposed to have agitated Hitler's consciousness and subconsciousness. But even if these psychological vignettes were jewels of art and logic, they would still lack convincingness. They are entirely synthetic. Despite vague hints to the contrary, Heiden has had no more access than anyone else to documents or other evidence that would afford a glimpse of Hitler's soul. He has deduced Hitler's political genius from one single fact—the fact of Hitler's success. There was never any manifestation of this alleged greatness except his success, never any other proof of it. The tendency to infer genius from success is widespread, and in Hitler's case this inference was drawn for many years by all the world. But where is that success now, in 1944?

For years the tremendous political mind of Adolf Hitler has reeled from failure to failure. Even his political acts have long been demonstrably impotent, imbecile, suicidal. What is left therefore of the hypothesis of his matchless "calculating intelligence"? Some day archives and witnesses will give up their secrets. The "sensational new material" that today definitely does not exist will then really come to light. Then we shall see verified the obvious conclusion that Hitler has been successful not because of his greatness in one respect but in spite of his nullity in every respect.

Incidentally, about other things too we shall undoubtedly get information at variance with this book. For it is not only as a political leader that the Führer fascinates his biog-

rapher. There is a tendency to enhance his stature in other fields. While highly doubtful material is often made use of if it is favorable to Hitler, more authentic material unfavorable to him is ignored. Speculations about Hitler's sexual life should not omit all reference to one of the few definitely known facts-namely, his collection of pornographic pictures, which was mentioned in an official report of the French ambassador, François-Poncet. In a consideration of the blinding of the brave soldier Hitler by poison gas, it should be stated that the hospital diagnosed the blindness as "hysterical." When conclusions are drawn from the socalled "Hindenburg will," there should be mention of the fact that this document is strongly suspected of being a pure falsification. But whatever the archives may yield about such side issues, it is already certain that they will not reveal any political genius in Hitler. Among the important things we have learned from the Hitler episode is that in the domain of politics the dullest idiots, through a concatenation of extraordinary circumstances, can become men of destiny. Portraits representing Hitler with the features of greatness dilute this truth, which is as significant as it is terrifying. Indeed, such portraits are not a little dangerous. They can contribute to the survival or the rebirth of a Hitler myth after Hitler's end.

Another aspect of the book is still less acceptable. It unrolls a consistently false picture of Hitler's historical background, the same picture that German nationalists have been successfully propagating for two decades. The thesis is that after the Reich had the bad luck to lose a world war it was constantly, arbitrarily, and unnecessarily mistreated, held down, and snubbed-the implication being that the victors of 1918 are therefore themselves to blame for what followed. The book does not offer a forthright defense of this thesis but suggests it on almost every page. For example, it describes Poland and Czechoslovakia as "states against Germany, to characterize them by their origin." Their mere existence was a kind of attack upon the Reich: "Like two daggers, Poland and Czechoslovakia thrust into Germany, menacing Berlin at a distance of less than 140 miles." That is going pretty far!

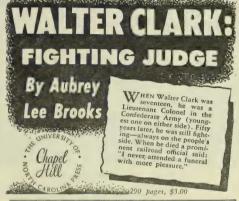
Sometimes Germany's sufferings as they are pictured here are scarcely understandable. What, for instance, is meant by the statement that Germany was obliged to live in "frustrated self-determination"? As a matter of fact, very soon after 1919 the Reich could do as it liked in internal affairs—except, theoretically, in military matters. But perhaps the phrase is one of those metaphors which have no exact meaning but which sound impressive. They occur frequently in the book. The depression of the thirties is changed into something more metaphysical—"the decline of the economic age"; Brüning tried to "preserve the economic age." There are many such "true children of the German political fantasy," to make use of Heiden's own expression.

But on other points the author is not at all vague. For weaker nations to try to insure their existence against Germany by defensive alliances was wanton provocation. They had no moral right to any damages from Germany. The reparations were ruinous. When after their cancelation in 1932 a token debt of three billion marks was left on the books—about as much as Hitler spends for one week

# The story of a queat dissenter"

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- · for the property rights of women
- against monopolies
- against child labor
- for rule by statute, not by judges





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of war-this microscopic residuum was still a "considerable sum." That all the money paid was actually money borrowed abroad is called "too simple." That Germany destroyed the value of its own currency is branded as untrue. That the great depression was less severe in Germany than in the United States is ignored. Even absolutely established facts, which are not open to any different interpretation, appear in the distorted form given them by German propaganda. The French, in particular Marshal Foch, it has been established, demanded in 1919 that the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine be placed under the protection of a permanent British-American-French police force. According to Heiden, "Marshal Foch demanded the left bank of the Rhine for France." The French, knowing their inherent weakness, fought for the formation of a League of Nations army, the retention of conscription in both Anglo-Saxon countries, and the continued presence of large Anglo-Saxon armies on the Continent. According to Heiden, they fought arrogantly for "France's military hegemony over Europe." Hitler wrote that the First World War "was desired by the whole German people"; we hear now that "the last war at its outbreak was welcomed by nearly all nations." And so forth and so forth.

The evening that I finished reading this book President Roosevelt, just back from Teheran, spoke over the radio of the fifteen-year-long "pathetic whining" of the Germans after 1918, by which the other nations, "full of the milk of human kindness," were induced to undertake "well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments." "Those tragic mistakes," he said, "shall not be made again." I think that the President's ideas not only are closer to the truth than those of "The Führer" but have a better prospect of being carried out.

The question remains, what those who view German affairs as Heiden does will have to say about the settlement that is now drawing near. What thesis, more particularly, will they propagate inside Germany?

LEOPOLD SCHWARZSCHILD

### Man and Food

MAN'S FOOD, ITS RHYME OR REASON. By Mark Graubard. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

THE author, a research associate in the Department of Biology at Clark University, approaches his subject with knowledge and a strong social conscience. It is his social conscience which gives the book its unique quality. To study dietetics as a branch of physiology is one thing; but to apply such knowledge to the feeding of men, women, and children is quite another.

My guess is that Graubard has steeped himself not too deeply but certainly with enthusiasm in Russian dialectics, and in the writings of such Englishmen as Haldane and Bernal. To a large extent it is this point of view which gives Graubard's book the distinctive quality it possesses, for if it is argued that one may go a little too far with this "social-conscience" business, Graubard may well answer that by neglecting it—as many of our food "experts" do so consistently—little can in reality be accomplished. The author is

therefore justified in stressing the view that our leaders in the field must not only be authorities on the subject of nutrition but also be mindful of man's attitude toward food (which presupposes some familiarity with anthropology and religion) and of social factors which influence the choice of food (matters within the scope of economics and social social factors).

A simple illustration centers in the use of meat. Provided it is hygienically prepared, meat is an excellent source of protein—better than proteins derived from most vegetable sources, though no better than the proteins found in fish, in milk and its products, and in eggs. We have no scientific evidence that the protein found in beef is any better or any worse than that found in pork, in mutton, in horse meat, in dog meat, in fowl, or in game. Yet the religion of the Hindu forbids him to eat beef, and the religion of the Jew forbids him to touch pork, and the religion of the Brahmer forbids him to eat any kind of meat, and the prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon prevents him from enjoying horse meat.

And then again, assuming little prejudice, how can we ignore the problems of scarcity and of want—of poor crops, of bad distribution, of inadequate income, not to speak of ignorance and of popular misinformation, wilful or otherwise?

Graubard's book, then, serves a purpose which few books on nutrition can claim. We must know more about food, to be sure; but in order to get most out of such knowledge, we must also know more about man.

The general criticism of the book is that the writing is somewhat awkward. Such sentences as the following are not uncommon: "It is precisely because they [vitamins and minerals] are effective in small amounts that we may slip up in their delivery to the body, miss their physiological function and suffer severe consequences."

But there are also professional inaccuracies which cannot go unchallenged. On page 10 we are told that instinct alone guides rats to a proper choice of food, and on page 33 we are warned against leaning too heavily on instinct. Instinct alone is an insufficient guide; in fact, it is often a very treacherous guide. The paragraph devoted to the relation of diet and resistance to disease may be made much clearer by stating that resistance is always lowered whenever there is a deficiency in the diet. I doubt whether by merely changing their eating habits-a change "dictated by science"-"80 to 90 per cent of our malnourished population would have the means of obtaining a good diet." Here, surprisingly enough, Graubard treats the economic problem much too lightly. Fruits and vegetables are valuable not merely because they contain ascorbic acid. And the author plays directly into the hands of the unscrupulous advertiser when he tells us that large doses of ascorbic acid "have been proved to be beneficial" in colds and infections.

Far more credit should be given to Funk's pioneer work in the vitamin field than either Graubard or others have given it; and though Williams deserves honor for his researches into the chemistry of thiamine, Professor Clarke, of Columbia, should certainly not be ignored.

Where, I ask myself, did Graubard get the information that iron is a direct cure for pernicious anemia—a statement repeated on several occasions? On page 69 the author speaks



# Letter to a P.O.W.

WILL YOU WRITE a letter to a Prisoner of War... tonight?

Perhaps he was left behind when Bataan fell. Perhaps he had to bail out over Germany. Anyway, he's an American, and he hasn't had a letter in a long, long time.

And when you sit down to write, tell him why you didn't buy your share of War Bonds last pay day—if you didn't.

"Dear Joe," you might say, "the old topcoat was getting kind of threadbare, so I..."

No, cross it out. Joe might not understand about the topcoat, especially if he's shivering in a damp Japanese cell.

Let's try again. "Dear Joe, I've been working pretty hard and haven't had a vacation in over a year, so ..."

Better cross that out, too. They don't ever get vacations where Joe's staying.

Well, what are you waiting for? Go ahead, write the letter to Joe. Try to write it, anyhow.

But, if somehow you find you can't finish that letter, will you do this for Joe? Will you up the amount of money you're putting into your Payroll Savings Plan—so that you'll be buying your share of War Bonds from here on in? And will you—for Joe's sake—start doing it right away?

Space contributed by
THE PUBLISHER OF THE NATION

of "starches and carbohydrates" when probably what was meant was "starch and other carbohydrates"; for is not starch a carbohydrate?

Casein as such is not "suspended in the form of fine particles" in milk, for the casein is in combination with calcium. In fact, the casein, insoluble in water, appears as such only when the milk becomes sour or is deliberately acidified.

On the whole, Graubard has written a challenging book, and it deserves wide attention.

BENJAMIN HARROW

### Fiction in Review

THE HUNTED" by Albert J. Guerard (Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.50) has rather more to say than most current novels; indeed, it is good enough to make one wish it were better. Mr. Guerard writes about the kind of people he seems to understand from experience, he is knowledgeable about life, and he tells his story by means of dramatic action. Perhaps one of the defects of his book is an excess of drama: there is surely an over-contrivance of plot which makes even his title too obvious. The main theme of "The Hunted" is the fate of a young singing waitress who marries a decadent poet-professor and comes to live in a narrow New England college town. To this primary narrative Mr. Guerard subjoins the story of a young fugitive from the law, a strange figure called the Bomber. At first, for the sake of sensation, both the professor's wife and the Bomber are taken up by the less reliable college element, but eventually-even inevitably-this disreputable society joins hands with bigoted respectability to betray and hound the two outcasts. Mr. Guerard's psychological girl-hunt, in other words, is very melodramatically underscored by his physical man-hunt, and the interweaving of the two narratives reveals the potential violence that lies behind what might otherwise be thought of as mere social snobbery. The trouble is that Mr. Guerard's man-hunt overstates his girl-hunt, and the girl-hunt reduces the pure terror of his man-hunt. The doubling of motifs, that is, works out to weaken the impact of each of them.

It is also a weakness of Mr. Guerard's book that, for all the author's obvious sympathetic interest in people, its leading characters turn out not to be finally very interesting. But this is a common failure in fictional people, and probably as little susceptible of explanation, except in terms of the creative chemistry, as the failure of perfectly plausible people to hold our interest in real life.

On the other hand, "The Hunted" is impressive, despite its shortcomings, because Mr. Guerard has something very important to communicate about American social psychology at the level just below political action. His picture of American college-fraternity life—its anarchy, its sensation-seeking, and its sexual cruelty—is more than a little disturbing and very convincing. We are used to the note of social horror in Southern novels; the existence of a comparable gentlemanly degeneracy in other parts of the country has yet to announce itself very loud in our fiction, though the fact that it does exist comes to us by way of hearsay, certain newspaper stories, and the intuition we often have of peculiarly native devil lurking beneath our more arrogant humors. Mr. Guerard doesn't weaken his novelistic case by naming the likely politi-

cal outlet for this kind of anarchic energy, but sections of his book are as frightening as the sound of marching feet in early Hitler Germany.

Although I don't usually like tall tales, I very much enjoyed George Sessions Perry's "Hackberry Cavalier" (The Viking Press, \$2.50). Mr. Perry is a most disarming spinner of yarns: he not only writes a superior prose but flatters you out of countenance by assuming that you too are generous enough to accept his generous lies. The Hackberry Cavalier is a young Texan of good family who has a weakness for inexpensive people and pleasures and for flamboyant fights. I can recommend his company for any blue Monday; and I especially recommend Mr. Perry's stories to readers of Jesse Stuart's "Taps for Private Tussie," a book which also deals with primitive people. Mr. Perry's fun is so much nicer and more decent.

### The Function of Philosophy

THE USES OF REASON. By Arthur E. Murphy. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

A BOOK of this sort is inevitably twice damned. Not only will the scholar condemn it for its cavalier handling of delicate issues, but the common reader—the "everyday, intelligent person"—to whom it is explicitly addressed and whom it might conceivably enlighten, will find much of it intolerably abstract. Every act of mediation tends, if successful, to betray both sides; Professor Murphy has intentionally diluted his wisdom, which is obviously great, but he none the less fails to produce a truly potable beverage.

His book, however, is in many ways extremely fine. The role of mediator is apparently habitual with him, as with most philosophers, and it takes various shapes. For example, defending reason against its current critics and opponents, he is perceptive enough not to remain uninfluenced by the people he aims to confute. His book, in consequence, treats contemporary questions without that false detachment, so common nowadays, which really amounts to evasion. Indeed, the unifying theme of the book is its criticism of the diverse forms which this evasion, this 'irresponsibility,' has taken.

Dogmatism of course is one form, and Dr. Murphy's initial concern is to equate reason with factual inquiry, to dissociate it, that is, from utility on the one hand and metaphysics on the other. But turning to the moral role of reason he finds that science, or rather a common misconception of science, has been even more baneful than theology: theology has at least affirmed the reality of ideals, while science, by ignoring them, has seemed altogether to negate them.

A firm proponent of science, Professor Murphy is convinced that science is not negative morally but neutral: it seems to negate our ideals only when we cease to view it within its own limited context. Professor Murphy traces some of the moral failures and perversions of our time to this false notion of science—cynicism and indifference on the one hand, and unscrupulousness and brutality on the other. What is therefore needed, however, is not less reason but more, for the moral value of reason is that it enables men "to discover what is true and use their knowledge to clarify and strengthen their common interests through co-

operative activity that can complete itself in a common good, . . . The refusal to make this distinction between right and wrong is a failure to face issues rationally, with due regard for factors essential to their just evaluation." "Absolutism" and "relativism" are therefore both wrong, or at best "half-truths." For though ideals are not "metaphysically sanctioned," or indeed in any scientific sense "objective," they are none the less "publicly justifiable within a community whose common concerns they bring to reasonable expression and adjudication. . . ."

A very able controversialist, Professor Murphy is of course aware that discussions of this sort almost invariably beg the question; and in the final section of the book he defends his conclusions by explaining the general purpose of philosophic thought. His view is that of Whitehead, whom he quotes: "Philosophy is an attempt to clarify those fundamental beliefs which finally determine the emphasis of attention that lies at the base of character." In his own words, "it concerns our basic or ultimate commitments." And if we question the value or authority of such a discipline, he has an excellent reply: "We shall have philosophical commitments in any case; . . . the discipline of philosophy is the means of making them intelligently, adequately . . ."

It is impossible not to agree largely with this position. Reason clarifies both our preferences and their grounds, and makes possible their fulfilment. To say this in almost any other age than our own, Professor Murphy implies, would be gratuitous. Yet, as he suggests, reason is authoritative only for those who sense the need and value of justifying their beliefs. For the moral value of reason is not that it generates preferences—though of course it influences them but that it enables us to judge purposes in the light of their implications and consequences. Professor Murphy, naturally, is aware of this, and it is not clear from the text whether he is actually proposing anything more for philosophy than the job of explicating our pivotal beliefs. Certainly, however, he very often tends to forget what he elsewhere seems to imply—that moral judgment, however enlightened and refined, is valid and authoritative only in so far as it is the voluntary yet spontaneous act of a conscious individual.

He tends to forget, that is, that all the knowledge in the world-or, indeed, all the good-will-does not of itself entitle us to impose our preferences on others, though of course we may try to communicate our moral perceptions. Professor Murphy's emphasis on the social aspect of ideals, on the unity they often presume or produce, is no doubt very salutary at the present moment, and the Kantian injunction to "treat men always as ends, never as means" is perennially just; yet the alternative to unity is not necessarily chaos. On the contrary, we should not, as Professor Murphy sometimes seems to do, attach our faith to a single ideal or set of ideals, or even to a single species of ideals, but rather to reason itself. For the uses of reason, like its fruits, are very diverse, as Professor Murphy shows, and each of them is in some sense ideal. If democracy is the most rational of all societies, it is because reason is a power both to generate and to comprehend diversity.

Hortatory books, at least when they are as cogent as this one, are of course very often valuable. But their value varies with the degree in which we share their assumptions. For

every rational form of persuasion must at some point beg the issue, assume what it aims to prove: its success must depend not merely upon whether it elicits assent but upon whether it illuminates our own beliefs and desires. Professor Murphy's book will help those who agree with him to learn what they actually believe.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

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### TILMS

HE issues and fragments of the army's "Screen Magazine" which were recently given a civilian airing at the Museum of Modern Art are at once heartening, disappointing, and disturbing. It is disturbing to any anti-authoritarian to have to realize that we work more honestly and more effectively as semi-totalitarians than as semi-democrats: these films are miles ahead of any rough American equivalent-mainly newsreels-made for civilians. Even so, high-mediocre is the general ceiling. The commentators' voices are not, thank God, trying to strangle the buyer and embalm his corpse in the same inflection; but they do tend to be smoothly, unpleasantly folksy. There is an obligatory hell-and-damn or so to each issue, a rather frequent use of naked soldiers bathing, a good bit of backside comedy. Barring a slightly uneasy sort of chumminess, however, the tone and pace are generally relaxed and sensible, wonderfully pleasing to experience after waltzing across the little bits of broken mirror which make the average newsreel, or suffering the riveting-hammer, maniacal yammer of a March of Time. There is frequent intelligent use of an excellent device which ought to be recognized as basic to decent film grammar: the shot introduced and given its own pure power, for a few seconds-it ought often to be minutes-without sound, music, explanation, or comment. Private Snafu, a cartooned cluck full of instinctive bad habits, would be fun to see, I imagine, on any front; but I wonder why there is no animated version of Yank's Private Sadsack, The Magazine seems a little short on fun, and lamentably short on pretty women. As teaching and as morale tonic I presume it would be very valuable even if it were much less good than it is; but on both counts it seems tame and unimaginative compared with what it might be. I have to speak, with the sense of a very limited right to, of my objection to hearing the Japanese referred to as "cockroaches," "rats," and so forth. With combat experience, I must realize, this might strike me differently; I only hope not. I also hope that I would under no circumstances accept the Magazine's muted sneer at a Japanese shrine. There are some tenderly crude and on the whole nice pieces of sentimentality about soldiers' parents who cannot write their sons in English, army dogs, and sailors' children at Christmas time. There are

some fine, terrible shots of Tarawa. A few minutes of Kiska under quiet steady rain make about as beautiful an image of desolation as I have ever seen.

JAMES AGEE

### ART

PIET MONDRIAN, the great Dutch painter, died in New York on February 1 at the age of seventy-one. He came to this country two years ago from London, where he had been living since 1939, after twenty years spent in France.

Mondrian was the only artist to carry to their ultimate and inevitable conclusions those basic tendencies of recent Western painting which cubism defined and isolated. His art has influenced design and architecture more immediately than painting but remains easel-painting nevertheless, with all the concentrated force and drama the form requires. At the same time it designates the farthest limit of easel-painting. Those whose point of departure is where Mondrian left off will no longer be easel-painters. Excluding everything but flat, unmodulated areas of primary color and rectilinear and rectangular forms, his art returns painting to the mural-the mural as a living, modern form, not the archaeological reconstruction of Puvis de Chavannes, Rivera, and the WPA projects. I am not sure whether Mondrian himself recognized it, but the final intention of his work is to expand painting into the décor of the man-made world-what of it we see, move in, and handle. This means imposing a style on industry, and thus adumbrates the most ambitious program a single art has ever ventured upon.

Mondrian's own explicit intentions were somewhat different. There is no need to take his metaphysics on its own terms, but it certainly helps us to understand the creation of his masterpieces. He said that his art was concerned with man's deliverance from "time and subjective vision which veil the true reality"—I quote from his essay "Toward the True Vision of Reality."

Plastic art affirms that equilibrium can only be established through the balance of unequal but equivalent oppositions. The clarification of equilibrium through plastic art is of great importance for humanity. It reveals that although human life in time is doomed to disequilibrium, notwithstanding this, it is based on equilibrium. If we cannot free ourselves, we can free out vition. Mondrian's pictures attempt to balance unequal forces: for example, one area, smaller than another, is made equiva-

lent by shape and spatial relations. Fur-

At the moment, there is no need for art to create a reality of imagination based on appearances, events, or traditions. Art should not follow the intuitions relating to our life in time, but only those intuitions relating to true reality.

In other words, the vision of space granted by plastic art is a refuge from the tragic vicissitudes of time. Abstract painting and sculpture are set over against music, the abstract art of time in which we take refuge from the resistance of space.

Mondrian's painting, however, takes its place beside the greatest art through virtues not involved in his metaphysics. His pictures, with their white grounds, straight black lines, and opposed rectangles of pure color, are no longer windows in the wall but islands radiating clarity, harmony, and grandeur-passion mastered and cooled, a difficult struggle resolved, unity imposed on diversity. Space outside them is transformed by their presence. Perhaps Mondrian will be reproached for the anonymity with which he strove for the ruled precision of the geometer and the machine in executing his paintings: their conceptions can be communicated by a set of specifications and dimensions, sight unseen, and realized by a draftsman. But so could the conception of the Parthenon. The artist's signature is not everything.

Mondrian was of the type of artisthero who immolates himself for his work, sacrificing the customary amenities of life, or making his art carry desires frustrated in other directions. He never married-he expressed a desire to but complained that he could not afford it-and he seems to have had few friends. He gave the impression of being inarticulate in conversation, and said once that he preferred not to argue about the problems of art viva voce but to read and write about them. His appearance was as dry and ascetic as a superficial acquaintance with his work might lead one to expect. But there were in both the artist and the art an intensity and passion which it needed only a second glance to discover. His one great diversion, surprisingly or not, was dancing, and I am told that he liked it so much that he often danced by himself in his studio.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Coming Soon in The Nation
"A Carriage from Sweden"—a Poem

By Marianne Moore
Leigh White's "The Long Balkan Night"
Reviewed by M. W. Fodor

### MUSIC

EORGE BALANCHINE has Tgiven us in his ballets the concrete and rich manifestations of one of the great creative minds of our time; but what he has given the ballet companies have taken away. His choreography for Diaghilev's 1929 "The Prodigal Son" and "The Ball" was later replaced by De Basil who acquired the sets, costumes, and music; the rights to "Concurrence" and "Cotillon" are held by De Basil, now in South America; "The Fairy's Kiss" and "Serenade" are no longer given by the Monte Carlo company; the Ballet Theater, which produced "Apollo" last year, has dropped it this season. And of his most recent ballets, created for the South American tour of Lincoln Kirstein's American Ballet, the one to Mozart's A major Piano Concerto has not been given here at all, "Ballet Imperial" to Tchaikovsky's G major Piano Concerto has had only the few insufficiently rehearsed performances by dancers of the American Ballet during the New Opera Company's second season, and "Concerto Baroco" to Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins has had only the recent performances by some of these dancers under the name of American Concert Ballet-one of which, at the Y. M. H. A., I am glad to have been able to see. It was not a great performance, but sufficiently good to enable one to perceive the quality of the work, and in particular the extraordinary quality of the middle movement. The music here is a never-pausing flow of lovely melody, constantly building up and releasing phraseological and emotional tensions, and astounding in its inexhaustible invention; and similar astounding fertility of imagination is evident in the parallel-flow of movement, with its own built-up and released tensions, that is one of the most excitingly beautiful things I have ever seen done on a stage.

Later in the Y. M. H. A. series there was a performance by Argentinita and her associates; and I was amazed by the increased effectiveness and delightfulness of their dancing in the small auditorium. But there was another reason for the greater pleasure from the performance; and this was the fact that nobody was seated while dancing was in progress. Those who have had "Les Sylphides" or any other opening ballet at the Metropolitan—or, for that matter, the first act of an opera—wrecked by the series of disturbances created by latecom-

ers, and who then have had the first five or ten minutes of the next ballet or act disturbed by the same people returning from the lobbies or the buffet, will appreciate the Y. M. H. A.'s good sense in ruling that latecomers shall not disturb the performing artist and the people in the audience who have arrived on time. In European opera houses and concert halls the doors to the auditorium are closed when a performance is about to begin-with the result that almost nobody is late; in New York concert halls too nobody is seated during a performance (only newspaper critics, for no good reason, are allowed to barge in and out); and the Metropolitan Opera Association should have the same arrangement. And Mr. Hurok should have it even if the Metropolitan doesn't, when he takes over the opera house for performances of ballet. What the Y. M. H. A. does, the man who-in the words of the Ballet Theater program last fall -has "emerged the sultan of ballet" certainly can do.

In addition he should live up to the responsibilities of his new position. Writing about Diaghilev, Beecham pays tribute to the "combination of abilities [that] had enabled him to form a troupe of dancers second to none anywhere and to enroll under his banner a group of the most gifted composers and scenic artists of the day," and that led him also to employ "a large and first-rate orchestra [which], replacing the old moderatesized and none too skillful body of players, raised and brought the instrumental side of the performance well into line with the rest of it." It is for Mr. Hurok to do the same things today.

Among the questionable pretensions and anecdotes which the New Friends of Music in some way has managed to get published not only in publicity stories that are ignored but in articles and even in multiple-researched-writtenand-checked Time stories, the most important has been that the organization has presented music, not performersthat anyone calling up to ask who was playing next Sunday would be answered "Beethoven is being played," and so on; when actually from the start the organization has announced imposing lists of performers, without which its announcement of concerts of the music of Beethoven would not have brought a single person to the hall. Recently the line has been changed: the claim now is that the New Friends first has chosen music and then has engaged the best performing artist or group for each work; when

actually it has engaged performers for their box-office appeal without regard for their unfitness-Serkin, for example, to play Bach's "Goldberg" Variations last year. And this year its policy has backfired very badly. Instead of having Beethoven's quartets all played by the Budapest Quartet the New Friends decided to add another box-office name -that of the Busch Quartet-to its announcement; and having engaged Szigeti for Beethoven's sonatas for violin and piano it did not engage a first-rate ensemble pianist with temperament and style that would be well-matched to Szigeti's-Franz Rupp, for example, or Artur Balsam-but got a big-name solo pianist, Claudio Arrau. The series sold out; but the deficiencies of tone and ensemble in the Busch Quartet's playing this year were such that even normally uncritical people expressed indignation to me over having had such performances inflicted on them; and there was dissatisfaction also with performances of the sonatas that combined the warmth and vitality of Szigeti's playing, after his initial nervousness had worn off, with the chill and stolidity of Arrau's playing from first to last.

The New Friends did not consider it necessary to interrupt the Budapest Quartet's playing in Town Hall to announce the bombing of Truk; but WQXR considered it necessary to interrupt the broadcast of the performance for that purpose.

B. H. HAGGIN

#### CONTRIBUTORS

LEWIS GANNETT, book reviewer for the *Herald Tribune*, was on the editorial staff of *The Nation* some twenty years ago, and formed a friendship with William Allen White, at that time a frequent contributor.

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BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

# Letters to the Editors

### At Least Peculiar

Dear Sirs: Your editorial of February 5 noting that the Dies committee has been given another \$75,000 to investigate the C. I. O. and "Peace Now" makes reasonable assumptions as to how the taxpayers' money will be used. But may I point out the peculiar appropriateness of a Dies investigation of "Peace Now"? Dr. George W. Hartmann, chairman of that organization, was-like George W. Deatherage and Elizabeth Dilling-a star Dies witness against the "reds."

Volume XI of the Dies hearings devotes seventeen pages to the Hartmann testimony, taken November 27, 1939. Dr. Hartman spoke with some alarm of the red menace in our schools but assured the committee that the Nazi viewpoint was "practically unrepresented" in American colleges.

WILLSON WHITMAN

Woodside, L. I., February 15

### Wages and the Little Steel Formula

Dear Sirs: In your editorial of January 8 entitled Wages and Living Costs the statement is made that since "the beginning of 1941 wage rates have been permitted to rise a maximum of 15 per cent, while the cost of living has gone up 231/2 per cent." From this you conclude that "simple justice" would indicate a need for revision of the Little Steel formula.

It is not correct that wage rates have only been permitted to rise 15 per cent since January, 1941. For voluntary increases by employers, no formal limits whatever were imposed on the amount of gains which could be secured up to October 2, 1942. Nor is it at all clear that a revision of the Little Steel formula would meet the requirements of simple justice for all wage and salary workers. In fact, the requirements of justice are not even simple in this particular instance.

The only available measure which even crudely approximates an index of pure wage rates involves correction of gross average hourly earnings of factory workers to remove the effects of overtime and of the increased relative importance of the high-wage war industries from the over-all averages. On the basis of the proportion of employeehours prevailing in January, 1941, this series shows an increase of 30.1 per cent for manufacturing as a whole between January, 1941, and October, 1943. It is true that this measure reflects other influences upon individual earnings besides changes in job rates, but it can certainly be concluded that the over-all increase exceeds 15 per cent.

When broken down for the twenty major industrial divisions of manufacturing, the increases in straight-time hourly earnings for the period are even more impressive: transportation equipment, 46.6 per cent; lumber and timber products, 43.6 per cent; furniture, 37.2 per cent; leather and leather products, 36.6 per cent; non-ferrous metals, 36.1 per cent; machinery, except electrical, 35.2 per cent; textile-mill products, 35.1 per cent; miscellaneous products, 33.6 per cent; and iron and steel products, 32.2 per cent.

The purpose of providing for adjustments in wage rates for the 15 per cent increase in the cost of living from January, 1941, to April, 1942, fundamentally was to preserve as far as possible the exchange value of a unit of labor effort, in particular for the protection of those workers who had lagged behind in the general increases of the period. Congress and the President thus made provision in the wage-stabilization program for general increases to correct maladjustments between wage rates and the cost of living as an adjunct of the stabilization of all wage rates at the level of September 15, 1942. Increases already gained in this period are offset in determining the residual allowances, and since most workers had received increases well over 15 per cent, they can get no further increase under the maladjustment provision. However, they still have the possibility for adjustment in wage rates under the gross inequities, substandards, and "rare and unusual" provisions of the stabilization program, which is further evidence that the alleged 15 per cent limitation is not true in fact. Moreover, in terms of weekly take-home pay, which is a better measure of ability to keep up with the cost of living, the gain for all manufacturing through September, 1943, actually comes to 66.7 per cent, while the percentage increases for particular industries are even greater.

However, since the distribution of

war-time increases in income is by no means an even one, the over-all averages do not tell the whole story. There are many workers who have not shared in these gains because of lack of bargaining power and because their industries have not shared in war-time prosperity. Others who have been disadvantaged include many clerical and office workers; many federal, state, county, and municipal employees; aged persons on fixed incomes; and service men's dependents. Paradoxically, however, these groups would least be able to take advantage of any increase in the Little Steel formula for the same reasons that have been responsible for their lagging to date. Thus it is not at all certain that the requirements of simple justice would be met by revision of the Little Steel formula.

GEORGE H. HILDEBRAND, JR. Washington, D. C., January 13

### Pamphlets for Sale

Dear Sirs: In The Nation of February 5 there is a paragraph in In the Wind about the sale of pamphlets in the Chicago Public Library in which it is said that discontinuance of such sales was "proposed by the chairman of the board, Joseph B. Fleming, attorney for the Tribune." The truth is that the library was notified by a local lawyer that litigation was under consideration to stop sales of pamphlets by the library as an extra-legal activity. The proposal to stop sales pending an examination of the legal aspects of the matter was made by me, not by President Fleming, although I naturally consulted him and he agreed. I submitted this proposal in a written recommendation which was approved in committee and unanimously adopted by the board, all members present voting for it. Mr. Leo A. Lerner was not present at that meeting and did not vote, although he expressed his contrary views at a subsequent meeting.

It seemed, and still seems, to me no more than common prudence, when threatened with a lawsuit, to suspend the questioned procedure until a competent opinion could be obtained-especially since the procedure in this case is a small and unimportant side-line to the library's free services, clearly outside its enumerated statutory functions, and certainly not worth getting into trouble

about. The matter was referred to the city law department, which rendered a sweeping opinion sustaining the right of the Public Library to engage in sales. This ruling will be hailed with interest and satisfaction by public libraries in general, since it clears up a foggy issue. It will appear in full in the Library Journal of February 15. Meanwhile, steps have been taken to resume pamphlet sales without delay.

C. B. RODEN, Librarian Chicago, Ill., February 9

[The item was based on a clipping from the Chicago Daily News of January 19. Mr. Roden's version is undoubtedly correct; the clipping, however, implied clearly that discontinuance was Mr. Fleming's idea. ("Fleming attacked the pamphlets as 'propaganda,' saying some were issued by British government agencies. . .") Mr. Roden's name was not mentioned.

In any case, we are happy to learn that anti-Nazi "propaganda" is once more available at the Chicago Public Library.
—EDITORS THE NATION.]

### Serbs, Croats, and Mr. Raditsa

Dear Sirs: The article on Yugoslavia in your issue of January 29 is as fine a piece of propaganda as I have ever seen anywhere, putting it politely. Bluntly speaking, it is a pack of half-truths which by careful omissions and innuendoes gives a story very different from the truth. The article is obviously designed to whitewash the Croats by identifying them with the Partisans and at the same time to blacken the Serbs and Mihailovich, and will cause more discord among Yugoslavs.

We are told that the "Serb trio" was responsible for the signing of the Axis pact in 1941. The account fails to mention that Croat leader V. Machek, whom the article subsequently praises, was at that time Vice-Premier of the country and that he publicly approved the collaboration in strong terms. There is considerable disagreement on the attitude toward the Axis of this leader of the Croats. Pro-Partisan Slobodna Rec (October, 1943) puts him in the same class as "traitor Mihailovich." Machek's "prison" by all accounts is his estate at Kupinec.

As to the breaking of the Axis pact in March, 1941, it was clearly established by a number of American correspondents on the spot that it was the Serb part of Yugoslavia that did it. In fact, all subsequent admirable acts of "Yugoslavs" were mainly of Serb origin.

The collapse of the Yugoslav army the article places on the doorstep of the Serbs because its generals were Serbs, specifically mentioning the collapse of the Kachanik front. There is no reference to the fact that the Croat troops were the main force there and that the Germans made their main attack on that spot. The fact that the Serb generals ordered cessation of fighting after April 9 is rubbed in, but the established fact that both Slovenia and Croatia accepted the Nazis with acclaim and declared their "independence" before that date is omitted.

The article makes much of "Serb chauvinism," but it does not explain the cause of it. For twenty years the Croats clamored for separation, and in 1941 they clearly showed their lack of love for Yugoslavia. When the Serbs, after the Croat atrocities and constant opposition, demanded the same thing, they became "pan-Serbs" and destroyers of the state. According to the article, the Croat massacres of Serbs "ran into the thousands." Louis Adamic says in his book that the figure ran to tens of thousands. A Fortune article of last June talked of 300,000, Pro-Partisan Slobodna Rec in October, 1943, said 450,000. Srbobran says 800,000. The London Economist (June 19, 1943) speaks of "wholesale massacres." A recent OWI release says that the Ustacha officer M. Bachich was executed by the Partisans for killing 1,500 Serbs around Bugojno. You choose whichever figure you like

Much is made of the use to which the "Dönkelmann report" was put by the Serbs. Not much reference is made to the contents of the document itself, its detailed and circumstantial account, with names, localities, and dates, of Croat behavior toward their brother-Yugoslav Serbs. The article makes the distinction between Croats and Ustachi who committed the deed. Did the Croats make the distinction between the Serbs and the policeman who killed those five Croats in 1937? Did the Irish make any distinction between the English and their government which ordered the repression? Anyhow the report makes lurid reading, and no paper would publish it. No wonder it was sent to the only interested party. Does Mr. Raditsa deny the facts in the report in addition to attacking its publication?

A painful attempt is made in the article to make Pavelich's Croatia and Nedich's Serbia the same kind of Axis pupe et state. The fact is that at this moment all Serb soldiers taken prisoner are in German military prison camps, some 200,000 of them, with no record of a single one fighting against the United Nations armies. Croats were not taken prisoner by the Reich, and according to the OWI's recent release, they have lost 100,000 men on "Russian and other fronts." That indicates how the two peoples feel toward the Allied cause with, of course, a few exceptions.

I could go on indefinitely. The measure of the whole article can be taken by the vicious recourse to the bogy of anti-Semitism. When Srbobran spoke of "Jugocenter" as "Judocenter," it did not mean "Jewish Center" but "Judascenter" or "center of traitors." Srbobran made this meaning plain repeatedly-in the issue of June 22, 1943, for instance. The paper and the Serbs can be accused of many other things but to imply slyly that they are anti-Semitic is a plain misrepresentation. It is of interest that Adamic, who is of the same mind as Raditsa about the Serbs, derisively calls Ambassador Fotich a "part-Jew" and the former Minister Ninchich a 'christianized Hebrew.'

It is hard to understand why Raditsa, professed Yugoslav, does everything to irritate and antagonize the Serbs, who, after all, created the country in 1918 and who constitute half of its population. It is apparent that the country could not exist without their consent; so there seems no sense in attacking them. The only explanation is that the article was not written in behalf of Yugoslavs and their cause but to defend and propagandize the Croat cause.

MILAN D. POPOVIC Morristown, N. J., February 10

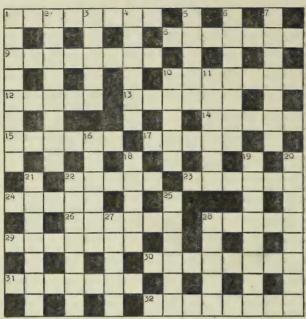
### Mr. Raditsa Replies

Dear Sirs: Having already stated my position at length in The Nation, I shall not restate it here. I should merely like to say that it was never my intention to "irritate" and "antagonize" the Serbs, who with the Slovenes and Croats constitute Yugoslavia. I am fully conscious of the great meaning the heroic stand and sufferings of the Serbian people have for Yugoslavia. I know that there is no possibility of rebuilding Yugoslavia without the Serbs' consent, but at the same time we must accept the principle that Yugoslavia can exist only if it is freely accepted, equally and independently, by the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

That is what the "Partisans" have done after three years of war. They have cemented the Yugoslav idea with blood,

## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 54

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- Cashel Byron's profession
- 8 It's against the law, but I'll help
- you to start it Small sharp weapon of the furious mob?

  10 The best answer to a wise man
- 12 Guide with four legs
- 18 This makes veneer smoother
- 14 We hear her love song in The Fortune Teller (Herbert)
  15 Two kings of the Visigoths have
- borne this appellation 17 He is disappointed if he doesn't get
- what's coming to him 22 Berlin's current holiday
- 23 Though not a military man you can get him to ride and make him responsible for a column
- 24 In which a trio reveals a sense of
- proportion 26 A Marx Brother just failed to get
- in-hence the peeve 28 Surviving trace

words, 4 and 4)

- 29 "A lovely apparition, sent
- To be a moment's ornament"

  30 Lost tile (anag.) (two words,
  2 and 6)
- 31 Sweaters or brows may be 32 Bold but insufficient reply to the question, "Who goes there?" (two

### DOWN

- 1 Mariners and others have looked to it for guidance
- The stuff British V.C.s are made of 3 This Viennese composer might appear as a Shakespearean king if he dropped an aitch

- 4 Musical instrument formerly made
- mostly of pine Such clothes surely don't constitute climbing kit
- A daydream "He made him a hut, wherein he
- --- of Robinson Crusoe"
- 10 Necessitated a couple of chairmen being on their feet at once This folk tale looks as if it might
- e my foot!
- 16 Meaning? Why, meaning: and half of it's a devil
  18 A strange exclamation to get from
- a Moslem princess!
- 19 Marat got the point of one while in his bath, but it didn't strike him as being funny
- 20 (Wagers about torture)
- The wag swallowed a bone, and got taken to the cleaners
- Privy seals Fancy finding a hornet in it!
- Trickled European river of a thousand legends

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 53

ACROSS:-1 SOUND ASLEEP; 9 PILE: 10 GLOBE: 11 HACK; 12 FLASHED; 13 STARERS; 15 UNLOOSED; 16 SOWERS; 18 SWATHE: 21 CREDENCE; 24 ALI BABA; 26 USHERED; 28 HERO; 29 ORATE; 30 OPAL; 31 SMALL-MINDED.

DOWN:-2 OVERSHOOT; 8 NUGGETS; AMOK; 5 LAERTES; 6 ETHER; 7 VILLON: 8 SCORER; 14 EDICT; 17 WHEREFORE; 19 WELLER; 20 EMBROIL; 22 EPSTEIN; 23 COEVAL; 25 BLOOM; 27 CALM.

while the government in exile plus Mihailovich has been destroying it. To label the Partisans "Croats" is nonsense when more than half of them are Serbs.

That there is no difference between Pavelich sending Croats into Russia and against the Partisans and Nedich sending Serbs against the Partisans is shown by the fact that according to an OWI release of February 2 the puppet Premier Nedich, upon German demand, has raised twenty new regiments and supplied them with "the necessary artillery equipment and technical troops."

BOGDAN RADITSA

New York, February 12

### Why Not Organize?

Dear Sirs: Mr. Bernays's advertisement in your issue of February 12 suggested a thought which I have sometimes expressed to business men of my acquaintance: business men are judged, as a group, by the public utterances of the organizations which represent them before the public. The National Association of Manufacturers and the chambers of commerce have not usually expressed liberal views. There are certainly many business men who, even if members of these organizations, do not agree with many of the policies which they ptomote.

I wish it were possible for such business men to express themselves, so that they would be known to the public and particularly to those "liberals" and "intellectuals" to whom Mr. Bernays addresses himself. Maybe there ought to be a national committee of liberal business leaders, to promote and fortify the much-needed contributions which such men can make to social planning and public action.

Why doesn't Mr. Bernays act as a magnet to draw some liberals of both groups together, to talk things over? MICHAEL M. DAVIS

New York, February 18

### Stories of Will Rogers

Dear Sir: I am editing the anecdotes of Will Rogers and will be glad to hear from all who may have anecdotes or stories. CYRIL CLEMENS

Webster Groves, Mo., February 18

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# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

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NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MARCH 11, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

IF WE COULD OFFER THE FINNS A TEXT FOR action, it would be: "Agree with your adversary while thou art in the way with him." The armistice terms proposed by the Soviet government make no demands for territorial concessions, for occupation by Russian troops, or for any change in government. They are far from harsh but they are hard because they put on Finland the responsibility of disarming and interning the Nazi troops whom they so ill-advisedly invited to enter the country. Russia could scarcely ask less and it would certainly be contrary to American and British interests to allow seven German divisions to escape for service in the west. Disregarding such facts, some of our professional Russophobes have been thrown completely off balance by the contrast between the Russian proposals and their own lurid forecasts of Carthaginian terms. Thus two days after the official Moscow communique was published, Hearst's New York Daily Mirror issued a fierce denunciation of Soviet plans based on "the minimum terms Russia has served on Finland, according to diplomatic sources in Washington." This unreliable authority included among the alleged Soviet demands unconditional surrender, occupation of Finland's chief cities, and the placing of all Finnish air and sea bases at Russia's disposal. Is it possible that the Hearst editors were ignorant of the actual Russian terms, or were they deliberately falsi-

THE SUSPENSION OF SHIPMENTS TO TURKEY of American and British war supplies can only be taken as indication of a serious setback for the United Nations. Turkey's recent coolness toward Britain and the United States is usually ascribed to our unwillingness to meet her rather exorbitant demand for arms as a price for entering the war. There would seem, however, to be little doubt that Turkey's demands have risen with the decline of American and British fortunes of war in the Mediterranean. Four months ago, when it looked as if the Allies would be in Rome before Christmas, the Turks were apparently prepared to be reasonable in their demands. But the unanticipated strength of German resistance in Italy and the failure of the Allies to establish additional fronts in Europe has caused the Turkish leaders to resume their originally cautious role. At the moment the chief hope for another reversal in the trend of Turkish policy

BURLINGAME

lies in Bulgaria. Should the current crop of peace rumors involving the Bulgars bear fruit and the Germans be forced out of Bulgaria, it is quite possible that Turkey might suddenly see the advantages of entering the United Nations' camp as an active belligerent.

\*

AMERICANS MAY TAKE JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN the tremendous contribution of lend-lease to the Russian war effort that is revealed in the current report. It is particularly encouraging to note that our shipments have kept pace with the increasing tempo of the Red Army offensives. More than 5,000 combat planes were sent to Russia in 1943, more than 800 of them in November and December. Perhaps even more significant in view of Russia's ever-lengthening lines of communication was the delivery of upward of 100,000 trucks, or double the number sent in 1942. More than half of the nearly 6,000,000 tons of food shipped under lend-lease was earmarked for the Soviets. While our assistance may not seem large compared with Russia's own war production, it may well have been enough to provide the margin between victory and defeat on the Russian front-and in the European war as a whole. For we have not only supplemented Soviet production but we have filled in the chinks in Russia's economic defenses by shipping machinery and critical war materials that could not possibly have been obtained elsewhere. Obviously, this aid must not stop now that the war is entering its most violent and critical stage. The continuation of lend-lease is so clearly indispensable to the winning of the war that, like victory itself, it is an objective on which there is no room for partisan differences.

 $\star$ 

THE SEIZURE OF THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS represents another important leap in the revised form of island-hopping described in this issue by Donald W. Mitchell. The main Japanese bases at Rabaul and Kavieng have been by-passed. Undoubtedly they will be occupied in due time but not until they have been so weakened that they can be seized without great cost. Meanwhile, the navy continues to pursue its offensive in the Central Pacific with great vigor. Wake, the remaining Marshall atolls, and the Carolines are being subjected to almost daily attacks. But on the third prong of the Allied offensive, that directed by Lord Louis Mountbatten, progress has been extremely slow. Although Mountbatten's forces successfully repelled a Japanese counter-attack in the Arakan sector of the Burma front with heavy losses to the enemy, the main drive on Burma has not even started and presumably cannot be launched until after the rainy season. Only in the mountains of North Burma, where General Stilwell's Chinese forces have driven halfway across the narrow neck of the country, has any real progress been achieved. The delay in Mountbatten's offensive may possibly indicate that the United Nations are planning to open a supply route to China in some other way than through Burma. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Japanese position would be much worse than it now is if major Allied forces were also closing in from this sector.



REPUBLICANS ARE HAILING THE NARROW margin by which the Democratic candidate, James H. Torrens, won in the normally "safe" Twenty-first New York Congressional District as another indication of a country-wide trend against the Administration, Actually, Mr. Torrens rolled up a fairly convincing majority except in the parts of Harlem that are included in the district. In Harlem, however, Mr. Torrens fared very badly, losing some precincts that were carried by President Roosevelt in 1940 by seven and eight to one. That a large number of Negroes have recently abandoned their support of the Administration and returned to the Republican fold is a fact on which there can be no dispute. This tendency appears to account, in part at least, for the recent Republican successes in Kentucky and for the election of a Republican in a special Congressional election in Philadelphia some weeks ago. To some it may seem ironic that Negroes should turn against the Administration in view of the President's establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to war against discrimination. From the Negro's point of view, however, the FEPC has been a farce, and some Negroes openly blame Mr. Roosevelt for its ineffectiveness. And many others who still possess a high regard for Mr. Roosevelt personally have come to the conclusion that there can be no hope for justice from a party so largely dominated by the advocates of "white supremacy." The Democratic cause in New York, for example, can hardly have been aided by the action of the Democratic legislature of South Carolina on the day of the election denouncing those seeking the "co-mingling of the races on any basis of equality . . . as being hostile to . . . the preservation of the American Union."

X

THE PRESENT STATE OF MEDICAL ETHICS IS revealed in stark ugliness in a report submitted by the Moreland Act Commissioners of New York covering the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Law. It is disclosed that for years workers in New York City have been kept from obtaining either the medical care or the compensation to which they are entitled by rings of licensed representatives, lawyers, and doctors. The report charges that in order to swell the profits of these rings "workers have been subjected to inefficient treatment, over-treatment, and even to unnecessary and harmful

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operations which left them disabled, sometimes totally." These illegal profits are distributed among the physicians operating with the rings by means of an elaborate system of kickbacks. The commissioners list the names of some 3,000 doctors in New York City alone who are known to be involved in this fee-splitting. Although such kickbacks are in direct violation of both the laws of the state and the official code of the medical profession, the medical societies of New York City made no effort to curb the practice. Yet these same medical societies have shown great zeal and resourcefulness in campaigning against the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for the creation of a national health insurance system which, it is alleged, would destroy the physician's "personal interest" in his patient, and thus result in a "forfeture of self-respect." We wonder.

THE STAFF OF THE NATION HAS LOST. temporarily, one of its most valuable members, Robert Bendiner, who has this week gone into the army. We do not begrudge him to the service, but we shall miss him and we shall miss his writing. Particularly during the coming months of political struggle, Mr. Bendiner's acute and vigorous comment would have been a valuable addition to the pages of this journal; he has a feeling for political realities that will be hard to duplicate. He takes with him the affection and high hopes of his colleagues, who will welcome his return as one of the intimate blessings of peace. . . . The position of managing editor, held by Mr. Bendiner from 1937 until last fall, has been filled by J. King Gordon, who comes to The Nation from the editorial staff of Farrar and Rinehart. We are fortunate to have Mr. Gordon on our board. In his former position he handled most of the books dealing with politics, labor, social problems, the war, and foreign policy, and his whole experience has been in the field of public affairs.

## Same Old Fraud

THE measure that emerged last week-end from the Senate-House conference on soldier-vote legislation was euphemistically advertised as a compromise, but that happy label has rarely been so cynically misapplied. Despite the long and angry debate over "constitutional" issues, service men will judge any ballot bill enacted in Congress by a simple standard: does it give the overwhelming majority of soldiers and sailors a real chance to vote? This bill emphatically does not. Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who is less subtle than some of his colleagues in indicating his fear of a large soldier vote, has conceded that this legislation has merit and that, with "minor revisions," it might even bear his name. The amazing thing is that any of the conferees should believe that anyone will be deceived by the new version of the original fraud.

In deference to public protests the new bill does provide for the printing of federal ballots; but the conditions it establishes for their use make it fairly certain that these ballots will be as rare as collectors' items. For one thing they are restricted to service men stationed outside the United States; Senator Hatch has pointed out that this provision appears to nullify existing federal laws which waive registration and poll-tax requirements for all service men, whether located here or abroad. But even a member of the armed forces abroad will have less than a fighting chance to use the ballot. He can apply for one only if the legislature of his native state has declared, by August 1, that it will recognize the federal ballot. A spokesman for the Council of State Governments has acknowledged that not more than one-third of the state legislatures will have met by that date, and not all of them are certain to take affirmative action. Thus service men from a majority of the states will not even be eligible to request a federal ballot. The soldier fortunate enough to come from a state that has validated the federal machinery may then proceed to try to use it, but he will need to be persistent. First he must submit his application for a state ballot no later than September 1. Then comes a thirty-day intermission. If the state ballot has not arrived by October 1, the soldier or sailor must declare under oath that he has tried and failed to get a state ballot. Then he may ask for a federal ballot.

The bill indicates that the Republicans, having precipitated a major struggle over the soldier-vote issue, are now determined to fight to the finish. Possibly the outcry that the debate has produced has convinced them that a large soldier vote would now be more dangerous than ever. For the nature of the debate has clearly identified foes of a simple federal ballot as foes of President Roosevelt; and if the service men were now to get a real opportunity to participate in the election, there is no doubt that their bitterness over this conspiracy would redound to the benefit of the President. It is questionable whether any alternative offers much hope to the G. O. P. If the proposed bill is enacted, millions of men will be robbed of their voting rights; but political commentators are increasingly agreed that the resentment of the troops will be mirrored in the voting attitude of many families at home. One observer has remarked that "for every soldier vote the President loses, he may get two instead-from a father or mother."

The President has said that he will turn thumbs down on any legislation that permits fewer men to vote than does the woefully inadequate 1942 law. Given the Barkley episode, another Presidential veto would obviously be more explosive than in normal circumstances; yet we wonder how many legislators would care to engage in a running debate with the President on this issue, or would be moved to tearful resignations by a veto. Throughout the soldier vote controversy there has been

a mood of guilt and defensiveness among the men opposing a simple, uniform federal ballot. Now, with conservative newspapers joining in criticism of the new House-Senate bill, with the *Herald Tribune* and the Washington *Post* and many others exposing its inadequacies, the conferees have even less reason to believe they are getting away with it.

If Congress approves this legislation, we hope that the President will strongly challenge the master minds who have spent so much time devising ways of thwarting the soldier vote; if he signs it, he should do so only under vigorous protest and with a clear-cut analysis of its deficiencies. The guiding spirits behind this new fraud are men who are chiefly animated by the desire to "get" Roosevelt; they are also, in many cases, the same men who have berated the President for putting "politics" ahead of war. But this issue, perhaps better than any other in sight, gives Mr. Roosevelt a chance to lay before the people his case against the Congressional obstructionists. In fact they may have fashioned the issue on which the President can get a rejuvenated, progressive Congress in November.

## France After Invasion

THE ADMINISTRATION has never been backward in enunciating fine principles. It has always been willing to talk broadly of the restoration of Europe's liberties and of the extension of international economic cooperation. But it has been slow in translating these generalizations into concrete terms, and in the meantime its day-to-day policies in regard to European affairs have been flavored with a reactionary opportunism that arouses the gravest suspicions of American postwar intentions.

There is clearly a great need of abandoning hand-tomouth diplomacy and negotiating definite agreements which can be judged on the basis of their correspondence with our democratic professions. We welcome, therefore, reports from Washington and London that Acting Secretary of State Stettinius will shortly proceed to England for a series of political and economic conversations with British and other Allied officials. If all the subjects mentioned are discussed the agenda will be a crowded one. Among economic questions, oil, communications, shipping, air transport, and the future of lendlease are of outstanding importance. But still more urgent are those political problems on which a basis of agreement, at least, is vital before the invasion of Europe gets under way. Of these none is more pressing than the way in which civil government is to be restored in the liberated countries.

It is understood that an agreement on this matter has been negotiated with the Norwegian government-in-exile and that similar conventions are under discussion with the Dutch and Belgians. One of the questions still to be answered, it is said, is who is to determine that conditions are such that civil government can be restored. Is this to be left solely to the discretion of the Allied military commander or are the refugee governments, who are supposed to take the view that the civil administration should take over as soon as fighting ceases, to be allowed a voice in the matter? And what about the officials who have continued at their posts during the German occupation? Who is to be the judge of their loyalty?

These questions are posed with especial sharpness in the case of France owing to the long-continued American liaison with Vichy and the many unfortunate and unsuccessful efforts to mold the French regime in North Africa in accordance with the State Department's prejudices. Yet it is essential that provision should be made without delay for the administration of France as soon as any appreciable portion of it is freed from the enemy. A recent dispatch from London in the New York Herald Tribune asserted that the draft of a plan for handing over the civil administration of France to the Committee of National Liberation has been approved by the British Foreign Office, the State Department, and General Eisenhower, but is now frozen on President Roosevelt's desk. This report has been denied by Mr. Stettinius. who says that the French Committee's future role is still under study.

However long that study continues we are certain that the State Department will not find any practical alternative to conceding General de Gaulle and the Committee of National Liberation the right to undertake the provisional administration of liberated France. What other substitute could we propose? We could not conceivably turn to the Vichy government, an acknowledged creature of the Nazis which is weekly slaughtering scores of French patriots. That would be to compound the errors of our Italian policy with lunacy, and, indeed, it has been reported without denial that we have given assurances to De Gaulle that there will be no dealings with Pétain and his crew.

Are we then going to attempt to govern France by means of AMG until the American and British governments judge the time ripe to permit the French people to have their promised say about their future? This proposition is equally invalid. It would put our armies in the position of conquerors rather than liberators; it would attract to our administrative headquarters the kind of intriguers who have swarmed in Vichy, around the German Command in France and, for a time, around the American Consul-General's office in Algiers; it would damn French-American friendship for a century.

Our wisest course in regard to France is to give the French Committee of National Liberation the recogni-

tion it has earned and let it proceed with the resuscitation of democratic France at the earliest possible moment. No doubt it will make some mistakes but they will be French mistakes and far less fatal than Anglo-American blunders. Of those the North African record shows more than enough. Even in terms of expediency we have failed miserably and De Gaulle, whom we tried so hard to pull down, is more firmly seated than ever. Nevertheless, despite accusations of dictatorial ambitions he shows no signs of becoming "a man on horseback." On the contrary, it is clear that the Provisional Consultative Assembly, as Jules Moch points out on a later page of this issue, is functioning actively as a representative body. It accepts De Gaulle's leadership but in no servile fashion, insisting on the right to criticize, to modify policy, and to demand information. French democracy is emerging from its ordeal in sound shape, and we had best leave it to work out its own destiny.

### Dead Men Don't Blab

I WILL be too bad if the late Charles E. Bedaux is allowed to sink into limbo without causing more than a one-day ripple in the headlines. For the history of the industrial efficiency expert, who died on February 18 when he was due to face a grand-jury investigation into his relations with the Nazis, is an instructive one. Bedaux is best remembered by the workers of this country as the originator of the "stretch-out" system and for that his name is execrated by millions. But far more deadly for democracy was his work here and in Europe as a fascist agent and promoter.

Some of that story was published after Bedaux's death by the Department of Justice but the department either does not know all that is worth telling or it does not choose to make public all it knows. Its release gave a number of details about Bedaux's associations with prominent Nazis from 1937 on. We are told about his friendship with Abetz, Wiedemann, and Schacht and his visit to the home of von Ribbentrop in August, 1939. After the fall of France, we learn, he traveled constantly between Vichy and Paris as intermediary between Abetz and the Pétain government. We are not told, however, about his trip to Athens in 1941 when, on behalf of the German government, he negotiated the sell-out of two Greek generals.

When America entered the war, the department's dossier informs us, Bedaux was under nominal arrest for two months but his friendship with Nazi and Vichy officials continued. He gave the German military authorities information from his company files about the Persian Gulic Projects and was appointed as Expert in Economic Projects to the German military administration in France. The most grandiose of the projects he conceived was one

for a pipe-line running from Senegal, the center of the African peanut industry, to the Mediterranean—the object being to make supplies of vegetable oils available to the Germans and thus help overcome the fat shortage. To further this scheme he went to North Africa armed with credentials from Laval and priorities from the German authorities for steel pipe and pumping machinery. He also carried, though the Department of Justice does not mention the fact, credentials from General Stuelpnagel, German governor of Paris.

Bedaux's African plans were upset by the Anglo-American invasion in November, 1942, and shortly afterward he was arrested, not by order of General Eisenhower as some reports have stated, but by the Military Security section of the French Deuxième Bureau, which was headed at that time by Colonel Crétien. a stalwart anti-collaborationist. Investigators of the bureau prepared an elaborate dossier on the prisoner in which the most damning item was his possession of a questionnaire issued by the German army seeking information on British and American military equipment, available ship tonnages, and Allied battle order.

Such a document, it need hardly be said, is fairly strong prima facie evidence of espionage, and it is not surprising that when officers of the FBI arrived in Algiers they should have taken a great interest in it. What is surprising is that, according to information we have received from very reliable French African sources, these FBI agents were apparently anxious to break down this evidence. They subjected the investigators of the Deuxième Bureau to a severe interrogation, attempted to get them to withdraw the charges against Bedaux, accused them of "planting" the questionnaire, and finally of being in the pay "of some agency of the American government controlled by Communists."

This is a very extraordinary way of hunting down traitors and one, we think, which would bear further investigation. But so would a number of other questions connected with the last months of Charles Bedaux. Why, for instance, was he removed from French custody? On what grounds was he given the benefit of American citizenship and saved from a French military court? Under a common sense interpretation of the law his naturalization would appear to have become ineffective owing to his long residence abroad. Finally why, when he was in detention, was he permitted an opportunity to accumulate sufficient luminal to enable him to choose his own time of exit?

Charles Bedaux had many influential friends but a vast host of enemies—all the democrats of the world. It is, however, his enemies who should mourn his death for if he had lived until he had told all they might have learned much to their advantage. Many of his friends, on the other hand, probably heard the news cheerfully. If they sighed at all, it was a sigh of relief.

# Boss McCormick's Men

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Chicago, February 21 NCE upon a time the Chicago Tribune's indorsement was the kiss of death for a political candidate in Illinois. It was commonly said, and with reason, that people bought Colonel McCormick's newspaper to learn its views and vote the other way. But Mc-Cormick candidates were victorious in the 1940 and 1942 state elections, and the voting this year will show whether a Republican machine has been created in Illinois-an isolationist and reactionary machine—that is more powerful even than the Kelly-Nash Democratic organization in Chicago was in its dictatorial heyday.

McCormick's ticket for 1944 consists of Dwight Green for reelection as Governor, Stephen A. Day for reelection as Congressman-at-Large, and Richard J. Lyons for Senator against the Democratic incumbent, Scott W. Lucas, plus whatever Presidential aspirant comes closest ot the Colonel's taste. It won't be Willkie, of course, and perhaps not Dewey, for McCormick has read both these gentlemen out of the Republican Party. He obviously prefers General MacArthur or some nonentity like Bricker.

Dwight Green as Governor of Illinois has himself been a successful nonentity. His administration has been undistinguished and routine, and now he is apparently entirely willing to use his power as Governor to present a slate of exclusively tory-isolationist candidates in the primaries. One of his campaign slogans in 1940 was, "There will never be a Green machine," but the machine is functioning ruthlessly to crush any rebellion from Republicans with internationalist views. Governor Green himself popped up on the foreign-relations committee at the Republican Mackinac conference, and was reputedly responsible for the weasel words about "sovereignty" and "constitutionalism" with which isolationists hope to destroy a decent peace.

About Lyons, the Senatorial candidate on the Green slate, it is sufficient to say that he probably could be depended on to make "Curly" Brooks, the *Tribune's* present Senator in Washington, look like a mild liberal. Brooks has seldom had a thought not previously printed in a McCormick editorial; Lyons might furnish the Colonel himself with a few reactionary ideas. A veteran state politician who once served in Congress, Lyons is widely unpopular. Labor is against him, and business



Curly Brooks

groups are not for him; yet he is on the slate. Though he was beaten for the Senate by Lucas in 1938, that does not mean he will be beaten in 1944. The atmosphere in Illinois has changed.

The atmosphere in Illinois, indeed, is something for the rest of the nation to observe with care. Roosevelt carried the state narrowly in 1940; in other contests the Republicans were almost universally successful, electing Green, Brooks, and the Honorable Mr. Day, who in 1933 cabled congratulations to Hitler on his rise to power and in 1941 published an anti-British book through Flanders Hall,

a Nazi propaganda mill. There is no sign that Illinois is sick of this crowd.

The Chicago Daily News, Secretary Knox's newspaper, doesn't like Lyons, but for months it has neglected to campaign against him. Some Republicans resent the apparent capture of their party by its worst elements. Representative Dirksen of Peoria played with the idea of running against Lyons but preferred not to risk his seniority in the House without some organization support, and finally decided to seek the personal advertising of an alleged campaign for the Presidency. Deneen Watson, former leader of a Republican internationalist group, has filed for Senator against Lyons, but so far has obtained little organized support.

No strong candidate has dared file against Congressman Day, though Governor Green hesitated for weeks before coming out for him. Elmer J. Schnackenberg, speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, was at one time mentioned as a rival, but "at a certain point," as some G. O. P. professionals put it, "ran up against a stone wall." Day's backing was too strong.

The chief opposition to the Green-Tribune machine is likely to come from a youngster named William G. Stratton, at present state Treasurer, who is bucking the organization to seek the nomination for Secretary of State. Stratton's father was a famous Illinois vote-getter, and the son has the same talent. But this "anti-machine" candidate has talked the isolationist line as smoothly as any other Illinois Republican who thinks he knows which side his bread is buttered on. The only issue in his challenge is whether the patronage-rich job of Secretary of State will go to a man who might use it to

strengthen his personal machine or will continue to be controlled by the Green organization.

Under the circumstances it seems inevitable that the isolationist-reactionaries and their satellites will emerge from the primaries in April as masters of the Republican Party in Illinois. Governor Green could, if he wished, throw off their domination, but he does not choose to do so. Republican leaders are confident of winning the election, basing their claim on the admitted disaffection of farmers, plus the assumption that both American Federation of Labor unions and the United Mine Workers will vote against Mr. Roosevelt. If Colonel McCormick can get two Senators, a Governor, and a state organization committed to his brand of nationalism, he will have scored a notable victory. A large part of the Tribune's circulation, furthermore, is in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana, where its impact is not to be ignored. Republicans in this area do not like to oppose the Tribune. One of the factors holding down Willkie in Illinois-in addition to the real bitterness of some persons against him-is the journalistic punishment visited upon those who boldly support his views. The power McCormick wields in the state Republican Party is not weakened even by the Tribune's refusal to campaign in earnest against the Kelly Democratic organization in Chicago municipal politics.

The rising Illinois Republican machine, in short, is more devious than the old-fashioned city or state organization with which America is familiar, and equally corrupt. It is as ruthless in handpicking candidates as Ed Crump of Memphis. It is cynically uninterested in rescuing the state and Chicago from the evils of local misgovernment. It adds, under isolationist overlordship, a spirit of malignant domestic and international toryism scarcely found in any other area.

The vote of the Illinois Republican delegation on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation authorization is proof of what McCormick domination means. Illinois G.O.P. Representatives split eleven to five against American support of this plan to feed the hungry and rebuild the agricultural economy of war-ruined nations—though Midwestern Republicans generally supported the program. It was Vursell of Illinois who helped sponsor the House bill to deprive soldiers, in the name of "states' rights," of an effective voting plan. In the House vote on the Worley federal ballot bill the eighteen Republicans from Illinois were unanimously against it.

If there is to be any primary revolt which might defeat Lyons and Day, it can come only from the belated sense of decency of a few party leaders, balancing their fear of reprisals against their better instincts. Whether Tribune-dictated nominees can be beaten in the November elections depends on whether Illinois, a normally Republican state, revolts against a regime swayed by McCormick's hates and fears.

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TWICE DURING THE DEBATES of the present session of the Prussian Diet Count Bismarck has quite distinctly alluded to the late imminence of a French war against the North German Federation. . . . The danger to Prussia from the side of Rumania was also referred to by Bismarck as having been fortunately repressed by a peremptory word from the former.—March 4, 1869.

MESSRS. APPLETON & CO. announce . . . "The Principles of Psychology, Part I.—Data of Psychology," by Mr. Herbert Spencer.—March 11, 1869.

WE MAY PERHAPS have said a word too much when recently we charged Pennsylvania with being the most corrupt state in the Union. At all events, we are sure our Philadelphia friends will agree with us that the charge would penaps have come with a better grace from some journal not published in the city of New York and the state of which Albany is the capital. They will very likely be pleased with the history, which has just been ordered printed, of the bribery and corruption of our last legislature. . . . Still there is no doubt that when Albany is destroyed by fire from heaven, Harrisburg may as well begin to look about her.—

March 18, 1869.

OUR TWO BEST and oldest universities stand, at the present moment, as beggars openly before the public. At Harvard, the rise of prices, together with the increasing burden of insufficient endowments, has gradually eaten up the general fund at the disposal of the college, and compelled it to raise its board and tuition rates simply to keep the institution from falling to pieces. And this has been accompanied with starving the professors, and stopping the purchase of books and classroom apparatus. At Yale, the state of things is quite as bad.—March 18, 1869.

MESSRS. ROBERTS BROTHERS announce . . . the "Bab' Ballads," which first appeared in *Fun*; they are by Mr. William S. Gilbert.—*March* 18, 1869.

THE NEW YORK TIMES has published this week a resume of the operations actual and prospective of the leading railroad operators in this state, showing that they are already, by an ingenious and audacious system of combination, almost, and soon will be completely, in possession of the government of the state; that they control the legislature, have apparently cowed the Attorney General, and have at least some of the judges in their possession.— March 25, 1869.

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN . . . admires the dexterity with which the conductor deals out damp paper currency from one side of his mouth and slimy nickels from the opposite, but, though that functionary swears at him more hoarsely than usual, he does not suspect him of having small-pox pustules in his throat.—March 23, 1869.

# Program of Action

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

The address which appears below was made at a dinner held on February 27 in New York on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Freda Kirchwey's association with The Nation. Other, and notable, speeches were delivered by the chairman, Raymond Swing, and by Thurman W. Arnold, Archibald MacLeish, Dorothy Thompson, Reinhold Niebuhr, and William Rosenblatt, and messages were received from the President, Secretary Morgenthau, President Benes of Czechoslovakia, President de Gaulle of the French Committee of National Liberation, and other distinguished friends of The Nation. The whole collection of addresses and messages will soon be brought together in a booklet which will be sent, with The Nation's compliments, to all regular subscribers, as well as to members of the Dinner Committee, the Committee of Sponsors, and the guests of bonor.]

■WENTY-FIVE years ago the young people Mr. Villard took into the staff of The Nation were immersed in the tumultuous backwash of another war. I must tell you that all of us in the winter of 1918-1919 were hopeful. We thought that somehow out of the mistakes and deceptions of the leaders, out of the confused claims and fierce animosities—out of all the destruction and sorrow—the peoples of the world would somehow pull a decent peace. We believed in the forces of resistance. We saw little good in the bargains of the statesmen; but we knew the people were sick of bargains and sicker still of spilling their blood to make them last. We watched the early gallant, successful struggles of the Russian Revolution and we saw signs in every rebellious rising, in every little people's republic, in every local soviet-from Belfast to Budapest-that the people would have the last word.

The process of democratic defeat has been one which our journal has followed and tried to take note of, blow by blow and week by week, for twenty-five years. You can read it in full and accurate detail in the bound volumes of *The Nation*—not at all a bad way of reliving generation of political life. The only reason for recalling here the lost battles of 1919 and after is to throw light ahead, on the battles we face in 1944 and after.

It is said that President Roosevelt has studied with infinite care the last years of Woodrow Wilson's life in order to avoid if possible the errors of judgment and strategy that brought his great enterprise to defeat in the United States Senate and ended the hope of American participation in a system of collective security. Today we see our chief political leaders-not the President alonetiptoeing toward the brink of a new world order, accepting the necessity of American participation but hesitating to commit us fully and in advance to any detailed program of shared power in the post-war world. No fourteen points this time, no awkward promises from which we may later have to make an undignified and not very honorable escape. Nothing this time but the rather ectoplasmic principles of the Atlantic Charter, susceptible, obviously, to a wide variety of strategic interpretations. I don't blame the leaders of today for their caution, for trying to sidestep the mistakes of last time. For "last time" was one of the great times of reckoning for our civilization. Invisible at the peace table, and in the Senate of the United States (perhaps in the press gallery) and in the councils of the other leading nations, sat Saint Peter. He wrote down in his book -printed on the best rag paper with indelible ink and treated with wax to prevent decay-one of the major failures of mankind.

That undimmed record is staring at us today. Not only in the stupid unrealities of the Versailles Treaty, not only in the bristling nationalisms that sprang from the noble principle of self-determination (like thistles from figs), but in the fatal decision of the leaders of all the nations—ours included—to prevent the overthrow of the power of the established ruling groups. This is the one pact which—though unwritten and unsigned has been scrupulously observed by every government from 1919 till now. Even in the defeated countries, whose aggressive industrialist-militarist-imperialist rule had precipitated the war, even there, the victorious Allies showed themselves consistently partial to the heirs of the imperial power, consistently hostile to the emerging forces of popular revolt. The men who directed the remaking of the Western World after the last war remade it as nearly as possible in its pre-war political image. How quickly the fires of rebellion were smothered! How eagerly our leaders set the forces of reaction on their feet and fed them loans and made treaties and deals with them! They even encouraged our late enemy, Germany, to help wrest territory from our late ally, Russia-weakened by war and revolution. They launched attacks against Russia themselves, directly by expeditionary forces in the North and the Far East, and indirectly by giving (no nonsense about lend-lease) arms and funds to the Soviet Government's hostile neighbors and internal enemies

Undoubtedly our statesmen wanted to restore and keep order, and to them order meant only one thing-the Old Order. And so they ruled out those social and economic changes that might have saved Europe from the despair that bred fascist counter-revolution. And as fascism began to assume power—under various names—in Hungary and Italy and Germany and other countries, they calmly accepted this disease of frustration as a bulwark of the safe Old Order. They didn't know that it represented the breakdown of that order in a revolution of the right-or if they did know, they welcomed and encouraged it as a preferred form of social upheaval. Better everything-terror, race hatred, economic warfare waged according to new gangster rules, the wiping out of independent states-better all this than the faintest risk of encouraging popular risings and the spread of socialism in Europe.

Don't remind me that during the last seven years of this inter-war struggle for power, the United States had a vigorous New Deal government—a popular government itself, anti-fascist by profession and largely anti-fascist in feeling. I know that. And I haven't forgotten that when our government was forced to take a position for or against fascist aggression—in the matter of sanctions against Italy, for example, or, most crucially, in the embargo of arms to Republican Spain—the Administration, in spite of its liberal intentions, followed exactly the same basic policy adopted by the governments of Britain and France. I haven't forgotten. And I believe it proves certain things that American progressives may

as well face: It proves, first, that the power of conservative industrial and financial interests in this country has never been seriously threatened -even when Wall Street was most fiercely attacking the New Deal which had saved it from collapse in 1933. (The ferocity of the business attack on the Roosevelt Administration in the election campaign of 1936 was one of the important though little recognized factors determining American policy toward the Spanish fascist rebellion of that

summer.) It proves, second, that other conservative forces, such as the Roman Catholic hierarchy, acting politically, have largely dominated the policy of the Administration even in its most progressive periods. And throughout our government apparatus, from top to bottom, there have remained in key posts—particularly in those posts that control foreign affairs and domestic economic affairs—tories who, without any pressure from right-wing pressure groups, simply react like the reactionaries they are on every issue that arises.

And this brings me to the moment at which we find ourselves tonight. It is well, as I said a while back, that the President and his advisers are thinking about the experience of his great predecessor, Woodrow Wilson. But it is to be hoped that it is not only his political missteps they are thinking of, but the whole chain of events that followed: the fatal compromises in Paris, the deals he was made party to, the sort of Europe that grew out of those deals, the forces that controlled the League of Nations and prevented it from performing the functions he planned for it. For the lesson of "last time" runs straight down the years, from the mistakes of Woodrow Wilson through the mistakes of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And unless this is recognized, we shall have no better peace than we had after 1918-which means that we shall have no peace.

What reason are we given to hope that "this time" will not be like "last time"? Have the leaders of the Allied nations grasped the idea that we are engaged in putting down the power, not only of Germany and its allies and satellites, but of fascist counter-revolution? Do the men in control realize that we cannot win this war by fighting on one side with planes and tanks and

on the other with political weapons? Do our leaders understand, after all these years, that it is not only the fascist gangsters themselves who need to be extirpated, but the sleek, respectable elements, here and abroad, who put and kept them in power? And do they know that this job calls for a profound shift in the balance of economic and political control, here in America and in Britain as well as in the fascist countries themselves?

These questions, unhappily, almost answer



By Art Young in The Nation, May 16, 1923

The little nations squander their pennies

at the airplane counter.

themselves. Put very crudely-but accurately-power in our own government, as in Britain, is still largely in the hands of men who hate fascism less than they fear social change. The war has increased, not reduced, the influence of those whom the President-in the days before the ukase abolishing the New Deal-used to describe as Economic Royalists. The same forces which conspired to hold this country in line with the Britain of Baldwin and Chamberlain before the war are again trying to build, stone by stone, another Old Order. Today, as between 1919 and 1939, the basic fear of disorder, which means fear of popular rule, dominates our relations with the political elements boiling up out of the cauldron of war. We want to win; but if possible we want to win in alliance with the men and institutions which were responsible for the policies that inevitably produced the war. This is a difficult formula to follow-it may be a dangerous formula even in terms of the military strategy it is presumably designed to serve—but we have consistently stuck to it until the explosive force of events or of popular feeling has blown us out of our familiar ways. In Spain, in France, in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in Greece, we have seen the formula in operation. Mr. Churchill urges us not to fool with "ideological preferences" while we have a war to fight. The Prime Minister should have reversed his advice: he should have appealed to the forces of political change kindly to delay their appearance on the scene until the rulers of Britain and the United States decide their proper time has arrived.

We all know that the war has to be won no matter what comes after. Nobody is arguing with Mr. Churchill about that. The aggression of the Axis powers left the rest of the world no choice but to fight, no alternative to complete victory. But those who see the war chiefly in terms of military action are also those who see the peace chiefly in terms of a restoration of the kind of worldminus a militarized Axis-that preceded the war. The main improvement such people propose is the creation of a new international organization which, through structural improvements or a fresh set of by-laws, will somehow or other succeed where the League of Nations failed. I have read many plans for achieving collective security, and I see the value of thinking in advance about the shape of the world order to come. But no international organization is any better than the leading nations that comprise it. A return to the power structure of pre-war Europe—with its economic relationships unchanged, its colonial system intact, its former ruling groups in control -would mean only a new cycle of economic disintegration, dictatorship, and war, no matter what convenants of peace the nations may sign.

It is this that I hope the President and his advisers see as they review the past in laying their plans for the future. I hope they see that the suppression of disorder is not the primary job of the victorious Allies. I hope they see that the economic structure of Europe, smashed to pieces by fascist methods applied to the business of war, cannot be patched together again. News from the underground in every country indicates an overwhelming conviction on the part of the people that the old system must be replaced with some form or degree of collectivist control, under democratic sanctions. To try to prevent this process by repressing the popular forces behind it (as we have done in Italy) or by lending our immense support to the groups that oppose it (as we have done in Spain) is to align ourselves politically with our enemies. It is to repeat all the mistakes that led us into this deadliest of revolutionary wars. Only a New Deal for the world, more far-reaching and consistent than our own faltering New Deal, can prevent the coming of World War III.

The Nation is going to work for that New Deal for the world. We may be fooled, as we were fooled twentyfive years ago; we may be staking our hopes on emotions and shifts of power which will prove transitory. But the years have made us more adept, too, at gauging our chances. And in spite of all the power arrayed against a decent new world, we know that the power on our side is great.

The democratic forces of Europe and Asia are fully awake to the needs and dangers of this time. The courage and unity and will to fight among the victims of fascist terror in every country are a blazing example to us in this relatively sheltered and isolated land. The people of the occupied countries, in particular, are fighting with a fury we have not learned, for values we do not yet recognize. They are already shaping their own future. Attempts to head them off have not been successful. Does anyone think the old gang will hold power in Spain or in Italy a day after our support is pulled out from under? Franco is our creature—ours and Hitler's; he is not Spain's. Badoglio and the King of Italy belong to us alone. As for France, no amount of Allied pressure was able to check the rise of De Gaulle. And it was not political maneuvering that placed him in his present position of pre-eminence; no one can accuse him of subtle or ingratiating methods! It was the inexorable and united demand of the French people-both in France and in the colonies—that thrust De Gaulle forward and then, quite as inexorably, through the Consultative Assembly, have been making him the instrument of the will of France. The popular revolution in Yugoslavia, so strong and successful that it has drawn Allied support away from the reactionary government-in-exile, will serve as a persuasive example throughout the Balkans.

And Russia. . . . With due regard to the firm and imperturbable self-interest that dominates the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, it must be said that the mighty weight of Russian influence has been thrown on the side

of the democratic forces in Europe. Russia may be building its own sphere of influence, but it is not building it out of nations ruled by fascists and the underlings of fascists. Its own security demands neighbors who prefer peace to conquest. Today, unlike twenty-five years ago, the Soviet Union can if necessary establish its own cordon sanitaire against reactionary nations that threaten it. Perhaps it will do so in any case, just to be on the safe side. Perhaps it will do so only if its Allies continue to build up, and prop up, by diplomatic and military means and the support of the Catholic Church, the decrepit relicts of fascism. I, for one, shall feel that much has been lost if a new

balance of power—East against West—is created in Europe. But it seems to me the most probable alternative to a decent system of collective security based firmly on a democratic Europe. Russia is not going to encourage the reestablishment of the Europe of 1939 and, with all the dangers inherent in any form of power politics, one must count this as gain.

The final source of strength we can draw upon in our fight for a New Deal for the world is here at home. Everywhere one finds a growing awareness of the imminent threat of reactionary control in America. The forces that resist social change have gained much territory and dug themselves in strongly during the war. But in a democracy such tendencies set in motion counter-currents. And today, with the Presidential campaign just opening, we see the lines being drawn more sharply than before. We are in for a fight. Men who have shilly-shallied will have to choose sides. Some will turn up in positions that will surprise us. Perhaps the President himself will surprise us.

The Nation is convinced that the campaign of the coming summer and fall will lay the lines of America's course for the rest of the war and for the whole reconstruction period. We believe that we, like every other organized progressive force in this country, must fight all the way from now until November to back the principles and support the candidates that offer the best hope of a democratic future for America and the world.



By Georges Schreiber, The Nation, May 17, 1933 The Burning of the Books

We must find our allies: we must overlook our smaller differences; and we must move. The discouraging fact we must face is that reaction is both well heeled and well organized, tough and unscrupulous. confident of victory. By comparison we are poorand divided. But in spite of the odds against us we cannot afford to mull along, waiting for the political consciousness of the masses to develop normally and gradually over a period of years. We must fight now. and build our militia while we fight. The most encouraging fact is that we have numbers on our side-if we can reach them.

It is encouraging, too, that the progressive labor groups are already getting

organized for aggressive action. The C. I. O. Political Action Committee is a nation-wide move to overcome the traditional political inertia of American labor and provide that orientation and sense of political reality which the movement so greatly needs. Smaller organizations, such as the Union for Democratic Action, are as deep in the struggle as their means permit. And all over the country committees to carry out local actions have suddenly sprung into being.

The Nation intends both to fight and cover this campaign at the top of its ability. We want to keep track, through first-hand reporting all over the country, of the movement of progressive forces. We shall do what we can to make our pages a focus of information and direction. We shall print criticisms and analyses by the best available political writers. We shall tell the truth about candidates. We shall report as fully the campaign on the right and pay particular attention to the key states and districts. We shall proceed in the firm belief that no matter who is nominated or elected President, his capacity to act as the leader this country and the world most desperately require will depend upon the political elements that come to power with him. Neither a Roosevelt nor a Willkie will be able to steer this country toward a responsible foreign policy if he is opposed by the strongest elements in his own party; and at this critical hour, the strongest elements in both parties are their most reactionary elements.

To break the hold in each party of its Dieses, its

Hoffmans, its Cotton Ed Smiths, its Ham Fishes, must be the first practical political aim of the progressives in this campaign. To rally around a concrete, clearly-put democratic program both in foreign and domestic affairs must be their second and more permanent aim.

Now a program can be as intricate as the usual political party platform or as brief as the President's Four Freedoms. But its value depends upon its ability to turn principles into specifications. The Nation's program of action is at least specific. It grows naturally out of the events we chronicle and the issues we discuss in each number. It is founded in a firm conviction that the very existence of our civilization depends upon the development-not yet achieved-of a close and confident political understanding among the great Allied powers both in fighting the war and in planning the peace; and upon the creation of a permanent international organization, in whatever shape, composed of nations whose governments have been stripped of fascist, pro-fascist, or collaborationist elements. In practice this means that the Allied governments should mutually carry out such immediate policies as these:

1. In Italy they should withdraw support from the King and General Badoglio and permit the free parties to establish a provisional republican government.

 They should recognize the French Committee of National Liberation as the provisional government of France, with full right to rid the army and the civil administration of fascists and other traitors, and to act in every way as an independent governing body.

3. They should forthwith break off relations with fascist Spain and do everything in their power to favor the reestablishment of the Republic, which alone can bring Spain into the Allied coalition.

4. They should support the free people's movements in every occupied country, abandoning the pretense of "non-intervention," which, in practice, has always meant effective intervention in behalf of reaction.

5. They should open their doors to every refugee able to escape from Europe and, by so doing, establish a moral right to insist that Britain permit the immigration into Palestine of all Jews who can still be saved from the extermination policy of the Nazi terrorists; they should use their united influence to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper and give their united support to the development of the Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

6. In Latin America they should give all possible aid to movements aiming at the establishment of democratic rule in those countries now subject to dictatorship. The United States, in particular, should do its best to strengthen and create a closer relationship between the nations possessing free governments, in order to reduce the danger of fascist control of the continent.

In domestic affairs, The Nation will continue to fight—and help unite other progressive groups in the fight—for the fullest possible use of our great productive ma-

chine (doubled in capacity during the war) after the war is won. The only hope of an orderly economic future for our country and the world lies in greater and greater production and a constant increase in the exchange of goods. With this in mind we shall oppose every policy that tends to limit production. In particular, we shall attack private monopolies of all sorts both in national and international trade.

We welcome the promises of American business to assume full responsibility for maintaining maximum production and employment. But we do not believe this aim can be achieved without the active intervention of the government. Only the government can plan and coordinate economic activities on a national and international scale. It is our belief that there will have to be more, not less, government intervention in business after the war. The government will have to act as umpire, policeman, promoter, social welfare agent, and wherever necessary as producer and distributor too. Against the background of this general position, we favor:

1. Immediate government pianning for expanded production and full employment after the war through improved fiscal policies and broad programs of public works; large-scale housing; regional developments such as the various public power projects; encouragement of small business and cooperative enterprises; encouragement of farm projects, collective and individual; government operation of such publicly-owned plant facilities as would otherwise be taken out of production.

2. Prompt passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to extend the benefits of social security to many groups formerly excluded and guarantee adequate medical care for everyone.

3. Full representation, in all government departments and agencies, of labor and other progressive elements in the community.

4. The abolition of such obviously fascist devices as the Dies, Kerr, and Smith committees.

5. The wiping out of every form of legal discrimination, political or economic, against any racial or religious group, and the initiation of a deliberate program of education throughout the United States designed to overcome prejudice and the social discriminations that arise from prejudice.

These demands form only a working model of a plarform. But they offer an area on which progressives of various political groups can stand and fight together, If we agree on these few points, we can probably agree on the many that naturally grow out of them.

. . .

My friends, this analysis, these plans, this scattered collection of "points" can really be summed up in a simple plea. Ordinary people everywhere are sick to death of the scramble for power of privileged groups; they are sick of intrigue, of divisions among men; they are sick of the cruelty which has made the world a

place of horror and ignominy. What they want—all they want—are the opposites of these products of fascism and war. They want a breath of human warmth in a world grown cold with hate; they want freedom to work and talk and enjoy the decencies of life; to educate their children. They are willing to die—they are dying, in millions—so that other men may have these things. But

if they die only to keep alive a world in which the hope of freedom again withers and hatred and war come to flower, then the payment for that deception will be even heavier than the awful payment exacted today for the deceptions of last time. It is our task—our only important task on this earth—to help create a world fit, not for heroes, but for ordinary men and women.

# Outflanking the Japanese

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE speedy capture by the navy of Kwajalein and Eniwetok atolls in the Marshalls provides a complete vindication of those military critics who have contended that the Central Pacific rather than the Southwest Pacific route offers the most desirable highway to Tokyo. Actual experience has shown island hopping here to be easier, cheaper, and far faster than the kind of war in which General MacArthur, after two years of skilled fighting, has yet to clean up half of New Guinea.

The performance of Americans in the Marshalls invasion can only be termed excellent. Fine scouting and intelligence work gave a detailed knowledge of terrain and enemy strength. A thorough aerial softening of surrounding islands by both army and navy planes eliminated the chance of interference by air. As in the Gilberts, the very size of the invading fleet, precluded the enemy accepting a challenge to a fleet engagement. Landing tactics were better than at Tarawa and go far toward explaining the ridiculously low casualties. Finally, the tactics of by-passing, already practiced in the Aleutians and Solomons, left several Japanese bases to the east heavily fortified but largely helpless, to be dealt with at our leisure. Thus Japan, for the first time in her modern history has lost territory she had long controlled.

Not only the campaign in the Marshalls, but the recent raids are of the utmost importance. That portion of the United States Navy now in the Pacific is so strong that simultaneous offensives deep in enemy waters can be conducted practically without loss. They have shown that the land-based Japanese plane holds far fewer terrors than previously while our own air force is fully able to defeat any attempts the enemy may care to make toward relieving such important bases as Rabaul by convoys. We have a big job of mopping up ahead of us, but on the basis of recent events it seems unlikely that any of the Marshalls, Wake Island, Nauru, New Guinea, New Britain, or New Ireland can be held while the Carolines including Truk will also fall, probably sooner than expected and without a major test of naval strength. The Japanese navy now seems to be confined mainly to home waters.

The refusal of the Japanese navy to accept any of several recent invitations to battle is significant from several angles. The Pacific enemy has long been characterized by a kind of bulldog aggressiveness. Yet on all recent occasions when a collision might have occurred the American control of the air was such as to make acceptance of our challenge plainly suicidal. Nor is this the only factor involved. In the Pacific we have long been engaged in a process at sea analogous to the Russian "blitzgrinding" on land and have taken an immensely high toll of enemy vessels. Numbers of mistakes have been made in identifying the class of ships sunk, and the Army Air Corps has often been far too optimistic in its claims, as in the well known case of the Haruna. But the navy has leaned toward conservatism, and in several instances its reports of enemy ships destroyed have been too modest. The naval superiority with which the Japanese started the war has, therefore, disappeared without the slightest likelihood of returning. In fact, because of the phenomenal output of American yards our navy, even now markedly stronger than the Japanese, will shortly be overwhelming. Still later, the addition of our Atlantic fleet and the British navy will give the United Nations a margin of anywhere between three and five to one and will spell Japan's doom as surely as Germany's is now being sealed on land. From this time on the tactics of the United States in the Pacific can become bolder and more aggressive because we can now afford to take risks which would have been extremely foolish two years ago. The "play it safe close to the chest" methods of Admiral King should give way increasingly to the fighting offensive which is the heritage of the American navy.

With this bold leap forward to the Admiralty Islands General MacArthur has outflanked the remaining Japanese bases in the Southwest Pacific and trapped upwards of 50,000 enemy troops in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. This successful move is the:fruit both of the air and sea offensive which has almost paralyzed Rabaul and of the Central Pacific campaign. If the Japanese were still able to use Truk as a base, such a long

stride to the north would hardly have been feasible. In both Pacific theaters there may now be a pause before further advances are undertaken for our newly won positions must be consolidated and the more important enemy strongholds, which have been by-passed, must be captured and converted to our use. In the Central Pacific, Ponape and Kusaie in the eastern Carolines are the most important positions still to be taken. Truk, no longer the bugaboo of a year ago, may be regarded as the first main objective of both our current drives.

From the Carolines we can branch out in either or both of two directions. The Marianas and Bonin Islands to the north lead directly to Japan itself, but the air bases available are not numerous and are hardly sufficient to support a real bombing offensive against the mainland. These islands are worth taking for their nuisance value to the enemy, but air raids from the Bonins will hardly bring Japan to terms.

Secondly, we can continue our island hopping directly to the west with the reconquest of the Philippines the main object. In anticipation of this the Japanese are now fortifying Halmahera, one of the essential stepping stones along the southern line of approach. Unless the enemy should decide to preserve his fleet for the defense of Japan itself this move would probably bring a test with the Japanese navy, for American sea and air power in the Philippine Islands would have the effect of cutting communications to the south with the Indies which could then be mopped up later.

Even the retaking of the Philippines is not likely to end the Pacific war. We may be obliged to gain Chinese bases by a sea offensive from the east rather than a long drawn out land offensive from the west. These will then have to be developed and used in prolonged aerial bombardment of Japan proper as a preliminary to invasion. There are, to be sure, alternatives. One is a direct invasion attempt under cover of our immensely strong carrier aviation. Another is converging attacks from the Kuriles and Formosa. It is difficult to see how the Japanese navy can hope to block our island hopping at any time in the near future—always provided we continue to secure absolute air superiority before each forward step. Without command of the air enemy naval intervention is very unlikely to be successful as the Japanese have discovered to their cost. It is far more likely that the Japanese, if they elect to fight a decisive naval battle, will do so in waters close to their mainland where the United Nations, operating from fewer and more distant air bases, will be at the greatest possible disadvantage.

Because of the effect on American life, it is also worth noting what portion of our war machine will remain after Hitler is defeated. Practically all of the vast merchant marine can be used to speed up conquest. This will not require the same number of destroyer escorts and other convoy protection types as have been needed in the Atlantic as the Japanese submarine threat is incomparably less. Otherwise, nearly all of our navy can be actively employed in the Pacific. The better part of the Army Air Force, especially the bombardment forces, can be used provided we can find sufficient bases from which to operate. The Marine Corps and army units specially trained in amphibious operations will also be needed. However, short of the actual invasion of Japan no particularly large forces of troops will be required in overcoming island garrisons. Nor does Japan itself have an army which would be called large by European standards. Keeping in mind forthcoming British aid it is very doubtful if we could profitably use as many as two million troops in the Pacific area. We could reasonably expect, then, a demobilization of 30 to 40 per cent of the men in our armed services after the defeat of Germany.

Developments in Russia have been fully as important to the outcome of the European war as the breaking of Japan's first real defense lines are in the Pacific. Three Russian offensives, under way at the moment, hold enormous possibilities.

Easily first of the area is southern Russia. Here the Germans are paying the penalty for attempting to hold territory when developments elsewhere had made such action strategically unsound. For fully five months while the battle lines west of Kiev surged further and further west and finally crossed the Polish border, the Germans held desperately to the southern Ukraine with their bridgehead on the lower Dnieper. As the Red Army drives lengthened, the southern German front became longer and more vulnerable to attack. Also German westward communications were increasingly threatened. The reasons for the Wehrmacht's attempts to hold this territory are not entirely clear but probably center around the fact that the metallurgical resources about Nikopol and Krivoi Rog had become of vital importance to Hitler's war machine.

It is still too early to estimate the full extent of Nazi defeat in southern Russia. The loss of nearly all of the Eighth Army comes at a time when Germany is critically short of troops. The mauling of other divisions about Nikopol will also affect the manpower balance in that area. However, the first spring rains have been cutting down the mobility of both armies, and the Red Army in the good fighting weather remaining may find it difficult to turn the defeat of the enemy into disaster.

The best opportunity of doing this lies farther north, where General Vatutin's armies have been making the most progress. Should the Russians be able to cut the Odessa-Zhmerinka-Lwow railway or better yet take Lwow itself, Mannstein's southern German armies, able to retreat only into Rumania and facing grave supply difficulties, will find themselves in a critical situation. Even if they escape encirclement their necessary retreat into

the Balkans should place them outside the main arena of the war.

In the far north the twin drives west of Novgorod and southwest from Leningrad along the Gulf of Finland represent almost the only important activity in that area since 1942. While they are less threatening than offensives further south, the Germans cannot afford to take them lightly. To date they have (1) completely raised the two-year siege of Leningrad (2) compelled a retreat into Estonia of the northernmost German armies and flanked those immediately to the south (3) provided a little more mobility to the Russian Baltic Fleet with the clearing of part of the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland and (4) served the plainest kind of warning to Finland to get out of the war on the basis of harsh terms now or unbearable terms later. As the Russians extend their hold on the Gulf of Finland, they should shortly be in a position to interrupt the German iron-ore trade with Sweden from both sea and air, adding one more to the numerous harassments besetting the

From the strategic angle the German position in Russia is now chaotic. The front is irregular and unnecessarily long. The deep salients pushed by the Red Army have cut north-south rail communications and complicated the problem of supply. Only rarely do the present German lines rest on rivers, railroads, or any other natural supports. Yet, with the Russians in Poland only a little over 200 miles from East Prussia, the day has passed when the Germans dare conduct "strategic retreats" and attempt to find stable lines to the west. Inferior in numbers, desperately short of reserves, the Wehrmacht can only hold each bit of ground as long as possible before retreating.

While the Russian and Pacific fronts have shown the greatest activity for the month past, other developments have been significant. The strategically vital Battle of the Atlantic having been won, shipping becomes safer week by week as submarine sinkings rise and ship losses decline. January and February were extremely good months for the air war. The Italian campaign, on the other hand, gives less reason for satisfaction. The landing of six divisions south of Rome should have resulted in far greater gains, especially in view of the German unpreparedness to meet such a move. Either the capture of Rome or an attack on the rear of Kesselring's armies could normally have been expected. Instead the newly landed troops, after having secured their bridgehead, appear to have made no offensive moves. While more facts should be awaited before any final judgment is made, either bad leadership or extremely conservative and unimaginative tactics is suggested by our failure to exploit a strong position combined with the element of surprise. We must do far better if we are to win ir western Europe with both speed and low casualties.

## In the Wind

ROM HONOLULU comes word that the Chinese of Hawaii, in a special "gratitude drive," have bought more than a million dollars' worth of war bonds "to give concrete evidence of their thanks to America" for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws.

LOUIS BROMFIELD was scheduled to present a plaque, on behalf of the National Victory Garden Institute, to Delano Lodge of the United Steelworkers of America, the much-publicized "model union" of the Empire Sheet and Tin Plate Company, Mansfield, Ohio. The union refused to accept the plaque from his hands because of his attacks on organized labor. Other arrangements were hastily made.

SCOOP: An anti-Semitic joke that has been in circulation since the first days of the war has just appeared in the Grants Pass, Oregon, *Bulletin*.

THE PROVOST-MARSHAL'S OFFICE has authorized commandants of army posts at which Italian prisoners of war are held to parole such prisoners at their own discretion. Thus far there is no record that any such parole has been granted, since the commandant issuing the parole would be held responsible if the prisoner should fail to return.

IN CASE Governor Dewey of New York should be nominated for the Presidency, the Union for Democratic Action has devised a campaign slogan for him: "Dewey or Don't He?" James Loeb, Jr., executive secretary of the U. D. A., admits the grammar is unorthodox but says it's good enough for the Republicans.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In Norway a nationwide campaign for enlistments in the German navy produced fifteen recruits. . . A concentration camp near Bergen is being enlarged. . . Incidentally, the new Nazi slogan for Norway is "Toward Better Times." The underground press generally has made the slogan its own.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received during February goes to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for its story of the omission of Czechoslovakia from an American map. It was published February 19.]

MEETING

## **SUN YAT-SEN DAY**

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BURLINGA

PHRAIC LIE

# French Democracy Gets to Work

BY JULES MOCH

Algiers, February 15

MY WORK in the French resistance movement has made it necessary for me to undertake several missions quite far from Algiers in recent weeks; for that reason I have been unable to send regular dispatches to The Nation.

During a short stay between trips in the provisional capital of France, I found a chance to go through the American newspapers and also to study at first-hand the activities of the young Consultative Assembly.

It seems to me that important sections of American opinion are finding it difficult to follow the evolution of French politics. That is not surprising: how many Frenchmen are familiar with current developments on the American political scene?

Whether the French are acquainted with the problems of the United States, however, can have little influence on the course of events: the France of 1944 will have no role to play in drawing up peace plans for the Western Hemisphere. America, on the other hand, because of its military and economic strength, its present guaranties and post-war promises, its provisional administration of territories occupied by its armies, and the prestige which naturally flows from these actions, will have a tremendous role to play in the demobilization of the Old World.

For this reason influential Americans, particularly government officials and newspapermen, should have a clear picture of the nations which the United States is helping to liberate. The accomplishments of the first two sessions of the Consultative Assembly are therefore of paramount importance to those who want to understand the position of France today.

In the field of governmental procedure great progress has been made. In accordance with the republican tradition of both France and America, the military authority has been placed under civilian direction. Two civilians, one a left parliamentarian, the other a moderate, now direct the War and Aviation Department and the Navy Department.

Moreover the government was reorganized last November in order to reflect more adequately the political composition of the Consultative Assembly and of France itself. It now includes seventeen members, of whom five are parliamentarians; two Socialists, Mm. Philip and Le Troquer; two Radicals, Mm. Queuille and Mendès-

France; and one moderate, M. Jacquinot. Of the remaining twelve members, four represent the principal resistance movements (Mm. d'Astier de la Vigerie, Fresnay, de Menthon, and Capitant); three supported General de Gaulle from the beginning (General Catroux, Mm. Diethelm and Tixier); two were designated by General Giraud (Mm. Monnet and Mayer); one, M. Bonnet, although a follower of General de Gaulle, was accepted by General Giraud as Commissioner of Information when unity was achieved; one is a diplomat who fled to London in 1943, M. Massigli; the final member is General de Gaulle, President of this provisional government of the Republic.

To recapitulate in other terms, its seventeen members include four Socialists, seven civilian republicans who have clearly defined their political position and who may be classified as Radicals, one Left Catholic, and one moderate republican of Reynaud tendency. Only four of the ministers, two of them generals, have no past record of active participation in French political life. How then can American journalists speak of authoritarian or personal or fascist tendencies in a council, two-thirds of whose members were active in the Popular Front, France's "New Deal" government?

One section of the French resistance movement is not represented in the government. But it is no fault of General de Gaulle's that the Communists rejected the offer made to them. If, as is probable, one or two of their representatives finally accept ministerial posts, the provisional government will then reflect exactly the whole resistance movement.

The Assembly has zealously considered the situation in France, ways of aiding the underground, French foreign policy, colonial policy, and the military and naval strategy of France. In lengthy debates, always a delicate matter in public session in time of war, the Assembly, despite its newness and the inexperience of many of its members, has acquitted itself with honor. Every debate has ended with a unanimous vote of confidence for the government. I myself can attest to the fact that the votes of confidence are no mere lip service; they show the real working unity of the parliamentarians, the delegates of the resistance, and those of the overseas territories behind the provisional government.

On two points—and only two—does the position of a

part of the Assembly differ somewhat from that of the government. On the question of purging or punishing traitors, collaborators, and former Vichy ministers, the Assembly favors more drastic action, more summary procedure, and more exemplary punishment. Concerning the administration of France during the period between its liberation and the election of a Constituent Assembly, the delegates are still groping their way toward a solution. The problem is not simple. A ministerial proposal has been rejected by the commission studying the question, and the commission's proposal has been rejected by the Assembly. A new proposal will be submitted to the Assembly in March.

Skeptical readers may suggest that the Assembly is neither consultative nor representative. Let us examine this view.

In theory, the Assembly is only a consultative body. The decrees calling it into existence show that clearly. But that is only theory. From the start the Assembly, with the consent of the government, has gone beyond this narrow concept, acting in the belief that authority is not granted but must be taken.

The authority of the Assembly and the aid which it gives the government are such that it would be impossible for an important bill to become law without having first been examined and approved by the Assembly. The government itself established this precedent when it submitted to the Assembly its proposal for the organization of public power during the liberation period with the request that the Assembly study the post-war reconstruction of French economic life and possible structural reforms together with all the "suggested" modifications in the 1944 budget.

At present the Assembly is something completely different from a simple consultative body. It offers suggestions, but it legislates as well. In effect, a new parliamentary form has been born in Algiers.

One cannot argue, either, that the Assembly is not representative of occupied France. Forty-five of its hundred members left France in October and November 1943, delegated by the resistance organizations and political parties to represent them. They all describe France as 95 per cent, or more, behind the Allied cause. These millions of Frenchmen, hundreds of thousands of them active in the underground, organized and armed, rest their hope of liberation in the Allies and the government in Algiers. Even the Vichy propagandists no longer dispute the fact that the "Gaullists" or "terrorists," that is to say the patriots of France, are united in the struggle for liberty and the restoration of the Republic.

Make no mistake—the French resistance and the delegates who represent it in Algiers are ardent republicans. If studies made by the Committees of Resistance in France are not sufficient proof, we have only to look at

the motion on nationalization, presented to the Assembly by the Socialist delegates, which immediately obtained signatures from forty members or more than half of those present,

France counts on the DeGaulle government to liberate its land, restore its honor, and allow it freely to decide its future. No question of personal power is involved. The commitments of De Gaulle in that regard are clear and explicit.

This is what America should know about France. France is ready for the heaviest sacrifices to regain its liberty. It is deeply hurt by the reticent and limited recognition accorded its government by the Allies. France will redouble its effort in the hope that the Allies will soon better understand its suffering, its aspirations, and its whole-hearted support of President de Gaulle.

## Ten Points for Peace

MONG all the competing plans for a future world organization one of the simplest and most sensible is that recently put forward by Samuel S. Fels in the New York Times Sunday magazine. Mr. Fels proposes that the United Nations themselves should form the "nucleus for an international union of all governments in the interest of peace and good-will." The thirty-three states voluntarily linked for the prosecution of the war constitute a majority of the nations of the world in numbers, force, and influence. They have developed the machinery of cooperation; they have even initiated, in the field of relief and rehabilitation, common programs of action for the post-war period.

Mr. Fels recognizes clearly that the old idea of sovereignty must be fundamentally modified if the United Nations is to develop as an effective society of nations. But this would be true under any plan. The most complete and ingenious international governmental structure that could be devised would prove worthless unless each member nation were willing to contribute to it some share of its sovereignty.

We print below the ten points of Mr. Fels's proposal with the suggestion to readers that they send us their criticisms or other comments:

- 1. Charge the United Nations with the obligation to prevent wars and vest in them the power whenever and wherever necessary to use force to accomplish this end.
- 2. Require that weapons and materials of war remaining in the hands of the Axis powers shall be cut up and sold for scrap, and the proceeds used to supply much-needed food to the people of the countries concerned. (A preference for butter over cannon is thus indicated.)
- 3. Provide that instruments of war remaining in the hands of members of the United Nations after the war is over may be retained by them wholly or in part for

requirements within their own borders; but that the primary purpose of those weapons, and their sole use outside the borders of their owners, shall be to carry out duties laid down for the United Nations in the peace.

- 4. Charge the United Nations with the duty and power to prohibit any further manufacture of weapons or munitions of war by any country or by private enterprise. Should, however, conditions arise later where limited amounts are required to carry out the purposes of the peace treaty, the manufacture of these shall be controlled by the United Nations only.
- 5. Charge the United Nations with establishing a central headquarters through which constant and diligent search shall be carried out in all parts of the world for dangerous evidence of preparations for war and situations that might lead to it. This would call for a corps of able, energetic, trained men to keep in touch with conditions by personal visits to countries where trouble is likely to occur. This corps of men to be given by the peace treaty all the rights needed by them to fulfill their instructions, including the right of search for hidden munitions factories.
- 6. Charge the United Nations with maintaining a similar corps to audit conditions in any mandated or colonial territories, with additional power to require reports, hold hearings, and hear native testimony.
- 7. Provide that the police powers of the various countries shall be put at the service of the United Nations when called upon. This will have the great advantage of connecting world efforts to prevent war with local efforts to prevent disorder.
- 8. Project the work of the United Nations on a basis of entire frankness with the people—their constituents—publishing to the world open, concise, and regular reports in every tongue.
- Provide, through some equable and compulsory system, adequate revenue to maintain these and other services of the United Nations.
- 10. Count on the advantages accruing to the countries participating in the United Nations to lead neutral and, after due probation, enemy countries to join them.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

HENRICH HIMMLER has issued a new decree creating what can be called a "total police force." On February 23 he announced that from now on "every male German irrespective of age, being capable and worthy of bearing arms, must serve in the auxiliary police." Obviously this is a ne plus ultra. No country can have more police than inhabitants.

The auxiliary police in Germany consists of two formations—the Rural Guard and the Town Guard. The first was founded two years ago; the second, somewhat later. Both serve as reservoirs of man-power on which the regular police can draw in an emergency. Members continue their regular occupations, but "during their leisure hours undergo training in the essentials of police theory and use of arms." As soon as they have received this rudimentary instruction they are assigned to police work for a few hours a few times a week, at night or in their free time. Previously the service was voluntary and on a limited scale. Now it is compulsory and universal.

The decree divides all men still in the country into three groups. In the first are those who are not employed full time in a war job; the police can call on them at any time. Then come those who have full-time war jobs, for example, in an armament factory; they can be called to police duty only in their free time. The third group consists of men who in addition to their full-time war job do work for the party or some war organization; they are to be used only in cases of "utmost necessity."

Each police station can commandeer as many men as it needs. Among the duties of this auxiliary force the Himmler decree mentions "the barring off of certain districts, searching houses, searching persons in the streets arresting suspects." "These tasks," it says, "demand a high degree of responsibility when Germans are involved and ruthless action when foreigners and prisoners of war are to be dealt with." The police auxiliaries "must feel that they share responsibility for the security of their district, which of course they know better than others." As a reward for service they receive decorations and commendations—and money. For bringing back an escaped war prisoner, for example, an auxiliary policeman is paid a hundred marks, "not subject to income tax."

"All German men must be available in case of utter need," says the Himmler decree. The question is, what sort of utter need is meant? The official text says only that it is necessary to fill out the ranks of the regular police because "its active members and reserves have been sent in increasing numbers to the front or into the occupied countries." That is undoubtedly a too ingenuous explanation: millions are not needed to replace a few ten thousands. On the other hand, to say that Himmler is preparing new police forces for the event of a revolution is too dramatic: no one thinking of forestalling a revolution would arm and train all men. The real reason seems to be the twelve to fifteen million war prisoners and foreign workers now scattered in hundreds of thousands of places of employment throughout the Reich, in towns and in the country. It is becoming more and more clear that these represent a gigantic enemy army which could be a great danger in a critical situation. Hence the necessity of forming an auxiliary police which can claim to be the largest police organization of all times and countries.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## A Carriage from Sweden

They say there is a sweeter air
where it was made, than we have here;
a Hamlet's castle atmosphere.
At all events there is in Brooklyn
something that makes me feel at home.

No one may see this put-away museum-piece, this country cart that inner happiness made art; and yet, in this city of freckled integrity it is a vein

of resined straightness from north-wind hardened Sweden's once-opposed-tocompromise archipelago of rocks. Washington and Gustavus Adolphus, forgive our decay.

Seats, dashboard and sides of smooth gourdrind texture, a flowered step, swandart brake, and swirling crustaceantailed equine amphibious creatures that garnish the axle-tree! What

a fine thing! What unannoying romance! And how beautiful, she with the natural stoop of the snowy egret, gray-eyed and straight-haired, for whom it should come to the door,—

of whom it reminds me. The split pine fair hair, steady gannet-clear eyes and the pine-needled-path deerswift step; that is Sweden—land of the free and the soil for a spruce-tree—

vertical though a seedling—all needles: from a green trunk, green shelf on shelf fanning out by itself. The deft white-stockinged dance in thick-soled shoes! Denmark's sanctuaried Jews!

The puzzle-jugs and hand-spun rugs, the root-legged kracken shaped like dogs, the hanging buttons and the frogs that edge the Sunday jackets! Sweden, you have a runner called the Deer, who

when he's won a race, likes to run more; you have the sun-bright gableends due east and west, the table spread as for a banquet; and the putin twin vest-pleats with a fish-fin

effect when you need none. Sweden, what makes the people dress that way and those who see you wish to stay? The runner, not too tired to run more at the end of the race? And that

cart, dolphin-graceful? A Dalgrén lighthouse, self-lit? responsive and responsible. I understand; it's not pine-needle-paths that give spring when they're run on, it's a Sweden

of moated white castles,—the bed of flowers densely grown in an S meaning Sweden and stalwartness, skill, and a surface that says Made in Sweden; carts are my trade.

MARIANNE MOORE

#### The DAE

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HIS-TORICAL PRINCIPLES. Edited by Sir William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert. Four Volumes, University of Chicago Press. \$100.

THE editors of the "Dictionary of American English," free at last to raise their eyes above endless quotation slips and proof sheets, must feel a decent, sober surprise at the acclaim given to the conclusion of their long, harmless, unpublicized drudgery. They and all who have collaborated with them in any way have reason to take pride in the completion of a great work of cooperative scholarship, and the University of Chicago Press has earned fully the Carey-Thomas award for creative publishing. I, for one, would like to add to the honor roll the unnamed book designer responsible for the format of the DAE-to give it the abbreviation by which it is already known-and the compositor or compositors who set the type on an intricate, exacting assignment. The DAE deserves the applause that it is now receiving; yet when work on it began at Chicago in 1925, almost the only aspect of the enterprise deemed newsworthy was the notion, intimated by the papers, that the senior editor was a foreign fuddy-duddy ill equipped to deal competently with the complexities of the American vocabulary.

Since echoes of that canard are still audible, it is worth recalling that Mr. Craigie was, as he happily still is, the most experienced of living English lexicographers, that he was the first person to urge the necessity and to formulate the plan of such a dictionary, and that he brought to the new task an incomparable knowledge of dictionary-making.

The first fascicle of the DAE I reviewed in *The Nation* in 1936 with the ebullient enthusiasm of a confirmed dictionary-reader. Almost a year later, on the publication of the second fascicle, I reiterated the praise but I also expressed some regret at certain features of the dictionary—the omission, except in special cases, of any indication of pronunciation and etymology, and the too rigorous exclusion of encyclopedic matter. I might have demurred, also, at the

refusal to include any words that had not been "booked" by the year 1901. Surveying now the complete work, and recalling many hours of browsing in it as it was issued part by part, I can repeat the praise without reservation and have learned to tolerate comfortably its few sins of omission.

Yet it is not an easy work to use. The plan of the DAE is quite different from that of any other dictionary in the English language, and the reader who consults it uninformed of its special character may readily be baffled or disappointed. It is not, as its title seems to indicate, a dictionary of the English language in America. Such a dictionary would be bulky, expensive, and not especially useful, for it would to a great extent be a duplication of existing works, and what was novel in it would be pretty well lost under masses of familiar material. Nor is the DAE a glossary of Americanisms. It lacks, too, all those features that make the ordinary American dictionary a hybrid of lexicon and encyclopedia, amazingly versatile as a household reference book, but often considerably short of perfection as a guide to the ways in which words are actually used.

These, however, are not the only or the most radical departures from ordinary lexicographical method. All orthodox dictionaries comprehend, with greater or less attention to detail, the central vocabulary of the language and extend thence in various directions according to their scope. This inclusiveness gives a dictionary a certain familiar coherence; the word sought is almost sure to be there, and the particular usage indicated with more or less precision.

This familiar coherence is not to be found in the DAE. It is not so much an independent work as a gigantic supplement to other dictionaries, especially to its parent work, the "Oxford English Dictionary." Its choice of words and exhibition of significances are selective, the purpose being to register with great fulness the distinctive features of American English and to ignore so far as possible those other features that do not differentiate it from the English spoken elsewhere. Accordingly, the vocabulary of the DAE includes only "words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin, or have greater currency here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of the people." This rule, however, is construed to cover words that have acquired new applications in the United States. Some of these applications are so subtle that they hardly lend themselves to direct explanation or definition but have to be suggested by abundant quotations. Further restrictions were also imposed: slang and dialect terms are included only if they have found their way into the main currents of American writing, and no term has been included for which printed authority does not exist before 1901, although often the record of quotations is carried down almost to the present. The result of all this is that the reader is frequently at a loss to know whether he is likely to find what he wants in the DAE; the particular term or significance may be there or it may not, and not always is it possible to determine the status of an omission—it may be out of bounds, it may be an oversight, or it may have been excluded on insufficient grounds. The game of discovering omissions will go on for many years. The editors themselves are already playing it and will welcome the participation of others.

This difficulty is inherent in the DAE and could not have been avoided by either restriction or extension of scope. The user will always feel some uncertainty about what he will find. Usually he will find abundance.

Physically, the "Dictionary of American English" exists in 2,500 copies consisting each of four large quarto volumes and is not likely to be reprinted for years to come. Of these, 450 have been shipped to England, where they are certainly needed in the cause of international understanding. Some fifty others, let us say, will disappear in one way or another, some of them to reappear in mint condition for the use of a later generation. That leaves a scant 2,000 copies, most of them in university or research libraries, to exercise what influence they may on the linguistic consciousness of the American people. What may we expect?

Probably there can be no satisfactory answer to that question. Although we are a nation of dictionary owners, we are not a dictionary-reading people, and the DAE can affect only those who will read it systematically, not necessarily from A to Z, but with a certain persistence and continuity. It is not a book to be flipped open with the aid of a thumbindex, searched hastily for the proper head word, and then returned to the shelf when the tidbit of information for immediate use has been located. Of course, it can serve that purpose too, but it is made to be read with leisure and meditation, and the reader should have in his head both the map of his country and its history. Then the DAE comes to life and becomes one of the most memorable of American books. The great feature of the work is its host of dated quotations, many of them full, and an astonishing proportion of them quick with the life of an expanding and developing nation. According to my own rough calculation, there are between 170,000 and 175,000 of them in the 2,528 pages of dictionary matter. One might object, like Mark Twain's miner friend, that the dictionary, while interesting in the main, is much too various for comfortable reading. I have not found it so. A magnificent scholarly lexicon, it is also an inexhaustible anthology of American life; and although it does not represent that life with completeness-apparently the editors found little to quote from American philosophers, theologians, scholars, and pure scientists, omitting Jonathan Edwards, Abraham Lincoln, and William James altogether, and preferring Walt Whitman the journalist to Walt Whitman the poet-it mirrors that life as perhaps only one other work does. The reader, as I have said, may not find what he is looking for in the DAE, but like Columbus he will find America. GEORGE GENZMER

## Progressive Liberal Education

VITALIZING LIBERAL EDUCATION: A STUDY OF THE LIBERAL ARTS PROGRAM. By Algo D. Henderson. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

If EVER there was a time when education was considered just right, history has left no record of it. From Plato's "Laches" to Dewey's "Democracy and Education" every important discussion of education has taken a critical attitude toward existing practices. This is as it should be; even reformers, when they are intelligent, become the critics of

their own reforms. The history of education, wisely approached, should make us skeptical of any scheme that pretends to lay down the right education for all men at all times in all cultures, and of any tract on education described as the book to end all further books on the subject.

This book by Mr. Henderson, president of Antioch College, is emphatically free of all such pretensions. Taking American democratic society as its point of departure, it proposes to reorganize the liberal-arts program in order to turn out intelligent individuals, aware of the forces shaping the modern world and equipped with the knowledge and skills required to make existing society a better democracy. Mr. Henderson is convinced that this can be done without forcing the personalities of students into one mold or indoctrinating them with philosophical and social dogmas. He believes that it is a primary function of the liberal-arts college to awaken the critical sense in students and to nurture it to a point where, no matter what specific programs and loyalties they support, their basic allegiance will be to the authority of rational, scientific method. Properly conceived and administered, such a liberal-arts program will produce not thinking machines and social technicians but mature persons whose inner resources will give them both the strength and the means to refresh their minds in the thick of struggle.

What makes this book distinctive is its uncommon sense in a field marked by wild and strident claims. It is a modest but effective statement, against a broad background of educational experience, of one variant of the progressive educational philosophy. It is not a reply to the neo-Thomists but a positive formulation of the assumptions, objectives, and modes of operation of the experimental philosophy of liberal education. Its chief weaknesses are a failure to sink its philosophical foundations deep enough and a rather confusing organization of material which runs together discussion of first principles with the minutiae of administative detail. But it is eminently worth reading as a presentation of what may be called the modern point of view in education.

That point of view is reflected in the author's conception of the objectives of a liberal education today, the orientation of its curriculum, and the methods by which teaching and learning are to be carried on. These conceptions raise a whole cluster of problems. One of them is at present the subject of hot debate. I refer to Mr. Henderson's frank proposal that "the curriculum in liberal education should be focused around the study of vital problems of society." Such a position usually encounters the retort that this restricts education to a narrow absorption in the evanescent affairs of the moment and ignores the great classical tradition which is the support of the well-furnished mind. Mr. Henderson meets these and similar criticisms with admirable directness, albeit a little too briefly. Contemporary problems are the point of departure for study, but no important problem can be adequately grasped without exploring the causal and ideational lines that radiate from it into the past. Nothing is more contemporary than present-day totalitarianism. Can its nature be understood without a social and economic analysis of capitalist society? Can we come to grips with its rationalizations and achieve clarity in our own minds without detailed study of the ideas of men like Nietzsche, Hegel, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, Aquinas, Aristotle, and Plato, as well as the principles contained in the papal encyclicals of the last few centuries? What subject can bring home more forcibly the importance of sound ideas on biology and the logic of evidence? It is the great problems of the present, and they alone, which provide a focus of relevance to which to relate the study of the past. Otherwise how determine in an intelligent way at what point in the past to begin, what to include out of its inexhaustible materials, and what contributions to stress?

Those who would exclude concern with the major cultural problems of our time or subordinate them to the study of the past are, in effect, saying that the social and political problems of Graeco-Roman and medieval culture, out of which many of the great classics were born, are worth studying but not our own. It would be hard to justify this except on the assumption that the true answers to our problems can best be found by assaying the heritage of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

This assumption is made almost explicitly by the powerful neo-Thomist opposition to centering the liberal-arts curriculum around contemporary cultural problems. It believes that the classic tradition should be made focal in college studies because it is a great storehouse of truth which provides answers to the perennial problems of human life and destiny. Grant for a moment that there are perennial problems and even truths, why cannot they emerge from a consideration of the important issues of our age? What is eternally true must be true at any time. Even if the whole of this opposition's dubious metaphysics and still more dubious theology were sound, it could be shown that its educational program is pedagogically unsound. For whatever the alleged advantages of a curriculum organized around the materials of the past, they can be won also by intelligent study of modern culture. The enormous differential gain in this latter approach is that the knowledge and values which emerge from inquiries into the massive and dramatic problems of our time have a definite relevance to the perennial. task of making life better here and now.

On the other hand, if we assume that we already are in possession of eternal truths discovered by the past and that we need only apply them to the present, we are likely to overlook what is distinctive in our own times. The natural bias would be to discount evidence showing that the propositions believed eternally true are actually false or have only a limited historical validity. The creative sterility of modern adherents of great systems of past thought is in part due to their failure to dip into the fresh seas of contemporary experience to test and amplify their stock of "eternal" truths. Further, the whole notion that the past is to be ransacked only to discover the "truths" it can bequeath to the present is parochial. Its more fruitful use, as in literature and art, where the past is not relevant to programs of action. is the ever-present occasion it offers for the enlargement of meanings and the cultivation of the imagination. Mr. Henderson's liberal-arts program makes ample provision for

As a matter of fact, those who glorify the past usually do so from a standpoint which not only has a contemporary impact but grows out of a social position and interest of which they are not always aware. The signficance of the past is not a physical object like the shards recovered from an excavation site. It must be interpreted. And since it has many interpretations, there are as many "pasts" as there are significances that can be drawn from a never-ending series of "presents." Often the genuine issue between the protagonists of classical or modern emphasis in curricular studies is a radical difference in contemporary outlook and program. The past is used as a weapon in a present struggle over a present issue which should be frankly brought into the light. The real point of the attack on progressive education is an attack on secular education. And this attack is part of a much larger campaign against the ideals of a secular culture free of controls by dogmatic theology or political religions. Here, then, is one of the basic issues in modern education, one which will not be resolved in the schools but in the wider area of social and political life. SIDNEY HOOK

## Land of the Louche

NOW I LAY ME DOWN TO SLEEP. By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

OME years ago Ludwig Bemelmans published a short story in which he described how he crossed the Atlantic in one of the Normandie's glittering suites de grand luxe. "I think the tips on that voyage," he wrote, "amounted to more than the whole price of the voyage. I never enjoyed such service."

On the return trip, however, Bemelmans wanted "to experience how a man feels who has no money, or very little, and who has to live in the third class." There, to his surprise, he found that "a glass of vin ordinaire is good, the cuisine bourgeoise excellent." But he did not like "the vibration and the pitching," neither the child who ate himself sick on ice cream, nor the man at his table whose name was Ginsberg and had dirty fingernails.

Mr. Bemelmans's first novel suggests that he has taken good care to stay on the upper deck ever since. "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep" is the funniest book I have read in recent years. It also contains many passages of superb writing. Bemelmans doesn't seem to know what a literary cliché is. Parts of his book have behind them the quality and the mentality of the late Ronald Firbank—but of a less precious, more prolific Firbank, whose day begins before lunch and whose evenings are spent in the demi-rather than the beaumonde. Most writers could profit from a study of Bemelmans's prose. Henry Miller, for example, with his passion for the unprintable, could take a lesson in subtlety from the following paragraph:

Mrs. Bosch whispered to the steward to go and see what the guest wanted, but the ardent steward, breathing heavily, pressed her against the wall again, and in two brief short words offered to do for the General what he had so successfully accomplished with Mrs. Bosch herself the night before.

General Leonidas Erosa—not a General at all, of course is a seventy-year-old, fabulously wealthy South American, whose chest looks "like a sofa ripped open," and who owns two fantastic homes—one an Art Nouveau Schlors in Ecuador, the other a vast villa in Biarritz, from which, when

Europe begins to look unhealthy, he sets out-via Casablanca and New York-to South America, accompanied by his most peculiar retinue. For like most rich and lonely men, the General is surrounded not by friends, but servants, some of whom are crooks who rob him right and left-a practice of which the General approves-and one of whom, his Indian gardener, tries to suffocate his master after that man has lashed him across the face with a whip. This is the only occasion on which the General, who suffers from epileptic fits, resorts to violence. For the remainder of three hundred pages he is a funny, pathetic, wise, not ungenerous character, who spends his alcoholic, not so very unhappy days in the louche world of Ritz hotels, sumptuous suites of ships, superb food, his evenings in expensive boites, and his nights with other men's wives and Indian girls whom he discards -for that seems to be the custom in Ecuador-when they are pregnant. And he dies, not without dignity and courage, trapped by an earthquake in his own swimming pool.

This story is said to be an allegory. An allegory of what? Its publishers describe it as "a lamp hung out in the darkness of our time, to cheer us on our way." Where to?

True, we are cheered while we read it, but when we have laid it down, to sleep, we dream of our way lined with waiters holding out to us ice-cold magnums of Roederer Brut, and some of us, who have no money, or very little, cannot afford, are not at all sure that we even want, to enjoy such service.

JAMES STERN

## Guides to India

INTRODUCTION TO INDIA. By F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson. Oxford University Press. \$2.

REPORT ON INDIA. By T. A. Raman. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

During this war Americans discovered Europe. During this war they are discovering Asia, and thousands of American and British troops in India, along with many more thousands of their relatives and friends at home, have overnight become concerned with that ancient land. The result has been to break down national and cultural insularities—which in turn creates problems of inter-group relationships. The success of any new world order will depend to a great extent upon our ability to ease now the meeting of peoples and cultures. Sympathetic guides are essential.

The first of the two volumes under review was written, by an Indian and an Englishman, with a specific end in mind, that of providing British and American troops now in India with a "quick and balanced" survey of the country; and they have produced an excellent book that can be read with pleasure and profit not only by foreign soldiers now stationed in India but by everyone interested in and unfamiliar with the Indian scene. This is the briefest and best introduction to India in the English language that I have seen.

The authors provide thumb-nail sketches of the land and the races that inhabit it, of life in rural India, of the birds, beasts, and plants that make India a poet's paradise. Their account of the nationalist movement is all too brief, but it is balanced and clear. And finally there is a most useful section, entitled "Classified Information," which covers, dictionary-wise, subjects ranging from Gandhi and the Maharajahs to the joint family system and prohibition.

Mr. Raman's "Report on India" is a competent and lucid piece of journalism. It too is designed to serve as an introduction to India. It includes generous information on such subjects as Indian history, Indo-British relations, nationalist aspirations, cows and caste, and India's rapid and astounding industrialization. It has useful maps, an appendix, a bibliography, and an index.

But the raison d'être of Mr. Raman's book appears when he comes to discuss India and the war, the Cripps mission and its aftermath, and political parties and personalities. Nationalists are not likely to agree with Mr. Raman's interpretations. And though some Indians might support his views, his book is bound to be regarded, among students of India, as a brilliant presentation of the British case. That the brief comes from an Indian makes it all the more effective as support for the current British argument.

The villain of Mr. Raman's piece is Mahatma Gandhi and its hero is L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India. On page 183, for instance, Mr. Raman writes as follows: "The present writer believes that Gandhi . . . deliberately pitched the demand so high and maneuvered leaders like Nehru behind it in order to make a settlement during the war impossible, a settlement which, perforce, has to be on the basis of wholehearted support of the war." Mr. Raman is entitled to his opinions, but I am afraid that a vast majority of his countrymen will not share his views.

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

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BURLINGAME

## TILMS

THIS week I want briefly to mention several films which should have been reviewed sooner.

The Army Orientation film "The Negro Soldier" is straight and decent as far as it goes, and means a good deal, I gather, to most of the Negro soldiers who have seen it. It is also pitifully, painfully mild; but neither the film nor those who actually made it should be criticized for that. The mildness is, rather, a cruel measure of the utmost that the War Department dares or is willing to have said on the subject. The same mildness makes the film amenable to very broad public distribution, without wholly obviating its almost certain good effect upon a massive white audience which needs to be reached and influenced, however tamely. Whether tougher treatments ever get to the screen depends, in part, on how many people see this one. And that may largely depend on the efforts of the Negroes and whites whom this particular film is surest to disappoint. For I suspect that most exhibitors are going to need encouragement from the audience, in one form or another, to ask for the film at all-to say nothing of advertising it. And I believe that to many people the screen presentation of the Negro as something other than a clown, a burntcork Job, or a plain imbecile, will be more startling and more instructive than we are likely to imagine.

"The Purple Heart" is Darryl Zanuck beating his Hollywood rivals to the draw with a Japanese atrocity picture. It is a fictional account, much more controlled than it might have been, of the trial and torture of eight American fliers who were captured after the Doolittle raid. Under Lewis Milestone's direction, his best in years, it is unusually edged, well-organized, and solidly acted. But I feel extremely queasy watching fiction-especially persuasive fiction-which pretends to clarify facts that are not clear, and may never become so. Conditioned by such amphibious and ambiguous semi-information, we are still more likely than otherwise to do things to defeated enemies which, both morally and materially, will finally damage us more deeply even than

I feel an even sharper objection to the moment, in "Passage to Marseille," when Humphrey Bogart, on a ship representing France, slaughters the surviving helpless crew of a wrecked plane which represents conquered Germany-Victor Francen is shocked, to be sure; but Bogart is the star, from whom the majority will accordingly accept advice on what to do with Germany. Aside from this scene the picture is regulation Nordhoff and Hall, Warner Brothers, Michael Curtiz fustian about Devil's Island, French fascists, and French patriots—fair-to-dull melodramatic entertainment, needled with political consciousness.

In "The Fighting Seabees" American bulldozers engage in direct combat with Japanese tanks, but this opportunity for a few minutes of wonderful film is almost completely muffed. The Japanese are represented, both verbally and by mannerism, as subhuman. One is caught up screaming in the jaws of a steamshovel; he is shot and dropped. The dramatic intention is apparently one of grim humor but I wonder whom the laugh is on.

"The Sullivans" sketches the life story of the five brothers who were killed at once in the South Pacific. The streets, back-yards, porch-life, and interiors are quite good. The treatment of the human being is limpid, simple, and nearly always unimaginative. The emotional impact, for me, was almost nil, in part because nobody really came to life, in part because the effort to reenact and to exploit these real and vanished lives seemed to me somehow scarcely sane; I wish I knew why.

"No Greater Love," a Russian film about a woman guerrilla leader, has a kind of ferocity and ugliness which none of these American films approach; but I feel less uneasy about it than about them. I think the thing which gives this film a full existence and a full right to it is an earned immediacy and passion which the American films entirely lack. The acting is furious and hyperbolic yet proper to the overall key of frenzy. The photography would be discarded by any Hollywood studio: it is harsh, often crude, always sensitive to time, place, weather, substance, atmosphere, and the presence of life. I would have preferred superimposed printed dialogue to the dramatic-school and Theatre Union sorts of voices which were dubbed in; even if they had been excellent I suspect that their safe, hermetic, reenacted quality would have been inescapable, and would have created a strange and disturbing lesion of one's time sense in seeing and hearing the film. On the screen you see it happening; at the same moment the voices are saying, this happened, and this is roughly how. But dubbing is likely to

lift this and future Russian films clear of their pitifully narrow American circuit of a few dozen little "art" theaters, and that is all to the good. People may now get a chance to learn what they, and Hollywood, are cheating each other out of. Ideally, "No Greater Love" should be double-billed, all over the country, with "The North Star."

"The Uninvited," through an adroit counterpointing, syncopating, and cumulation of the natural and the supernatural, turns a mediocre story and a lot of shabby clichés into an unusually good scare-picture. It seems to me harder to get a fright than a laugh, and I experienced thirty-five first-class jolts, not to mention a well-calculated texture of minor frissons.

"Standing Room Only" does pretty well with stale material too—Toryish tropes like the Washington room shortage, feminized husbands, female soldiers, imbecilic bureaucrats, pitiless servants. The lines are utterly insincere and slickly witty, the directing is fairly flip and observant, and some of the performances are fine, especially that of Roland Young, who is able to make anything he appears in seem much more intelligent, human, and amusing than it has any intrinsic right to.

"Lady in the Dark" is something I'm not sure I can talk about fairly, for the whole idea of mixing psychoanalysis and production numbers leaves me irrecoverably cold. Sketching my ideal MGM production of "The Brothers Karamazov" years ago, I cast Fred Astaire as Alyosha (against a more logical MGM choice of Hardie Albright) to make possible a great dancing sequence called Alyosha's Dream, in which Grushenka (Marlene Dietrich) would appear variously as herself, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and Father Zossima. Those who would like to see such a sequence done sincerely, the only proper way, may find a good deal to enjoy in "Lady in the Dark." But I like my dreams the hard way.

"Up In Arms," which puts Danny Kaye through a Sam Goldwyn war, ought logically to leave me just as cold, but I enjoyed it. The war is nothing like that fought on land, sea, or even in "The North Star." The Goldwyn Girls look like real live women instead of the customary radio-cap sculptures. There are some pleasant, silly gags by Don Martman of the Crosby-Hope-Lamour Roads-to-everywhere. All that aside, Danny Kaye is the whole show, and everything depends on whether or not you like him. I do.

JAMES AGEE

## MUSIC

THE Metropolitan has not accepted the contention that all its performances should be given in English so that the audiences may understand the words that are sung and know what the operas are about; but it has done so for operatic comedies, or rather for some of them—for Puccini's "Gianni Schicchi," Mozart's "Magic Flute," and now Verdi's "Falstaff."

It is true that an audience needs to know what an opera is about. But I question whether this is more true of the comedies than of the tragedies, or of the comedies I have just mentioned than of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" or Rossini's "Barber of Seville." And I doubt that the knowledge is achieved by having the opera sung in English. If the advocates of opera in English were to attend a performance in Berlin or Vienna, where all operas are sung in German, they would see as many people reading librettos as are to be seen in the Metropolitan, and for the same reason—the fact that the words are difficult, and for the most part impossible, to hear and understand: often they have been distended to unintelligibility in the process of being fitted to the music; often they are drowned by the orchestra; and most of the audience are too far from the stage. Having been taken to "Falstaff" by a friend I heard it from an excellent seat in row R of the Parquet; moreover I was listening to a delicately orchestrated work; yet only very few of the words reached my ears, and I would have had no understanding of what was going on if I had had to get it from the words that I could hear. Even when the opera is sung in English, then, one must read the words in advance to know what it is about, precisely as one must for a performance in Italian or German. And if that is so the advance reading should be done for a performance in Italian or German. That is, when the only reason for English turns out to be without force, the force of the reasons against English and for the original language should be deferred to.

For one thing there is the fact—which I was made freshly aware of by the "Falstaff" performance—that when one strains to hear all the words one doesn't hear the music; and the music is the point of the whole business. One doesn't go to the Metropolitan for the play of "Norma" or "Aida" or "Salome" or "Tristan" or even "Falstaff";

one doesn't go for the words that Verdi ordered from his librettist by the pound or the ones that Wagner himself perpetrated. One goes for the music about that play, the music that is hung on those words, the music that has much the same relation to the action and words as Cézanne's still-life has to the apples and pears which he painted. Since action and words are there one wants to know what they are about, and indeed one has to know for the music itself to have its full significance and effect; but the following of the drama should be such as not to distract one's attention from the music-which is to say that it should be a recognition of what one already knows, not a straining to discover what one doesn't know.

Then there is the fact that a performance in English sacrifices the effect of the sound of the original language; and the loss is greatest where the greatest gain is claimed for English-in comedy. Even in the long stretches where words cannot be heard clearly enough to be understood the loss of the mere sound of the Italian syllables is like the loss of an instrumental color in the orchestral part. But the argument for English is concerned with the places where the words come through clearly, and where, it is contended, the audience must understand them so that it may get the humorous points and laugh. But these are salient places which are planned for laughs; and because of the way they are contrived they are places which remain in the mind of anyone who reads the libretto, so that he recognizes and understands Dame Quickly's unctuous Revere-e-e-e-nza! as she curtsies, her repeated exclamation Po-o-overa donna!, her Siete un gran seduttore! as she pokes Falstaff in the ribs, and in addition he gets from these Italian statements something that is lost in Oh most bonored sir! or Unhappy lady! or You're a wicked seducer! He understands Falstaff's argument with Ford over precedence at the end of the act, and enjoys the additional effect, with the delightful music, of the words Prima voi . . . Prima voi and Passate . . . Prego.

And finally there is what the decision to use English cost this particular Metropolitan production of "Falstaff" in effectiveness, on top of the losses due to other things. Beecham, giving his own explanation why the work is not more of a box-office attraction, thinks that the six scenes are too many "for the thin shape and light weight of the piece; and the ensemble movements, un-

til the very close when it is too late, have not the time to gather momentum and thrill the ear with that irresistible flood of tone that we have in the great finales of 'Aida' and 'Otello'''; and he observes that while "Falstaff" has exquisite and haunting fragments of melody it has "no tunes of a broad and impressive character . . . of the type of Ritorno vincitor or Ora per sempre addio [which] might have saved the situation." But whenever I have heard the work conducted by Toscanini every one of those six scenes has ended in a storm of applause; and the reason has been its mercurial swiftness and lightness and effortlessness even in the difficult double ensembles. Initially these qualities have represented Toscanini's feeling for the pace and character of the work; but after that they have come out of the hours and hours of rehearsal, the sheer hard work that is necessary to produce the appearance of ease. Beecham's performance also had lightness and exquisite contours and textures; but his pace was often a little deliberate; and the normal Metropolitan conditions of insufficient rehearsal resulted in raggedness and strain in some of the ensembles. But in addition the decision to use English-speaking singers in an English production compelled the use of young singers, most of them-Steber, Greer, Browning, Kullman-quite acceptable, but one of them, Margaret Harshaw, without the weight of voice (to say nothing of weight of body) for Dame Quickly. And above all it hung a dead weight on the performance in the Fal-B. H. HAGGIN staff of Tibbett.

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# Letters to the Editors

#### In Defense of Vansittart

Dear Sirs: The time has come for somebody in this country to say a word or two in defense of Lord Vansittart. No other political figure on our side is being so constantly misquoted and misrepresented in so lighthearted and highhanded a manner.

In his article "Germany, Economic Heart of Europe" (The Nation, February 12) Fritz Sternberg speaks of "shelves of books and hundreds of articles" which, he says, have been produced in Britain and the United States during the past year, "recommending the dismemberment of Germany proper." To prove that this is the only possible course, goes on Mr. Sternberg, "it is explained that the Germans are by nature aggressive." Without at this time entering "upon a discussion of the German character," Mr. Sternberg would "merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians . . . do not demand that Germany be dismem-

It may be that, by referring to Lord Vansittart in the plural, Mr. Sternberg means to accomplish what others achieve by alluding to "Vansittartism," rather than to the individual in question. When told that none of the "recommendations" attributed to "Vansittartism" have been made by Vansittart, they are apt to point out that any similarity between the noun and the name is almost purely accidental. Be that as it may, I should like to call Mr. Sternberg's attention to two facts: (1) Lord Vansittart-high or low-has never recommended the dismemberment of Germany proper; (2) nor has he ever accused the Germans of being "aggressive by nature.

All Vansittart has recommended, and keeps recommending, is that the early emergence after Hitler's fall of a peaceable, democratic, and trustworthy Germany be not taken for granted. To quote from an interview he gave me in the fall of 1941: "The peaceful and civilized elements which undoubtedly exist and always existed in Germany... are not, and never have been, capable of exercising any moderating influence. To rely on them, and again stake the fate of humanity on their ability suddenly to acquire such influence, would be suicidal."

That is about as far as his "recommendations" go, even today. Germany, he maintains, must be rendered harmless. "Unilateral disarmament," as postulated in the Atlantic Charter, must be carried out to the letter. This necessitates Allied supervision for some time to come of Germany's industrial output, its foreign trade, its educational system. The Prussian spirit must disappear from the German schools and universities. "We must do everything in our power to bring about in Germany that change of heart without which no peace could ever last."

As to the political future of the Reich, Vansittart has not advanced any specific plan. He has, however, taken pains to show that the Germans are aggressive, not "by nature" (he is no racist, Mr. Sternberg!), but by tradition and education. And although both "Black Record" and "Lessons of My Life" contain a number of passages which I find contestable-to put it mildly-his knowledge of at least certain aspects of the German character-a knowledge born of suffering-is undeniable. So is the sincerity of his endeavor to prove by facts the validity of his theories.

No such effort can be detected in the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Sternberg's article, which thus remains inconclusive.

Ninety percent of the German people, he asserts, would be opposed to dismemberment. Why of course they would. They would be equally opposed to the cession of East Prussia to Poland, to unilateral disarmament, in short to each and every measure the United Nations may deem necessary. They are strictly opposed to losing Hitler's war.

'So it is to be hoped," winds up Mr. Sternberg, "that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries. Only on that condition will the progressive left forces which are capable of setting up a Socialist democracy (italics mine) be able gradually to win the upper hand. Nothing would so injure their growth or so limit their accomplishment as the rise of a new German nationalism, a development which would be greatly accelerated by any dismemberment of Germany." No proof whatever is offered for the contention that any "left progressive forces"whose very survival in strength would

have to be proved in the first place—are indeed capable. Despite strong evidence to the contrary, their capability is boldly taken for granted.

I do not know whether dismemberment would be advisable in the interest of a less imperfect peace. Nor could I say whether Mr. Sternberg is right in assuming that Britain and the United States may be toying with the idea, whereas the U.S.S.R. is dead set against it. But I venture to doubt that the German nationalism which, according to Mr. Sternberg, would be so stimulated by dismemberment, is much in need of any such stimulus. It seems alive and kicking-playing havoc with the minds of German Nazis and anti-Nazis, leftists, rightists, and centrists alike. It is not "new," though. It is old.

ERIKA MANN

New York, February 11

#### Mr. Sternberg Replies

Dear Sirs: In defense of Lord Vansittart Miss Erika Mann writes:

"(1) Lord Vansittart—high or low has never recommended the dismemberment of Germany proper."

I did not accuse him of recommending it. What I said was this: it is on the premise that the Germans are by nature aggressive that the dismemberment of Germany is so often demanded. This fact cannot be denied.

Miss Mann again:

"(2) Nor has he [Lord Vansittart] ever accused the Germans of being 'aggressive by nature' "; on the contrary, 'he has . . . taken pains to show that the Germans are aggressive, not 'by nature' (he is no racist, Mr. Sternberg!), but by tradition and education."

What, actually, does Sir Robert Vansittart say? In the preface to "The Black Record," published by Hamish Hamilton, London, we find on page 4 these words:

Germans have made five wars in the last searchy-five years, besides four 'near misses.' If Germans had had their way, there would have been a war every eight years for the last three-quarters of a century. This sequence is due to their character and system.

Thus Sir Robert Vansittart's view is not, as Miss Mann writes, that Germany's aggressiveness is due to tradition and education, but that it is due to the German character. And as if to make it

#### March 11, 1944

impossible to misunderstand his position, Sir Robert says on page 6:

The atrocities committed under this German regime, and in this German war, and the open return to literal slavery in Europe, are no accidental and ephemeral outcrop. They are a reversion to something much farther back than the Kaiser, or Bismarck, or Frederick, to the doings of a thousand, and two thousand, years ago. . . . I am simply saving that mankind has suffered atrociously from a series of gratuitous wars. These wars have been inflicted on mankind by one race, and mainly for one reason.

I believe that is clear enough.

There is a certain piquancy in the fact that one of the supporters of Vansittart today is Emil Ludwig, who supported German nationalism and imperialism with all his strength during World War I and now demands the dismemberment of Germany

Proofs of the strength of the progressive left forces in Germany, which Miss Mann finds lacking in my article, naturally cannot be exhibited under the rule of the Gestapo. Their strength will show itself in the bloody revolutionary conflicts which will some day break out in Germany and all over Europe. It would be disastrous for the future of the whole European continent if the issues in these world-shaking civil wars should be confused by nationalist and separatist questions—as they undoubtedly will be if Germany is dismembered. On this point Miss Mann characteristically takes no position ("I do not know whether dismemberment would be advisable").

FRITZ STERNBERG

New York, February 21

## A Letter of Resignation

Dear Sirs: As my name has been publicly associated with the work of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and I am now resigning from that body, I ask you to publish a copy of my letter of resignation so that my reasons for doing so may be quite clear. I wrote to the national secretary as follows:

"I am writing to tender my resignation from the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and to ask you to withdraw my name from the list of members of its executive committee. As you know from our previous correspondence, I have postponed my resignation until I was assured that the Emergency Committee had done the work for which it was created and that further work along those lines was in the hands of those best fitted to carry it out.

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW, in a Front-Page Review, features

# RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES

"Gascinating Character-Remarkable Book"

"Prof. Sorokin of Harvard is a fascinating character. Now Sorokin, "bourgeois" enemy



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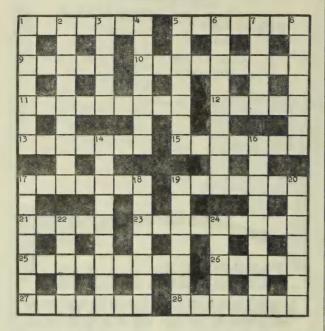
- John Chamberlain, New York Times.

"Sorokin's thesis in heavily documented and it deserves its hearing"

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## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 55

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 What would you take to let a man give you a blow on the head? (two words, 1 and 6)
- 5 Another victory over the Romans would have finished him
- 9 In an elephant or in a wall plant 10 Patients get the needle when doc-tors do this
- 11 Touched in a childish game (two words, 6 and 3)
- 12 One who doesn't mind taking his medicine
- 13 Everybody makes them, but it's mostly chemists who use them
- 15 He of "The Lord is a shoving leopard" fame
- 17 Intends to be different
- 19 "Never ----- her with word too large" (Much Ado About Nothing)
- 21 New England accent
- 23 Loquacious
- 25 I get at one (anag.) 26 Rows in the upper circles, perhaps
- 27 You have probably read his Faerie
- 28 Ted Ray's wandered from the fold

#### DOWN

- 1 The airman got out of Australia via Torres Strait
- 2 Long drawn out
- 3 Sharper than a mayfly, perhaps

- I They have their work cut out for
- 5 That's the way of it
- 6 Why should it turn? It's the same on every side (hyphen, 5 and 4)
- 7 Human hat-pegs
- Film actress who should be useful in the cutting room
  - 14 A stage urn (anag.)
- 16 Eliza Doolittle's famous retort in Shaw's Pygmalion (suitably edited, of course) (two words, 3 and 6)
- 17 Purposes-of living under canvas? 18 The barometer reading most of us
- prefer (two words, 3 and 4)
- 19 Good ones are said to be found only in Paris
- 20 In evening clothes
- 22 Fish
- 24 A Croat turned Thespian

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 54

ACROSS:-1 PUGILISM; 8 ILLEGAL; 9 LINCHPIN; 10 SILENCE; 12 STEER; 13 EVENER; 14 GIPSY; 15 ALARIC; 17 PAYEE; 22 SPREE; 23 EDITOR; 24 RATIO; 26 GROUCH; 28 RELIC; 29 PHANTOM; 30 SO LITTLE; 31 KNITTED; 32 HERE GOES.

DOWN:-1 POLESTAR: 2 GUNMETAL: 8 LEHAR; SPINET; PLAIN; 6 REVERIE; 7 CARCASS; 10 SEDAN; 11 LEGEND; 16 IMPORT; 18 BEGUM; 19 STILETTO; 20 BRACKETS; 21 WASHING; 22 SIGNETS; M THRONE; 27 OOZED; 28 RHINE.

"When I joined the Emergency Committee it was with the single thought of helping as far as I could to save the European Jews from persecution and death. With the appointment of the War Refugee Board, the work of the Committee seems to have been accomplished. The task of rescuing the Jewish people is now in the competent hands of that board and of Mr. Pehle. The gathering of funds to assist the work of the board can best be accomplished by the United Jewish Appeal, a long-established fund-raising organization which supports three agencies working for the rescue and rehabilitation of the Jews: the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Committee, and the National Refugee Service. I can therefore see no season for the continuation of the Emergency Committee.

"There is, moreover, a further reason for my feeling that the Emergency Committee can no longer serve the ends for which it was instituted. Its prime movers and most active members are also associated with the League for a Free Palestine, a political organization which I believe to be inimical to the best interests of the Jews established in Palestine and their friends everywhere. I cannot be convinced that the proponents of the league, however good their intentions, will continue to subordinate their concern for the league, which is their long-term and primary objective, to other ends. And I must therefore dissociate myself from this group."

BABETTE DEUTSCH

New York, February 26.

#### RECENTLY PUBLISHED

War and Postwar Adjustment Policies: Text of Official Report and Related Documents. By Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock. American Council on Public Affairs. \$2, cloth; \$1, paper.

Europe's Children. By Thérèse Bonney. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.

Czechoslovak Sources and Documents: President Benes on War and Peace. Czechoslovak Information Service.

Silly Girl: A Portrait of Personal Remembrance. By Angna Enters. Houghton Mif-

flin \$3.50. Letters from Exile. By Egon Hostovsky. Czechoslovak Information Service.

The Power Industry and the Public Interest: Summary of the Results of a Survey of the Relations Between the Government and the Electric Power Industry. The Factual Findings Edited by Edward Eyre Hunt; The Program of The Power Committee. Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.

First Fleet: The Story of the U. S. Coast Guard at War. By Reg Ingraham. Bobbs-

Merrill. \$3.

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MARCH 18, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

## The Shape of Things

A SPECIAL MILITARY COURT AT ALGIERS HAS convicted Pierre Pucheu, former Minister of Industrial Production in the Vichy cabinet, of treasonable collusion with the enemy, and sentenced him to die. His defense was that the Vichy government was generally recognized as the legal government of France at the time he joined it. He also tried to prove that, while outwardly collaborating with the Nazis, he had secretly worked against them. A prudent man, Pucheu probably did try to hedge his bets; an intelligent man, he realized before some of his colleagues that Hitler was going to lose and attempted to transfer his investment to the winning side. The judges, however, were unimpressed by his belated conversion, and it is believed unlikely that the higher court to which he has appealed will set aside their verdict. We intend at an early date to publish an extended comment on this historic trial, and if possible a first-hand report of it.

MR. DE VALERA HAS INVESTED SO MUCH OF his political capital in uncompromising independence and unbending neutrality that his blank refusal of the United States' request to close the German and Japanese consulates in Dublin was only to be expected. But that is not likely to end the matter. With Anglo-American preparations for invasion of the Continent moving toward their climax, with Northern Ireland a major American base, the threat to security of Axis spies operating in Eire is too great to be ignored. It is all very well for Mr. De Valera to argue that his government has taken every precaution. The ten enemy agents he has jailed are probably only a small proportion of those at large and not a few unreconstructed Irish rebels are ready to lend them a hand. It is not surprising that, unable to obtain cooperation from Dublin, the Anglo-American High Command in Britain should have insisted on closing the border between Eire and Ulster and on the strictest supervision of traffic across the Irish Sea. Such measures will have detrimental effects on Irish economy and may be protested as unfair pressure tactics but with so many lives at stake we imagine public opinion in this country will not be critical. Our government, however, would be in a stronger position if it addressed Franco with equal firmness, asking him to clear all Germans out of Spain. Nazis in La Linea, only five minutes

from Gibraltar, Nazis in Tangier and Spanish Morocco are no less dangerous to our cause than those in Ireland.

X

CHRONIC DISCONTENT IN BRITAIN'S COAL industry, boiling over in one of the worst strikes of the war, has caused a serious loss of production at a time when supplies are already dangerously low. The men are returning to work, but the settlement of this dispute will not end tension in the coal fields. The immediate cause of the trouble was a recent wage award setting a national weekly minimum for underground workers of \$20 and for surface men of \$18. These rates represented an advance, although some \$2 a week less than the miners' union had demanded. The grievance of the men, however, was not so much with the minimums set as with the fact that there was no commensurate increase in piece rates. Other complaints were of the discontinuation of former bonuses for especially bad working-places and increased deduction for miners' house coal. But beyond such specific issues there was the long-standing belief of the colliers that they are the stepchildren of industry and government. Because of this emotional reaction most of the rank-and-file miners appear to be have overlooked the fact that the new wage award conceded them a national minimum-something for which they had been struggling for years. This will free the union from district negotiations and enable it to raise those problems of national planning which must be faced if the sickness of the British coal industry is to be cured.

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THE A. F. OF L. HAS DECLARED THAT IT WILL reject the President's proposal to share with the C. I. O. representation at the forthcoming conference of the International Labor Organization at Philadelphia in April. If the C. I. O. is represented, the A. F. of L. threatens to withdraw from the work of the organization altogether and to try to prevent further Congressional appropriation for its support. This amazing stand, coming on the heels of the A. F. of L.'s refusal to attend the world conference of trade unions in June because of the presence of representatives from the Soviet unions, has created a situation in the ranks of labor not dissimilar to that which existed in the political sphere at the end of World War I. Since the conferences are called to consider post-war issues, representation by both American labor groups is important if labor is to exert any real influence on the peace. If the A. F. of L. does not participate, there is grave danger that it will drift into isolationism, opposing all international collaboration. This makes the President's task a delicate one. He must do all that he can to keep the A. F. of L. from making the threatened break; yet he dare not carry his appeasement to the extent of denying the C. I. O. its full rights. Fortunately, there are possibilities for compromise which have not yet been fully explored.

THE LAST HOPE FOR A SOLDIER-VOTE PLAN that would permit any substantial number of service men to cast their ballots in this fall's elections collapsed when two representatives, Rankin of Mississippi and LeCompte of Iowa, blocked a last-minute plan supported by the other conferees to permit all service men not receiving a state ballot by October 1 to cast a federal ballot. Under the scheme finally adopted by conference only men overseas will be eligible for the federal ballot, and because of distance it may be assumed that many of these will be unable to cast their votes. Thus the great controversy has ended, as far as Congress is concerned, in a complete victory for the unholy coalition of Republicans-who fear that the service men will vote Democratic-and Southern Democrats-who fear that Negroes might be permitted to vote. In an obvious effort to muddy the political waters still further, Governor Dewey has come forth with a "model" plan which he claims will make "voting simpler on Kwajalein than for the citizens at home." Under this plan each soldier is asked to send his name, home address, and service address to the Secretary of State of New York, and the state will undertake to provide a ballot. Simple though the plan may appear on paper, experts doubt whether it will lead to any large number of votes. Any plan that depends on the initiative of the individual soldier is dubious since few soldiers are likely to learn of the procedure required by their particular state. Moreover, as Mr. Dewey must be fully aware, the addresses of service men change from week to week, and a large proportion of the ballots are certain to go astray. Mr. Dewey revealed the political inspiration of his plan-and incidentally his own political ambitionswhen he denounced the federal ballot on the ground that it made no provision for state and local offices. Yet the omission of these offices from the ballot proposed by the Green-Lucas bill was in deference to the states' rights interests for which Governor Dewey has become the chief spokesman.

THE COMMUNISTS ARE GETTING CLEVERER than ever in what George Creel in Collier's calls their "War on Cordell Hull." Earl Browder's latest move to ruin the old gentleman is to send a letter to Collier's denying that he ever "participated in any kind of a campaign against Mr. Cordell Hull" and declaring that the Secretary of State—lucky fellow—has Mr. Browder's "support, as well as [his] deep respect and admiration." According to Creel, the war on Hull has hitherto proved unsuccessful, but this subtle move by our gaily inconsistent Communist leader should finish him off. The FBI is notoriously suspicious of federal employees suspected of having visited the Soviet Union, and the Dies

committee has waylaid many who were the recipients of less fervent missives from Earl Browder. We fear that Mr. Hull's days in office are numbered. Creel's superficial foray into State Department press agentry rarely rises above the level of attributing the attacks on Hull to a Red plot, embracing not only such notoriously weakminded liberals as the editors of The Nation but even such stalwarts as those of the New York Herald Tribune. In some secret center, according to Mr. Creel, sits Fu Manchu Browder, devising diabolic stratagems, but none more daring or dastardly than this latest honeyed attempt at downright character assassination.

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REPRESENTATIVE MAY DOUBTLESS FELT THAT he was upholding the honor of the white race when he prevailed upon the War Department not to use the Public Affairs Pamphlet "The Races of Mankind" in its orientation courses. Mr. May's specific objection to the pamphlet appears to have been a reference to the intelligence tests given by the American army in 1917 in which Northern Negroes from certain states made higher median scores than Southern whites from Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas. The pamphlet goes on to explain that these differences "did not arise because people were from the North or the South, or because they were white or black, but because of difference in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities." Since Mr. May does not challenge the accuracy of the test, and can hardly be expected to contend that the poor showing of the Southern whites was due to any innate inferiority in comparison to either Northern whites or Negroes, his position is simply one of trying to keep the truth from our soldiers. In thus forbidding the presentation of scientific facts which utterly refute Nazi and Japanese theories of race superiority, Mr. May, as chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, is holding off from our soldiers the weapons by which they can defend themselves in the war for men's minds—a war that is even more important in Nazi strategy than the struggle for islands and beachheads.

# A Revolting Necessity

BERLIN, subjected to an increasingly heavy battering over a period of months by the R. A. F. night bombers, has now experienced a rapid succession of massive daylight attacks by the American Eighth Air Force. There are signs that the enemy defenses are being smothered and that the Germans are preparing to abandon the city and evacuate the remaining population. If this happens, the Anglo-American air forces will have won a victory the significance of which can hardly be exaggerated. Berlin is of major importance to the German

war effort as a center of production, as the hub of the whole transportation system, and as the seat of a highly centralized bureaucracy. The loss in administrative efficiency alone caused by the scattering of government offices is not a factor to be dismissed lightly.

Yet at the moment when Anglo-American air power appears to be approaching its apex of effectiveness, the whole policy of mass strategic bombing is being sharply challenged both here and in Britain. Its military results, it is claimed, cannot justify the appalling suffering that our terrific assult from the skies is inflicting on German noncombatants. This is the gist of the case made in a pamphlet "Massacre by Bombing" written by the well-known English author, Vera Brittain, and published in this country by the Fellowship of Reconciliation with the indorsement of a group of religious leaders and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The pamphlet, which gives a detailed but hardly objective or reliably documented account of the effects of raids on German cities, makes ugly reading. No one with imagination can contemplate the results of a rain of fire and high explosives on crowded streets with any complacency. And in so far as Miss Brittain's protest is directed against the indecent gloating with which the bombings are too often reported, it has our deep sympathy. We can agree, too, in dismissing the argument that the raids are justified as a means of paying back the Germans in their own coin for their murderous attacks on Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, and a host of other cities. As Miss Brittain says: "Retaliation in kind and worse means the reduction of ourselves to the level of our opponents."

Even if we could accept the theory that the total guilt of Germany deserves total punishment, we still have to remember the ten million foreign slaves in the country. They probably furnish an unduly large share of the casualties since they are forced to stay near their work and are often housed on factory premises. Nor can we forget that the bombing of military objectives often brings death to our friends in occupied countries. In this connection, political results sometimes seemed to have been weighed too lightly against military considerations. The heavy bombing of northern Italy last year, at a time when the Italian workers were rising against fascism, is difficult to defend on strategic grounds.

Nevertheless, when all is said, we still cannot accept Miss Brittain's proposition that "nothing less than absolute certainty" that mass bombing will shorten the war justifies its employment as a weapon. To order the kind of warfare we are waging is, indeed, a dreadful responsibility. But who is ready to take the responsibility of ordering its abandonment? "The whole of this air offensive," Mr. Churchill said in his last speech, "constitutes the foundation on which our plans for overseas invasion stand." The outline of our present strategy is not hard

to trace. Prior to assaulting Fortress Europe we are endeavoring to knock the Luftwaffe out of the skies and to prevent its reinforcement. Concentrated attacks on German fuel supplies and communications will probably follow. For by these means we can hope to offset the advantages the enemy derives from his defensive preparations. Under any circumstances, the invasion of Europe must be a costly undertaking. Making their way to the shore through acres of minefields, our men will have to storm bitterly contested beaches and a network of concrete fortifications bristling with every deadly weapon. Having established beachheads they must anticipate savage counter-attacks made by a highly mobile enemy, commanding large strategic reserves. Before they tackle these tasks, can we, dare we, neglect any means of reducing the German ability to resist? Quite apart from the lives that would be sacrificed by such a policy, we have to take into consideration what failure will mean in terms of prolonging the war and the agony of millions under the Nazi heel.

Deprived of the weapon of mass bombing our armies might easily be so handicapped that the war would be stalemated. That, perhaps, is what the protesters have in view, for what they are really attacking is not a weapon of war but war as a weapon. But, hating war, the peoples of the United Nations hate the alternative—Nazi domination—still more. And because they do so they will not shrink from "the revolting necessity"— to use the words of Bishop C. Bromley Oxnam—of obliteration bombing of German cities.

## Post-War Education

PERSONS who are interested in the probable direction of American educational development after the war would do well to study the report which the New York Board of Regents submitted to the 1944 state legislature some weeks ago. In general, it is an interesting and heartening program. The Board of Regents envisions a very considerable expansion in the state's educational facilities from the kindergarten through college.

Unique from an educational viewpoint is the plan to establish twenty-two new two-year colleges, to be called institutes, to provide technical training for students who, for one reason or another, would not normally attend college. Present plans call for the setting up of such institutes specializing in technical fields like agriculture, aviation, the graphic arts, industrial arts, automotives, science, food occupations, machines and metals, and communications. Plans have also been drawn up for the creation of an Institute of Public Service Training at Albany for the training of state and local government employees, and an Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at a site yet undetermined.

These institutes will fill an important gap in American public education. Although similar to junior colleges in many respects, they will offer a much more concrete and practical curriculum and thus should attract many students who otherwise would discontinue their education after finishing high school. In addition to providing needed technical courses, these institutes will stress citizenship training and offer a wide range of cultural subjects. It is hoped that through night courses and other special arrangements they can be made available not only to high-school graduates desiring specialized training but to persons of any educational background.

The Regents' plan also calls for a very large expansion in the system of free scholarships for college students. Instead of 750 scholarships worth \$100 a year, as at present, 12,000 scholarships will be offered worth \$350 a year. The seeming generosity of this proposal is offset, however, by the fact that New York is one of the few states that does not maintain a state university with free tuition for residents. Even if the Regents' proposal is adopted, only one-tenth of the 120,000 boys and girls graduated from the state's high schools each year will be able to obtain free tuition in a regular college at the state's expense. New York's backwardness in this respect is recognized by the Regents, who point out that at present the state's per capita expense for higher education is among the lowest in the country-43 cents as against a national average of \$1.15.

The Regents' post-war program is not limited to higher education. A further consolidation of school districts is urged for country areas, and additional state aid is proposed to provide more kindergartens and to develop counseling services and adult education. All these steps are significant because they appear to chart the main channels of post-war educational development. The need for retraining millions of service men and war workers for peace-time occupations will unquestionably lead to a new emphasis on technical and vocational training and adult education throughout the country. The New York program anticipates this need and provides a practical way of meeting it.

The most glaring omission in the Regents' proposals is their failure to provide for the development of a workstudy program that would enable young people of limited financial ability to continue their studies in secondary school and above. Even with the increased scholarships, thousands of superior students will be barred from the benefits of higher education unless special arrangements are made to help them earn their own way. Such program should probably be financed by the federal government rather than the states, as, indeed, the National Resources Planning Board recommended. But in the absence of federal action, the responsibility for this basic step toward providing real equality in educational opportunity obviously rests with the states.

## A Crisis of Confidence

#### BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

FOREIGN policy is the chief instrument of political war. This elementary fact has been recognized by our enemies from the day they first tackled the job of expanding fascism from a local racket to a world cartel. The present crisis in foreign policy is, therefore, a war crisis, a crisis in the political war we have been waging so ineptly and so reluctantly ever since we gave up the hope of winning peace through appeasement.

That the crisis is a major one we can guess from the way it is being handled in the Allied press and on the radio. The deep disturbance over our failure to agree with our Allies on a series of crucial issues has spread far out beyond the usual limits. We find staunch defenders of State Department policy joining—though they don't openly admit the union-with critics on the left in demanding a showdown on Italy, on Spain, on the recognition of De Gaulle. They point out that we are losing by default to Russia; that we can make our influence felt on the Continent only if we manage to arrive at a policy which makes sense in the light of actual developments. In Yugoslavia we have been jockeyed into a position where we can neither abandon the government-inexile nor support it. We seem unable to make up our minds on De Gaulle, although the British are supposedly urging a quick decision. By our continued support of Badoglio we are not moderating the feeling of the Italian people toward their unwanted ex-post-fascist government; we are only hardening it against their liberators. Our latest negotiations with Franco are blurred by censorship, though we have been permitted to learn that they are progressing nicely. But even if Franco agrees to withhold every ounce of wolfram from Germany, we shall not have changed an enemy into a friend; we shall merely have convinced the Spanish people all over again that we are either dupes or reactionaries.

These are only a few of the raw materials—very raw, indeed—out of which the crisis has been made. Others lie on the borders of Poland, in Finland, in Germany. Whatever may be the rights of Russia's case in Poland, the conviction has grown fast in this country that we have had nothing whatever to say about it. Mr. Hull offered our good offices to settle the dispute, and Moscow refused them. Apart from this we have acted as troubled onlookers, occasionally mumbling a few words about the desirability of postponing difficult problems till after the war.

The collapse of confidence is of course not the result of any list of failures but rather of the fact, now glaringly apparent, that no genuine understanding was reached in the series of conferences among the Allied leaders. A bridge was built across a wide chasm of suspicion and division of interest. Personal contact, never more important, curiously enough, than in this war of masses and machines, was established after two years of near isolation. But the agreements which alone could have held the bridge in place were not made. Basic issues were either avoided altogether or an agreement was made to disagree —perhaps within certain prescribed geographical and political limits. And meanwhile, as the war gains in intensity, ad hoc solutions are found for the problems the diplomats dodged. Sheer force moves boundaries, sets up or overthrows governments. And the hope of a united policy, of political cooperation between the major allies, seems to fade day by day.

This, then, is the essence of the crisis. People fear, quite reasonably, that if the efforts of Russia, Britain, and the United States cannot be coordinated for the purposes of political warfare, the chance of effective collective action after the war is a slim one.

Now another conference has been called to deal with the problems which have multiplied and developed so much explosive power since the last toast was drunk at Teheran. No one ever dreams that Under Secretary Stettinius will be able to solve them. Alibis are being prepared in advance; several dispatches have already described the coming talks as primarily "exploratory" in character.

I think it should be clear by this time that any single conference, particularly one called in a period of tension, is certain to provide stop-gap remedies, sedatives rather than cures. It may be essential as a preliminary to thoroughgoing treatment but it is not a substitute for such treatment. Mr. Churchill said not long ago, "There would be very few differences between the three great powers if their chief representatives could meet once a month." The Prime Minister should have gone a step further. What is needed is continuous rather than periodic consultation.

For more than two years *The Nation* has urged the necessity of setting up a permanent United Nations political council, a body which would be charged with the handling of inter-Allied political problems and with the formulation of political strategy. Its members should be policy-making officials of top rank. Its powers in the field of political warfare should be as great as those exercised by the joint military high command, and the work of the two should, of course, be closely coordinated. Not once in a while, or once a month, but every day in the year this body should sit; it should deal with political issues as they arise—not after they reach the point of explosion.

Mr. Stettinius, in the course of his discussions in London, should press the necessity of setting up such a council. No other single job he could do would yield as great benefits, or go as far toward ending the dangerous confusions and conflicts responsible for today's crisis.

# Palestine Run-Around

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10 R. ROOSEVELT'S statement to the National Conference on Palestine won the gratitude of all friends of a Jewish national home. When the President authorized Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba H. Silver "to say that the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939," he was making more than a platonic gesture. It is too often forgotten, notably in Downing Street, (1) that Palestine is not a British colony but a mandate, (2) that France gave up its claim to Palestine and the League granted the mandate on condition that Britain establish a Jewish national home there, and (3) that this condition is also the basis on which the United States, in a separate treaty with Britain in 1925, accorded American recognition to the Palestine mandate. Article 6 of that treaty, like Article 6 of the League mandate, requires the Administration of Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" and "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land." The Anglo-American treaty of 1925 provides that there may be no change in its terms "unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States." The White Paper of 1939, Chamberlain's Middle East Munich pact, provided that Jewish immigration should be shut off entirely after five years "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." This was "plainly a breach and repudiation" of Britain's obligations under the mandate and therefore invalid without American approval. The President can summon an august witness on the point, for the man who called the White Paper "plainly a breach and repudiation" was Winston Churchill.

In Washington the effect of the President's statement will be further to confuse those who were prepared to accept in good faith General Marshall's request that Congress shelve the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution. The position taken by the Chief of Staff before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was that passage of the resolution would lead to trouble with the Arabs. The opinion of the Chief of Staff in time of war necessarily carries great weight, and the National Conference on Palestine deferred to it. But if appeasement of the Arabs was necessary for military reasons, how explain the President's statement? It is true that the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution would put Congress on record as favoring immigration into Palestine "so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a

free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," while the President only promises "full justice . . . to those who seek a Jewish national home." But I doubt whether the difference will be regarded as appeasement by the Arab rulers, especially when they consider that the President's reference to the White Paper opens the door to American diplomatic intervention, whereas the Congressional resolution is little more than a reaffirmation of a similar expression of opinion by Congress in 1922.

The Chief of Staff tells Congress that we dare not express an opinion on Palestine lest we offend the Arabs. The Commander-in-Chief then proceeds to express just such an opinion. Dr. Silver, after seeing the President, is encouraged to hope that military authorities "will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, to withdraw their objections." Under the circumstances, it is not hard to understand why so cautious and conservative a man as Senator Taft publicly questions these alleged military reasons and calls for passage of his resolution in spite of them. This whole affair and its background leave one with the distinct impression that the Marshall statement was another example of a makeshift foreign policy cloaked as military expediency, the fruit of subterranean pressures and petty intrigue. I do not question General Marshall's sincerity or good-will. He has his hands full and can hardly be expected independently to investigate advice which comes to him on political matters from State and War Department Near East experts. But I am inclined to think that the Chief of Staff in this Palestinian matter, like Eisenhower on several occasions in French North African affairs, has been the innocent dupe of wilier men.

If the State Department had wanted to take responsibility for opposing the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, it could easily and quietly have prevented the bill's introduction. If military reasons made the measure unwise, a hint to the sponsors would have been enough to stop them. The origin of the resolution goes back to conversations last year between Zionist leaders and the highest officials of the State Department, including Mr. Hull and Mr. Welles. These officials were friendly, and the Zionists were given to understand that it would be helpful to the State Department if Congress reasserted American policy in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine. In the middle of January, two weeks before the bill was introduced, Rabbi Silver went to see Secretary Hull. Had the Secretary ad-

vised him that the resolution was ill-timed, introduction would have been postponed. Mr. Hull said the State Department could take no position on pending legislation but indicated no opposition. This, in the light of the preceding conversations and Mr. Hull's known caginess, was regarded as a hint that the Zionists might go ahead.

There were other ways in which the bill might have been stopped. Senator Wagner, its co-sponsor in the Upper House, is a ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a devoted and responsible Administration supporter. A hint to him of any military risk would have been enough. Senator Taft, who joined with Wagner in offering the bill, had first written to Secretary Hull to ask whether the State Department had any objections. When Senator Taft received no reply, he took the matter up with his brother, Charles P. Taft, an official of the department. Taft, after discussing the question within the department, reported that there were no objections. The bill was introduced in the House on January 27 and in the Senate on February 1 and warmly supported in both houses by both the majority and the minority leaders. Either Senator Barkley or Representative McCormack could have been warned if military considerations made the bill unwise at this time.

In the House, Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is notoriously subservient to the State Department. Before ordering hearings on the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, he also got into touch with Secretary Hull. While Hull was noncommittal, he was not hostile. Bloom took this as a hint to go ahead. The hearings in the House lasted from February 8 to February 16, and ended with no expression of opposition from State or War Department. The Senate committee held an executive session on February 17 and heard witnesses for and against the bill, again with no opposition from Administration sources. It was not until six days later, on February 23, that a special session was hurriedly summoned by the committee to hear General Marshall and to consider letters from Secretaries Hull and Stimson asking that no action be taken on the resolution at this time. Oddly enough, neither Senator Wagner nor Senator Taft was present at the executive session which heard Marshall, although they were co-sponsors of the bill. Wagner and Taft say they were not informed of the meeting.

There is no reason to believe that the military situation changed in the few weeks between the introduction of the resolution and Marshall's appearance before the committee. Was a change in attitude brought about by protests from Arab countries against passage of the resolution? These did not begin to arrive until March 1, several days after Marshall testified. They give the appearance of a concerted attempt to ride in on the coat-tails of an arranged victory, and one wonders

whether they were made before assurances had been obtained through diplomatic channels that they would be welcome. The sequence of events was such as to hand proponents of a Jewish national home a humiliating defeat after they and their Congressional supporters had been given no reason to believe that their efforts were ill-timed or contrary to national interest. The incident was not made less disturbing by the excuses offered in private to Zionist leaders by high State and War Department officials. The State Department blamed the War Department for the change of front. In the War Department it was said that the State Department was responsible and that the War Department wasn't particularly concerned about the measure.

Were the Zionists led into a trap? Or were they the victim of last-minute pressure from the British government? Though Mr. Churchill remains a friend of the Zionist cause, the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration are generally anti-Zionist and pro-Arab, and intend to enforce the White Paper. Another influence hostile to a Jewish national home is that of Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley, who returned from the Near East bursting with suspicion of British imperialism and anxious to outbid it for Arab favor in order to further American exploitation of Near East oil. Hurley is an "oil" general, like Gulf's General Walter Pyron, the chief War Department adviser on oil. Still Harry Sinclair's lawyer and Washington Man Friday, Hurley operates in full military panoply out of his corporation law office in Washington, with his press agent commissioned a major. He is one of those who think Arabian oil too important to be left "at the mercy of local conflict," the implication being that the conflict must be ended by liquidating the effort to build a Jewish home in Palestine.

The Near Eastern Division of the State Department is another important factor behind the scenes. It shares the prejudices and antipathies of the Colonial Office. There is the same natural and instinctive orientation to the Arab potentate and large landowner, the same dislike of the Jew. Its leading Arab expert seems to be a Colonel Harold B. Hoskins, who is closely associated with Adolf Berle, another great friend of the Arabs. In his civilian capacity Colonel Hoskins is a New York cotton-goods merchant. He was born in Beirut, the son of American missionaries, and perhaps might best be described politically as a Syrian nationalist. He spent the winter of 1942-43 in the Near East on a special mission of inquiry, whence he returned with the same preconceptions with which he left. I have the alarmist report on "The Present Situation in the Near East" which he circulated confidentially last year among Congressmen he thought might be won to his views. It is anti-French and anti-Jewish, and its section on "People Seen" indicates that though he spoke with many Arabs, Frenchmen, and British colonial officials, he spoke with no Jewish leaders on his trip. The report is almost entirely taken up with arguments against Jewish aspirations in Palestine, seasoned with unfriendly remarks about the Jews of North Africa. It is on men like Hurley and Hoskins that Marshall must necessarily have relied, at least in part, when he advised Congress that it would be unwise to pass the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution.

This undercover campaign against a Jewish national home in Palestine is much like the campaign last year to deprive the Jews of French North Africa of their citizenship. All sorts of dire predictions were made of Arab revolt and military difficulties if the Crémieux decree were reinstated. But there was no trouble when the French National Committee put the decree back into effect, restoring French citizenship to the Jews. I wonder to what extent the campaign against the Palestine resolution is due to the same kind of wishful thinking. I note that the March 4 issue of the New York Times, which is strongly anti-Zionist, carried a dispatch from Jerusalem saying that "Palestinian Arab politics at this time present a somewhat confused appearance." The "confusion" seems to be in the eye of the beholder. The correspondent reports that Arab political parties seem to be having trouble trying to "drum up a popular following." He credits this to "a public inertia that may be attributed to the general absorption with the prosperity brought to the Arab peasantry as a result of the huge Allied military expenditures." Palestinian Arabs seem much less aroused than the Near Eastern Division of the State Department.

The fact is, as attested over and over again by official investigations, that the Arabs of Palestine have benefited by Jewish immigration, however that may pain Hitler's friend and would-be Quisling, the Grand Mufti, now in Berlin. In 1920, as Colonel Hoskins shows in his private report, there were 600,000 Arabs in Palestine. In 1942, their number had risen to 1,000,000. That doesn't sound as though the Arabs have suffered from the influx of Jews.

"In our history we have colonized all over the world," Josiah Wedgwood told the House of Commons during the debate over the White Paper in 1939, "but this is the first case in which we have colonized without injuring the native population. One has only to go today to the neighboring countries of Syria or Egypt to see the condition of the fellahin, of the Arab workers of those two countries, and compare it with their position in Palestine, to see how enormously the natives of Palestine have benefited by the immigration of the Jews." That this should arouse the fear and enmity of the Arab politicos and landowners is natural, but their protests ought not to be taken for the voice of the Arab masses. Apparently the President does not intend to do so.

## 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

FEARLESS UTTERANCE of the truth has become a lost art with the truckling and time-serving breed of politicians, who are most offensive precisely because they dare not run the risk of offending anybody. If abandoning all political hope is the secret of courage . . , a society ought at once to be formed on that principle for the unlocking of honest men's mouths.—March 1, 1894.

THE COLUMBIA BICYCLE Catalogue for 1894. Describes fully the new line of Columbia Wheels, and is by far the handsomest and most comprehensive ever issued by a bicycle establishment. . . . Its pages are alive with interesting matter pertaining to cycling, and should be read by every intending purchaser of a bicycle. (ADVY.)—March 1, 1894.

THE PASSAGE of the "Greater New York" bill, in accordance with which the voters of the district which it is proposed to convert into the larger city will be given an opportunity to express their opinion on the subject, furnishes an issue of much interest for the approaching campaign. While there is probably considerable sentimental opinion in favor of the proposition, there is also a strong undercurrent of opposition, based upon the fear that the tax rate of New York will be greatly increased if Brooklyn and other outlying communities are added to ours. Brooklyn is at present taxed almost beyond the point of endurance, while our tax rate, owing to the city's enormous wealth, is very low.—March 8, 1894.

"A STANDARD DICTIONARY of the English Language." Prepared under the supervision of Isaac K. Funk, D.D., etc. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co.... Great prominence is given in the advertisements to claims for this dictionary of an enormous number of words..., although the strenuous effort of the good lexicographer is to keep down his vocabulary. In an ordinary dictionary of reference, 25,000 words comprise all that anybody ever looks out. The rest is obstructive rubbish.—March 8, 1894.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: . . . Tolstoi, Count Leo. "The Kingdom of God Is Within You." . . . Zola, Emile. "The Experimental Novel, and Other Essays."—March 15, 1894.

THE ABOLITION of Fast Day in Massachusetts . . . is personally a triumph for Ex-Governor Russell, who first, though unsuccessfully, urged it upon the legislature. The day had come to be only a pious mockery, in reality nothing but a general holiday masquerading as a time of fasting and prayer. . . Its abolition will doubtless seem to many timid souls as little less than a plunge into atheism, but it is really in the interest of religion as well of common sense and sound ideas of government.—March 22, 1894.

THE APRIL NUMBER of the North American Review contains: . . . Private History of the "Jumping Frog" Story. By Mark Twain. (ADVT.)—March 29, 1894.

## Hymn to Free Enterprise

The Voice of Business

1. Of freedom this and freedom that the drooling leftist

But freedom for Free Enterprise is all that really matters; This freedom was ordained by God, upon it rest all

For man's divinest impulse is to overreach his brothers; And so to this celestial urge we make our offering votive, Behind all human greatness lies the noble Profit Motive.

Chorus of Bankers, Stockbrokers, Executives, and Advertising Men

> Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! In it the world's salvation lies. Without it every freedom dies; O glorious Free Enterprise-The Enterprise that PAYS!

Solo: The President of the Manufacturers' Association

2. For victory we're giving all—at scarcely more than cost; But how will victory help us if Free Enterprise be lost? The war's demands for well-laid plans most loyally

But peace is quite a different thing-no planning then is needed;

So, while today the state's controls have stretched us on the

The moment victory comes in sight we want our freedom back!

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! In armed revolt we'll all arise If any post-war party tries . To undermine Free Enterprise-The Enterprise that PAYS!

Solo: The President of the Chamber of Commerce

3. At periods when Free Enterprise may not provide employment

We dread the thought of hungry men-it lessens our enjoyment;

The government must then step in, with this considera-

That any public works proposed do not increase taxa-

Depressions, after all, good friends, much as we may deplore them,

Are acts of God. Who ever heard of blaming business for them?

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! Of course, when profits shrink in size To lay men off is only wise; We dearly love Free Enterprise, But only when it PAYS.

Solo: The President of the Bankers' Association

4. We face today a dreadful threat from fools who would destroy us,

Of "Socialized Security" they prate in accents joyous; Security? Its cost alone would drive us to perdition, Besides, it kills initiative and dries up all ambition; Security breaks down the will, the urge that keeps men

It stifles effort, starves the soul-except in men like me.

Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! While Wagner, Beveridge theorize, Their deadly, bolshevistic lies Are poisoning Free Enterprise-The Enterprise that PAYS.

Solo: The President of the Advertisers' Association

5. Conspirators on every side Free Enterprise have slandered, Forgetting that it's given us the world's best living stand-

We eat and drink supremely well at Mayflower, Ritz,

And no one drives more Cadillacs or bigger ones then

How blind the Socialist who plots this way of life to

Free Enterprise brings wealth to all-at least to all who matter.

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! In grateful pride we publicize The soldier in this war who dies: "He died to save Free Enterprise-The Enterprise that PAYS!"

#### The Voice of Business

6. Free Enterprise does not, of course, mean silly competition, And cutting prices is a sin for which there's no remission; A "Gentlemen's Agreement" is the best of all devices

To stabilize our dividends, our markets, and our prices; For taking risks we've little love, we set our whole affection On something like monopoly, with adequate protection.

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise, Extol and give it praise! In it the world's salvation lies, Without it every freedom dies; O glorious Free Enterprise, O wonderful Free Enterprise, O MARVELOUS Free Enterprise-The Enterprise that PAYS!

J. D. K.

# China in Distress

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ACCORDING to Admiral Nimitz, Allied strategy calls for the ultimate seizure of bases on the coast of China. General Stilwell has promised that Chinese forces will drive eastward from the interior to effect a strategic junction with Allied forces advancing across the Pacific. The important military and political obstacles to be surmounted in the carrying through of such a plan were discussed recently in these columns.\* What is not sufficiently appreciated is that the economic obstacles to a successful land offensive are equally great.

Americans traveling in China see the country's economic difficulties chiefly in terms of inflation. By the beginning of 1944 prices had mounted to such fantastic levels as to stagger the imagination. In Chungking, where the situation is worst, prices are now more than 200 times as high as in 1937 and are continuing to rise at the rate of 10 per cent or more a month. Because of the shortage of goods the price of some manufactured articles has risen more than 500-fold. Americans, who must exchange their dollars for Chinese currency at an artificially pegged rate, pay \$10 or more for a meal, \$60 for a pair of shoes, and \$2 for a package of cigarettes.

Individuals are not the only ones affected. The American government faces an equally appalling situation in the development of its military facilities in China. Some of the difficulties are unavoidable. There is a scarcity of all kinds of supplies, and it has been made worse by hoarding. The chief hardship, however, is the result of arbitrary Chinese exchange restrictions. For despite the rapid decline in the purchasing power of Chinese currency, the official exchange rate, applicable to government as well as private transactions, has been maintained at 20 to 1. The true rate on the basis of changes in the purchasing power of the two currencies since 1937 is probably between 450 and 500 Chinese yuan for \$1. Since the beginning of February State Department employees, American correspondents, missionaries, business men, and other foreigners have been granted a special 40-to-1 rate which has eased their position slightly. American relief funds have also been given the advantage of this special rate. But the American army's expenditures for airfields, barracks, and other military installations have, until the past week, remained pegged at the 20-to-1 ratio, a rate which practically precludes extensive undertakings. While the Chinese government offsets this handicap in part by building and paying for the operational parts of the airfields, the artificially pegged exchange rate has unquestionably delayed our military preparations. Discussions are now under way between the Chinese and American governments for some adjustment in the official exchange rate for military expenditures. But even if the army is given the benefit of the 40-to-1 rate, the cost of new facilities will still be so high as to prevent any but the most urgent kind of construction.

Why the United States government has permitted China to hamper the war effort, to exploit individual Americans, and minimize the effect of our relief activities by so greatly undervaluing the dollar is a matter of which no satisfactory explanation has ever been given. True, the right to fix the exchange rate is always regarded as one of the basic privileges of a sovereign nation. But in war time especially, it is a right which should be exercised in close cooperation with other countries. And it is difficult to see why the United States should feel obligated to provide China with the funds to support an exchange ratio that would otherwise collapse of its own weight. Yet that is precisely what we have done and are continuing to do. At the present moment half of the American \$500,000,000 loan to China is still on deposit in this country in American currency, and it is estimated that China has an additional \$200,000,000 in private assets invested in the United States. The present exchange rate unquestionably has aided China and individual Chinese citizens in maintaining these foreign assets abroad, but at the expense of the war effort.

China itself was not particularly harmed by the inflation in its early stages. About the only persons who suffered seriously during the early years of the war were teachers, government officials, and army officers, all of whom were dependent on fixed salaries. Hardest hit were the college professors. Early in 1943 it was estimated that the salaries of full professors in the Chinese universities, despite some increase, had a purchasing power only about one-twentieth as great as their pre-war salaries. It is still lower today. Although the government has sought to alleviate their plight by rice subsidies, many professors and officials find acute difficulty in obtaining the basic necessities of life. In contrast, coolies, skilled workers, and farmers suffered little, if at all, during the first three or four years of the inflation. Wages increased to keep pace with the cost of living, and farmers benefited from the higher prices obtainable for their crops.

During the past year, however, even these latter groups have begun to suffer from the general deterioration in production resulting from the inflation. Except for a

<sup>&</sup>quot;Victory Lies in China, by Maxwell S. Stewart, February 26, 1944.

few kinds of skilled labor, wages have fallen behind the rise in living costs. The strenuous efforts which the government has made to hold down the price of rice and other food has seriously affected small farmers. Such farmers now find that the prices of the things they must buy, few as they are, have risen more than the prices they receive for their crops. It is estimated that the real income of this group, scarcely above a bare subsistence level in normal times, has declined at least 10 per cent.

Despite its catastrophic effect on large groups in the population, an inflationary rise in prices usually has a stimulating effect on production. This seems to have been true in China until about the time of Pearl Harbor, or a little later. Recently, however, essential war production has been increasingly curtailed by the universal shortage of goods and the efforts of the government to control prices. Factories making war materials have closed down or shifted to civilian production. Manufacturers who had made contracts with the government for munitions have frequently been compelled to cancel them because they found that the price offered by the government did not begin to cover the rising costs of raw materials and labor. Industrial and financial interests have found it more profitable to hoard and speculate in raw materials than to turn them into finished goods. Because of hoarding and high transportation costs, even governmentowned munitions plants have encountered difficulty in obtaining sufficient raw materials to operate at capacity. The production of other raw materials required by the United Nations has also been curtailed. For example, the output of wolfram, badly needed in the United States, was cut 50 per cent in 1943; in Yunnan the output of the great Kechiu tin mine has been reduced from 10,700 tons in 1938 to slightly more than 2,000 tons last year. Production of tungsten is also declining, and part of the output is alleged to have been smuggled into Japanese hands. The New York Times recently reported that 68 of the 364 factories in the Chungking area had closed their doors and that more were expected to do so before spring. Most construction, including the building of new strategic railways, has come to a standstill.

The government has done little to develop an adequate program of war production. Total steel output in 1942, for example, was only about 10,000 tons. This output could be increased several-fold by making greater use of the facilities of small village industries. But without an over-all plan for war production such an increase would be futile. Actually, according to the Ta Kung Pao, China's leading independent newspaper, "the iron-and-steel industry is producing more than consumers can buy." Commenting further on the inadequacy of industrial planning in war-time China, the Ta Kung Pao says: "A sound plan for industrial development has been lacking so far. Although government enterprises have achieved considerable results, it is open to discussion

whether there is sufficient planning for the future. Private industries are being developed without rational planning in relation to existing communications and rawmaterial supplies."

For an explanation of this lack of planning and the general laxity on the economic front it is necessary to probe rather deeply into the economic and social structure of war-time China. The China of today is not the China of 1937. All its seaports and industrial cities have been lost. In losing them China also lost a large proportion of the men who had risen to financial and industrial leadership. When the great cities of Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, and Hongkong fell into the hands of the enemy, the bankers, merchants, and industrialists who had founded modern business establishments in these cities stayed behind and were captured by the Japanese, were killed, or saw their property taken by the enemy. With the wiping out of this class of modern business men, financial leadership in China passed into the hands of those whose wealth lay in the interior, chiefly large landowners and merchants. This group has none of the progressive traditions of the port cities. It has its roots in China's archaic system of land tenure and is chiefly interested in perpetuating that system.

The tenancy problem varies considerably in different parts of China. In some sections, chiefly North China, most of the land is owned by those who farm it. But in other areas, including a large part of what is now Free China, most of the land is controlled by absentee landlords. The rents charged in these areas are extremely high, amounting to half or more of the total crops. Moreover, the landlords, the moneylenders, and the merchants often work together to maintain this highly exploitative share-cropping system, together with arrangements for small loans at extremely high rates of interest. Naturally, this combination has considerable political as well as economic power in the areas where it is dominant.

The inflation and the accompanying wave of speculation have probably increased its power, since this group alone has had idle money to use for hoarding and speculation. And to complete the vicious circle, this increased power has been used, according to the Ta Kung Pao, to prevent the Chinese government from instituting the bold policies necessary to stimulate production and bring the inflation under control, thus obstructing the effective prosecution of the war. Some critics go even farther and insist that the government's policy of subsidizing the landowners by agricultural credit loans—a policy entered into on the theory that this would increase farm production—has merely given the landlord more money for speculation and for lending out at exorbitant interest.

The situation appears to have been aggravated by the government's imposition of a tax in kind on the peasants and small craftsmen. This tax is of course a natural out-

growth of the inflation. In a period when prices are rising rapidly, taxes payable in currency are unsatisfactory, particularly for a country at war. Vast quantities of grain, meat, and other farm products are needed to feed the army, and the government can only be sure of getting these supplies if it collects them directly from the producer. At best, such a tax was bound to be unpopular with the farmers. But resentment has been made much greater in China by the presence of widespread favoritism and graft. It is generally believed that the large landowners, having both influence and money, get off rather lightly in the forced grain collections, while the poorer farmers are forced to contribute up to half of their total crop in "taxes." Furthermore, much of the grain that is collected never reaches the National Government authorities but serves merely to enrich the local militarists. And in some areas the collections have been so severe as to create famine conditions.

Equally unpopular with the Chinese peasant has been the enforcement of the universal-military-service law, which in theory is supposed to mobilize Chinese manpower for an all-out war effort. In some areas half to two-thirds of the men of military age have been conscripted for the army. In addition, a proportion of the men, horses, and carts in every village are drafted for transport and other noncombatant service. The national-service regulations are also subject to gross abuse. The peasants complain that they are often forced to work on projects wholly unconnected with the war for the benefit and enrichment of local military leaders.

In several parts of the country the resentment against forced grain collections and national labor service has led to open revolts against the government. The most serious of these revolts occurred in the widely separated provinces of Kweichow—where the most serious famine occurred—and Kansu. Several smaller peasant uprisings are known to have taken place in other sections of Free China. The Kansu revolt involved an area with a population of one to two million and was still not fully suppressed at last report. Kweichow's uprising was put down after a considerable loss of life.

Even from this brief survey it should be evident that China's economic problems are deepseated. While some critics insist that the government, by adopting all-out economic measures, could provide the basic war materials necessary for its own armies, few observers see any chance of this being accomplished without aid. If the Chinese economy is to be rehabilitated during the war so as to meet the on-the-spot needs of the United Nations armies, a considerable portion of the responsibility for planning and directing that effort will have to come from the United States. This obviously means more than mere financial assistance—although such assistance is essential.

A means of effective economic as well as military cooperation will have to be worked out before China can be made the base for offensive military operations against Japan. This cooperation will undoubtedly have political as well as economic and military implications. For it is evident that the revitalization of the Chinese war effort is at bottom a political problem, Because China is rightly sensitive regarding foreign interference in its internal affairs, this problem may be hard to solve. Experience with a century of Western imperialism has made the Chinese suspicious of foreign influence of any kind. Because of the depth of this feeling, the American, British, and Soviet governments have hitherto adopted a strictly "hands-off" attitude regarding China's economic and political problems. But there is at least reason to question whether this policy has been altogether wise in view of the immense stake which all four nations have in an early victory.

## In the Wind

INTEREST in foreign languages runs with the tides of war and politics. The Berlitz School of Languages reports that the demand for Russian has more than doubled since the Red Army began to hit back in 1942, though it declines whenever Stalin makes a move or statement that is unpopular in this country. The Linguaphone Institute, which is also having a boom in Russian, says the demand for French slumped badly after the defeat of France but is now increasing rapidly.

THE NEUTRAL CONSCIENCE: Irish Travel, official organ of the Irish Tourist Association, recently published on one page photographs of "Fujiyama, the Sacred Mountain of Japan," and "Mount Erigal, Donegal." The caption, in large type at the top of the page, was "See Japan—in Ireland."

ALL IS NOT DARK in Dixie. Georgia has become the first state in the Union to sponsor a statewide Sew-for-Russia campaign among its high-school students. The Homemaking Division of the Department of Education expects 15,000 garments to be made by girl students this month.

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY reports that the Virgin Mary has been made an honorary general in the Argentine army. She receives no salary, but is allowed a "vivaticum" of ten dollars a day—which is collected by the church.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Danish underground newspaper comments thus on the 8 p.m. curfew imposed by the Nazis: "Does a Dane like anything better than to sit at home on a quiet night when the noise of the town has ceased and hear the stillness broken only by a violent explosion? That is the saboteurs' good-night kiss to Adolf."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Does Europe Need Germany?

BY LOUIS FISCHER

OLOTOV, Hull, and Eden resolved last autumn, at the Moscow conference, that "those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part" in atrocities, massacres, and executions be sent back to the place of their crimes for punishment, and that others too, "whose offenses have no particular geographical localization" be judged by the Allies. Most persons in non-fascist countries will agree. But most persons will also agree that such retribution is only the first short step toward a solution of the German problem.

The main purpose of the peace is to prevent another war. Will the terms imposed by the victors on Germany—and Japan—create conditions that conduce to peace? That is the question. The primary criterion of the peace should not be its good or bad effect on Germany but its effect on the world.

Considering its murders and sins, Germany undoubtedly deserves a cruel, crushing peace. The real test of the future peace settlement, however, is not whether Germany deserves it but whether we can afford it.

There is little to choose between Germany's barbarities and aggressions and those of Japan. Chiang Kai-shek is the last man to forget Japan's misdeeds. In a January 1, 1944, broadcast Chiang revealed that, at the Cairo conference, President Roosevelt asked him his views on the fate of Japan. Chiang replied, "It is my opinion that the Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system must be purged of every vestige of aggressive elements. . . If the Japanese people should rise in a revolution to punish their warmongers and to overthrow their militarist government, we should respect their spontaneous will and allow them to choose their own form of government."

"President Roosevelt fully approved of my idea," Chiang added. Chiang explained that he was disclosing this historic conversation in order to proclaim China's readiness "to give a helping hand to the innocent and harmless people in Japan." Chiang Kai-shek, Roosevelt concurring, believes in another Japan.

Hitler and Himmler also believe in a second Germany; else they would not execute Germans for listening to the foreign radio and fill prisons and concentration camps with enemies of their regime. It is paying the Nazi dictatorship too high a compliment to assume that all Germans are pro-Nazi. A dictatorship is by definition a government which acts without consulting the people. Terror and the din of clever, repetitious propaganda often achieve subsequent popular acceptance of the acts of the dictatorship.

Numerous Germans became pro-Hitler when he won bloodless victories (Rhineland remilitarization in 1936, Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938) which, in the Nazi-induced fog of nationalistic frenzy, seemed to confer benefits on Germany at no cost. Suppose Germany's bloody military defeats turn the pro-Nazis back into anti-Nazis, and suppose section of the German people sets up a government which is obviously and convincingly democratic. Suppose. Would we follow the Chiang Kai-shek prescription and change our treatment of Germany, or would we, like Nazis, insist that blood and race make all Germans incorrigibly bad?

Not all good Germans left Germany in 1848; some couldn't get out. Even Lord Vansittart says, "I have taken the percentage of good Germans at 25." Maybe it is 20, maybe 30. Whatever the percentage, the conclusion is clear: the "good Germans" must be helped to gain and keep power. The bad Germans must be denied access to power.

"We British ourselves derive in large measure from the same Teutonic stock" as the Germans, writes the celebrated British historian, G. P. Gooch, in an attack on Vansittartism. If all Germans are incurable savages and villains, what about the great numbers of civilized liberal Americans of German descent? American environment changed them? Then perhaps the task of the peacemakers is to create a new German environment.

#### WHY GERMAN DEMOCRACY FAILED

Germany recently conducted a full-scale experiment in democracy. Between 1919 and 1932, but particularly until 1929, Germany was a democracy with broad public support, real freedom of speech, assembly, and worship, vibrant parliamentary government (except for short lapses toward the end), vigorous trade unions, a great flowering of art and culture, free elections, and—between 1924 and 1929—considerable prosperity based on foreign borrowing. The Weimar Republic did not disrupt the peace of Europe.

In the end, the democratic forces of Germany proved too weak. The reasons? The feudal, militaristic, monopolistic elements in Germany were never deprived of their power for evil. The democrats were timid, Fabian, and usually non-violent. Despite adequate justification (the 1920 Kapp putsch, for instance) the republic did not stamp out the Junker estate owners, the Prussian army caste, the industrial trusts, or the unregenerate Kaiser-loving bureaucracy. These groups had made the First World War, using Wilhelm II as their instrument. Later they made the Second World War as Hitler's eager partners.

Those who would point a finger of scorn at vacillating, inadequate German democrats might do well to take a look at other democracies; they would observe a similar phenomenon. The Spanish Republicans were true democrats if there ever were any—and Teutonic blood in Spain is negligible. Did they, between 1931 and 1936, smash the militaristic, land-owning, pro-fascist monarchists who were all the time preparing the overthrow of the republic? In France democracy was a treasured right. Yet France succumbed in 1940 through the sins of its appeasing, anti-Popular-Front pro-

Nazis, who had operated in the open for many years. How successful are American democrats today in eradicating racial discrimination, the anti-labor lobby, the sinister might of the cartels, the influence of certain elements of the Catholic church in politics, and other factors which are a threat to American democracy? Those who blame the failure of German democracy on some frailty or special quirk of German nature are, in effect, saying, "It can't happen here," although it has happened in many "heres."

The collapse of the Weimar Republic was part of a world process which transcends race, love of uniforms, and love of discipline and regimentation. National characteristics do count, and they presumably accelerated Germany's descent into the totalitarian abyss. But the German reactionaries had to wait for their real opportunity until the world economic depression hit Germany in 1930. Fear of inflation, physical distress, six million unemployed, and the drying up of foreign credits reduced the political weight of the left and enabled the enemies of democracy to offer Hitler as a super-nationalist messiah.

The German problem is part of the world problem and can only be solved as part of the world problem. This world is at war because it was sick, and not because Germany alone was sick. Fascism is a universal disease which halts before no barriers of race or geography. It has attacked Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Greece, several Latin American states, and numerous Americans who vote in democratic elections. Fascism has taken particularly brutal forms in Germany. But dictatorship everywhere is brutal.

Before this war all major dictatorships engaged in aggression. Only dictatorships engaged in aggression. No democracy engaged in aggression. The road to peace is through universal democracy. Democracy, however, must be fortified by the elimination of the factors that have caused it to crumble under the assaults of totalitarianism. This poses a problem which includes but is much larger than the German problem. Germany cannot solve its economic, social, and political problems without reference to the outside world. No nation can.

This is the answer to those who cry, Ruin Germany. Robert Menzies, the former Prime Minister of Australia, says, "We cannot have a prosperous world if Germany is in a state of disorder and poverty or if Japan is excluded from international economic and political relations" (PM, February 3, 1944). Foreign Secretary Eden said on July 29, 1941, "A starving and bankrupt Germany in the midst of Europe would poison all of us who are her neighbors. That is not sentiment. That is common sense." In other words, what we do to others we likewise do to ourselves.

The advocates of a "Germany Must Be Destroyed" policy recall that after the punitive Carthaginian peace the world had no trouble from Carthage. No, but plenty of trouble from Rome. In other words, what kind of Europe, what kind of world will the peace terms produce?

Within six years of the Kaiser's complete surrender, Russia was helping Germany to rearm, America was putting Germany back on its economic feet, and Britain was shielding Germany against Fronch vengeance. They did so, not because they loved Germany more, but because the Versailles settlement soon became an embarrassment to their own na-

tional interests. The peace settlement must be devised not with an eye only on the third or fifth year after the war. For five or ten years after this war there will be peace, peace through exhaustion. In this early period, therefore, punitive measures will be least needed. Yet psychologically it is the period in which the victors are most likely to undertake punitive action. A reasonable approach to the peace would require the victorious powers to devote, say, the first five or eight post-war years to removing the causes of war. If that fails, they could subject Germany to strict control. Instead, we may do just the opposite: we may sit tightly on a prostrate, semi-ruined Germany and find that it gets us nowhere. Then we may tire of the modern Catoism which is Vansittartism and look around for a cure.

The peace settlement should be so framed that its creators will wish to apply it not only in the red heat of hate immediately after the war but also in the cool light of reason a decade later. In launching and maintaining Britain's policy of appeasement, Prime Ministers Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain were able to exploit the shame which countless decent Englishmen felt toward their own handiwork, the Versailles peace system. So many Britons regarded the separation of Danzig and Austria from Germany, the creation of the Polish Corridor, and the demilitarization of the Rhineland as sins against Germany and Europe that they could not rouse themselves to oppose Hitler when he proceeded to scrap those arrangements. No Carthaginian peace that causes prolonged privation and suffering to millions of persons yet unborn when Hitler became history's ugliest marauder will find permanent justification in the eyes of the civilized world. The peacemakers must see their work in terms of 1960 and beyond.

One final comment on the Ruin Germany doctrine: To blame only Germany means that nobody else is to blame and therefore everything will be all right with the world after Germany is punished. Vansittartism is a plea for the status quo. In the mouth of a conservative the condemnation of Germany alone is really a defense of the existing social and economic systems in the democracies. If Germany is remolded by the victors while the rest of the world remains unchanged, we might as well start preparing for the Third World War.

#### REEDUCATION BY DEFEAT

What, then, is to be done with Germany?

The proposals heard in various quarters can be grouped under the headings of Reeducation, Disarmament, Dismemberment, and Economic Controls.

Reeducation of the German people by foreign teachers and foreign textbooks and curricula is arrogant nonsense. It would never work even if Germany were crushed and controlled. Germans, even in defeat, would no more submit to foreign schooling than would the citizens of Iowa or California. Bayonets will not make children study.

To reeducate German children, mentally to "delouse" them, in Jan Masaryk's phrase, it is necessary, first, to have a new, anti-Nazi German political regime, for it is the political regime of a country that runs the schools. Secondly, the social and economic environment in Germany must be altered. Children mirror their schools, their environment, and their parents. They cannot change their parents, but their parents

can be changed. Germany's parents and Germany's children are being changed and reeducated every day. They were reeducated last night and the night before—by bombs instead of by books.

At his press conference in New York on August 27, 1943, Brendan Bracken, Britain's Minister of Information, referred to Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur T. Harris, head of the R.A.F. Bomber Command, as Germany's "best educator." Predicting intensified raids, Mr. Bracken stated that Germans "are going to get such a dose in the next months that a lot of people in Germany are going to believe there is a great deal of soundness in the Quaker religion." Bombs, in other words, can make pacifists out of Germans.

I first went to Germany in 1921 and lived there for years thereafter. The defeat of the Kaiser's Germany had made "Quakers" of millions of Germans. In the 20's the most popular slogan in numerous German street demonstrations was "Nie Wieder Krieg," Never Another War. Defeat a second time, at stupendous cost in lives and wealth, may teach the bulk of the German nation that war does not pay. I think it is conceivable that Germany will become a pacifist country after its complete military defeat by the United Nations. This result would be contingent, however, on the ability of the people to depose their war-making caste. The victorious Allies could help Germany do that; they might also prevent it.

Russia is administering the most impressive program of German reeducation. The greatest single fact of this war is the emergence of Russia as a mighty fighting nation. To Russia's vast spaces and rich man-power resources has now been added the demonstrated capacity to make and use machines. This is an epochal development, and the history lesson has been brought home to every German family in the shape of a dead son or brother, or a maimed father or husband or uncle. It has been burned into Germany's flesh and brain that there is a new Russia.

In the past, when German militarists contemplated a war, they could see the prospect of aggrandizement in Africa and Asia at the expense, chiefly, of England and France, and of expansion in the direction of Russia. The First World War showed that Britain and its allies can bar Germany's path to colonial empire; in "Mein Kampf" and in subsequent speeches Hitler—apt pupil—therefore opposed the quest for overseas colonies. He preferred the Ukraine. Now Russia has showed that Germany cannot have the Ukraine.

Blocked in two wars, Germany may very well realize—at last—that it cannot solve its problems by warlike means. It may therefore not only divest itself of militaristic psychology; it may try to get rid of its militaristic ruling groups. At least, there is a chance that this will happen, and the victors should encourage the change, for it is the best hope of world peace.

What is the outlook for German disarmament?

The Allies partially disarmed their defeated foes after 1918. But they did not disarm Japan and Italy, for Japan and Italy were their friends, partners in the First World War. Japan and Italy were therefore in a position to start this world war—Japan by its aggression in China beginning in 1931, Italy by its adventures in Abyssinia in 1935 and in Spain in 1936. So that it is not enough to disarm your defeated

enemies; there is no guaranty that some other nation, not now your enemy, may not start another war. The task of preventing Germany, and Japan, from making another war is really part of a much larger task: preventing anybody from making another war. For what does it profit us if we keep Germany from launching a third global conflict when Exland or Wyland can commit the same crime?

Germany must be disarmed after this war. How? All Germany's available stocks of arms and ammunition will be collected and removed or destroyed. But the world has gaped in astonishment and the Axis has watched with mounting fear as America, caught unprepared for war, rapidly mobilized its industries after Pearl Harbor. Today, lipstick manufacturers are making bullets, toothpaste companies are producing munition fuses, wallpaper factories are turning out cannon shells, furniture workshops are making gliders, picklers of vegetables are stamping airplane parts, and, of course, automobile plants are supplying our armed forces with everything from bombers to jeeps, tanks, and steel helmets.

Will Germany, after disarmament, be allowed to produce baby carriages, telephones, trolley cars, radios? These are surely necessary civilian supplies. The factories that made them could be converted to munitions making. Would Germany be permitted to produce medicines, dyes, paints? Those plants could quickly be transformed into makers of explosives. Assuming Germany's will to rearm, the victors must either occupy and control it forever—for the more prolonged the control the more the Germans will resent it and the greater the need for further control—or it must be ruined industrially and reduced to an economic desert unfit for habitation. This would be disastrous to world prosperity and normal life.

In the modern age the only real way to disarm a country is to kill it or to kill its will to arm.

Germany's disarmament during a period of post-war policing and supervision will smooth the path to the elimination of its feudal, anti-democratic oligarchies that have lived by making and using arms. Will the United Nations encourage that social change? Disarmament would be conclusively effective only if the occupying nations regarded it as part of an economic restratification and social revolution which Germany has needed for a long time.

Mental, social, and physical disarmament would make Germany's dismemberment superfluous; such disarmament can be a sufficient guaranty against future wars. However, in any preview of the coming Germany it is better to mix what one would like to see with what is likely to be. We know that dismemberment is under official consideration.

#### FRONTIERS AND PEACE

Reporting to the House of Commons on February 22, 1944, Prime Minister Churchill, after denying that "the German people will be enslaved or destroyed," stated that the Atlantic Charter does not preclude "territorial transferences or adjustments in enemy territories." It most definitely does. It declares unambiguously that the nations which accepted the Atlantic Charter will seek "no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise," and that they want "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." This means no annexations of

German or Japanese territory by Poland, China, Russia, or anybody without honest plebiscites. That has now been thrown overboard. There will be territorial amputations of Japan—they were decided upon at Cairo. There will be territorial "transferences" at the expense of Germany—they were decided upon at Teheran; Churchill has said so. In that same report on February 22, 1944, he revealed that at Teheran he had discussed the future of Poland with Stalin. They both felt that Russia should acquire a stretch of Poland. "Marshal Stalin and I," Churchill continued, "also spoke and agreed upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany both in the north and in the west."

Thus Russia's territorial ambitions have made it necessary to scrap the no-annexations provision of the Atlantic Charter. The question is how far the fragmentation of Germany is to go. James B. Reston, London correspondent of the New York Times, has twice wired through the British censorship that Russia is asking for Königsberg, the most important city of East Prussia. Will Poland gain East Prussia but without East Prussia's biggest city? Königsberg might then be the Russian "Danzig" in a Polish East Prussia; a short corridor would connect it with Lithuania, which Stalin has publicly demanded. Moreover, Churchill's "in the north and in the west" would also give Poland parts, at least, of Silesia as well as Pomerania to the Oder River. Russia, conceivably, might want the rest of Germany to be undivided, but could England remain indifferent to Russian influence on the Oder? One begins to see the specter of another Versailles Europe.

No man-made frontier is sacrosanct and many frontiers are crazy. But the Atlantic Charter ruled out territorial aggrandizement because new frontiers are likely to be as insane as old ones and to cause as much trouble. The best cure for this age-long European headache is to make frontiers less important by establishing customs unions, abolishing tariffs, allowing visa-less travel, and fitting Europe into an economic and political world unity.

Obviously, however, Germany's frontiers will be altered. How will this process affect Europe and peace? The dismemberment of Germany will start a squabble for the possession or domination of the members. When Prime Minister Ian Smuts anticipates that Russia will become "mistress of Europe," he urges Britain to fortify its own position by forging special ties with the nations of Western Europe. When the Allies take over the Italian fleet, Stalin claims a third of it. This is natural in the present state of international affairs, and it is natural, therefore, to expect that if Russia and Poland attach parts of Germany other nations will covet other parts. The disruption of Germany will accentuate the trend, already clear and disturbing, to divide Europe into rival spheres of influence. If Germany is split up, the British and Russian spheres of influence will be nearer to one another and therefore nearer to conflict.

A united Germany, rehabilitated and reformed, could, on the other hand, prevent east and west from clashing. Germany purged of war criminals, warmongers, and warmakers could stand as a guaranty of European peace. But if Germany were torn asunder, the struggle for control over the parts would last for years, and while it lasted international organization for peace would be an impossibility or a mere formality covering up strife. For even if the competing spheres of influence were plainly demarcated by agreement, the suspicions and tensions and the poisoned rump of Germany between the spheres would not conduce to an atmosphere of peace.

Russia's emergence as a very great power looking and moving westward is the outstanding new fact in European politics. It is sure to arouse hopes among many people. These hopes will arouse fears elsewhere. This situation is already casting its shadow before. Unless Germany continues to exist as a national entity, the situation might easily lead Europe to catastrophe.

The independent existence of the German and Japanese nations would emphasize the necessity of forming an international organization for peace in which they would be integrated and which would endeavor to eliminate the cause of war through social, political, and economic change, whereas the destruction of the defeated enemies would create the illusion that the causes of war had disappeared and that an instrument to prevent war was no longer urgently required.

#### GERMANY IN THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Finally, what about the economic future of Germany?

The bombings, the huge human and property losses in battle, the physical exhaustion of the population, and the wear and tear on industrial equipment will leave Germany very much weaker after this war. The same is true of Russia's economic system. One of the chief motives behind the drive for a Soviet sphere of influence is Stalin's desire to recruit half of Europe for the task of rebuilding Russia quickly. Russia has lived under an almost uninterrupted strain ever since 1916. The people have showed remarkable endurance, and the country has demonstrated remarkable resilience and powers of recuperation. But the Soviet government, naturally, wishes to shorten the period of suffering and sacrifice during the post-war rehabilitation, and an attempt will be made to orient the economy of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany on Russia. An authoritative Moscow economist has already advocated the importation by Russia of millions of German workingmen over an extended term to help rebuild what Germans ravaged. It would not be surprising if Moscow demanded the transfer to Russia of German machinery or of the products of German industry.

Russia's eagerness to control the German economy will grow if the Kremlin discovers even the slightest tendency in England and America to exact political concessions or put political pressure on Russia in return for their participation in Soviet reconstruction, Russia will half encircle Germany after the war by reason of its prestige and influence in Czechoslovakia, its domination over all of Poland, and the acquisition of Lithuania and of bits of East Prussia. Russia can and doubtless will exploit this advantage economically. Those in Western countries who may object to such a development would face two alternatives: (1) ruin German economy so that Russia cannot benefit from it; or (2) find Germany a substitute for the Russian market. The substitute might be markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or the domestic markets of the United States, Great Britain, and lands on the European continent.

Under Stalin, Russia has moved very far from socialist life. Russian nationalism, pan-Slavism, a state-aided church,

nd separate schools for girls and military schools for boys re not socialism. But economically Russia is more socialted and collectivized than ever. In a number of East Euroean countries farm collectives are sure to be regarded, fter the war, as a solution of age-long agrarian problems, nd the pull toward state-operated industry will be strong verywhere in Europe, everywhere in the world, in fact.

Germany, accordingly, may become the vast arena of an pochal, decisive struggle between the West, mainly America nd Britain, anxious to save Germany from socialism, and tussia, bent on extending the scope of socialist economy.

German interests and German opinions will play a trenendous role in the outcome of this contest. A socialist conomy may—we do not quite know—provide jobs for all and economic security. But it creates the likelihood of an omnipotent state in the face of which the individual has no quaranteed rights, no redress, and no personal freedom. After the torments that Europe has undergone in recent years, however, Europeans may choose jobs at the expense of their freedom—unless the democratic system offers both.

To the extent that the people of Germany are permitted any choice in the matter, they will prefer the Russian system if England and America do not, by solving the problems of democracy at home, present an example of something that looks better to Europe than the Russian system. The future of Germany thus depends on the outcome of the worldwide revolution that is rocking the planet. The war and the peace settlement with Germany are parts of this revolution.

[This is the second of a series of articles on Germany which the Political War Section will publish during coming months. The first, by Fritz Sternberg, appeared on February 12.7

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

To IS doubtful that the aerial bombing of Germany has destroyed many buildings whose cultural value was such that they were irreplaceable. The country is not particularly rich in such edifices, and the most valuable are in small cities. However, there has lately been an extremely tragic destruction of cultural buildings of a different kind. In the December 3 attack on Leipzig it appears that the world-famous publishing and printing district of that city was wiped out. Details are mentioned in a letter published by the Swiss Basler Nachrichten on January 28:

The destruction of the Leipzig publishing district can only be compared with the burning of the library of Alexandria. The consequences for scientific and cultural life, not only in Germany but internationally, are in fact incalculable. A great deal of what has been destroyed is altogether irreplaceable, because not only books but standing matrices, blocks, castings, etc., are gone. The shortage of standard scientific works, dictionaries, atlases, textbooks, etc., will soon make itself felt—and not only in Germany. Study and research in the fields of medicine, engineering, and philology will be greatly hindered for a long time to come. The blew is particularly painful for musicians and music lovers. As is well known, parts and scores of virtually the whole of musical literature were published in Leipzig. The majority of the plates have been destroyed.

It is painful to read by way of contrast, in the Svenska Dagbladet of February 25, the report of the Swedish embassy that though "most office buildings" in Berlin were damaged, the headquarters of Hitler and Göring—the Reich Chancellery and the Air Ministry—are still standing. And the most prominent monuments of Prussian military glory—the Brandenburger Tor, the Victory Column, and "the Armory," the museum of the Prussian army and its victories—are "completely unscathed."

Among the astonishing stories an American internee at Baden Baden cabled home after his release was one about the excellent food situation in Germany. He was told—he could hardly have observed it himself—that German families always had "plenty of butter on their tables," and no lack of "other fats" and "good white bread."

But on precisely the same day, February 15, the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss newspaper St. Galler Tagblatt published a long, thorough analysis of the German food situation. He reported that fats of all kinds—butter, cooking fat, margarine, and oil—are limited to a combined total of 965 grams per person for four weeks—a little more than two pounds. This doesn't make it easy to have "plenty of butter on the table." Even the ration of two pounds for four weeks is not guaranteed. On the contrary, an official proclamation declares that part of the two pounds of "fat" will be replaced by pork meat. And the quality of all fats is miserable. "Margarine smells of fish-oil in the frying pan," wrote the Swiss correspondent:

People, however, have ceased to be squeamish. Workers steal parafin oil from the factories to use as salad oil, and gun grease to cook vegetables. It has become necessary to warn publicly against the consumption of industrial fats.

So much for the plenitude of butter. As for the good white bread, it should be noted first of all that Germany has always eaten dark bread. Approximately eighty per cent of the grain grown in the country is rye, not wheat. During the war the bread has grown steadily darker as the rye has been ground more thoroughly and more chaff has got into the flour. But lately a further deterioration has taken place.

The quality of the bread has become poorer since the proportion of rye flour was raised to 90 per cent last October, the remaining 10 per cent consisting not of wheat but of so-called "bread flour," which is said to contain ground beechnuts and pine bark. There have been some cases of bread poisoning.

In the opinion of the Swiss analyst the civilian population, though not the army, receives less than the physiological minimum requirements:

The situation has definitely assumed the character of mass undernourishment. This has led to symptoms of exhaustion in the working population, which business is trying to combat by distributing large quantities of vitamin tablets. There is also some talk about supplementary distribution of calcium preparations. For the time being, however, the only supplementary distribution is of Labor Front leaflets containing the advice to "eat a little something between meals more frequently than usual, in view of the present food situation." Good advice. People are so worn out that they often fall asleep on the way to and from work. And sometimes they suddenly collapse while working and must be carried away.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Lonigan, Lonergan, and New York's Finest

THE New York Police Department may be suffering from a shortage of man-power, but several of its officers had time last week to investigate "Studs Lonigan," a trilogy written by me and published by the Vanguard Press in 1035

On February 28 two police officers in civilian clothes visited the offices of the Vanguard Press and questioned James Henle, president of the firm. They told him that a complaint charging "Studs Lonigan" with immorality had been received from a woman in Brooklyn—she remains anonymous. They asked routine questions concerning the book—when it was published and how many copies had been sold. Mr. Henle answered these questions as precisely as he could and gave the officers one of the last two office copies of the work, which is temporarily out of stock. He was given to understand that the investigation was merely routine and that nothing more was likely to be heard of it.

Two days later a Sergeant Timothy Sullivan visited the Vanguard Press. He also was investigating "Studs Lonigan" on the same complaint. He asked Mr. Henle the same questions as the other officers had and received the same answers.

It was Sergeant Sullivan who introduced a new note into the proceedings, which indicates that the New York Police Department is short of other things besides man-power. Sergeant Sullivan seemed to be convinced that there was more than a phonetic connection between "Studs Lonigan" and the Lonergan murder case!

Mr. Henle attempted to disabuse the sergeant of this suspicion. He pointed out that neither he nor I had murdered Mrs. Patricia Lonergan but that even if we had it was inconceivable that I could have written and he could have published, in 1935, a book predicting how the murder was to be committed. But this argument, weighty as it seems, was apparently not conclusive. In the course of their talk Mr. Henle went through "Studs Lonigan" with Sergeant Timothy Sullivan, pointing out the titles of the separate volumes of the trilogy: "Young Lonigan," "The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan," and "Judgment Day"; and when they came to the last title, Sergeant Sullivan made a remark to the effect that I had finally got away from the Lonergan case. I do not know whether Sergeant Sullivan has made any further investigation of the suspicious similarity between Lonigan and Lonergan, but at least Mr. Henle and I have not been arrested, as yet, in connection with the sensational murder.

On March 4 another police officer, in uniform, visited the Vanguard Press. In the absence of Mr. Henle he questioned an employee of the firm. He asked essentially the same old questions and received the same answers. He, however, did not mention the Lonergan case.

On the same day a police squad car stopped in front of the Sutton Manor Book Shop, a small bookstore and rental library on First Avenue near Fifty-third Street. One of the two officers in the car asked Mrs. Mitchell Kennerley, the owner of the shop, if she had a copy of "Studs Lonigan." She said that it was temporarily out of stock but that she could furnish other books of mine. They were interested only in "Studs Lonigan." According to the New York *Times* reporter who interviewed Mrs. Kennerley, the officer said he was making a literary survey. Also either he or his fellow-officer made some remark about the Lonergan case.

As long as the police were merely visiting the Vanguard Press neither Mr. Henle nor I did anything about their investigation. However, when we received definite evidence that bookstores were also being visited we released the story to the press. It was printed in the New York Times and mentioned in radio broadcasts. But when reporters made inquiries at the New York Police Department, officials professed to be ignorant of the matter. No order, it was said, had been given for such an investigation. One newspaper was even told that the Sutton Manor Book Shop had not been visited, although Mrs. Kennerley and at least one witness, a soldier, confirmed the story of the visit. It is hardly likely that the imposing figure of an officer in uniform, which two people assert they saw, was merely a ghost.

The investigation of "Studs Lonigan" will undoubtedly go no farther. But the New York Police Department should explain this fantastic foray. If the investigation was merely routine, why were so many presumably busy officers detailed to it in the course of a week? And how was it possible for their superiors to know nothing about it? What or who was behind it?

Whatever the answers may be, the intimidation implicit in the behavior of the police is obvious. It is significant that they chose to visit, not large book shops or department stores where "Studs Lonigan" is also on sale, but a small bookstore which would be least able to defend itself in case of a raid and prosecution on charges of obscenity—if that was what the police contemplated.

For all its Gilbert and Sullivan trappings, this latest police investigation of a serious book is far from funny.

JAMES T. FARRELL

## The Balkans

THE LONG BALKAN NIGHT. By Leigh White. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

BELIEVE that Mr. White has written the best book on the Balkans to appear during this war. The intelligence and feeling with which he writes about that important part of the world have aroused not a little nostalgia in one who was a Balkan correspondent for eighteen years. And the fact that I was able to recognize almost every person that he describes is a measure of the truthfulness and accuracy of his reporting. The Hungarian newspaperman must have been so-and-so; the British secret agent with the Czechoslovak passport who died in a concentration camp of the Gestapo

ed to come to the cafe table of the American journalists Vienna; the hotel porter of the Serbski Kral in Belgrade d the figures in the Athenee Palace in Bucharest were all ling persons whom I had met and would have recognized en if Mr. White had omitted their names.

Because it is so excellent a book, I regret that it must ercome two handicaps if it is to have the wide reading it serves. It appears three years after the events it describes, d it was preceded two years ago by another dramatic deription of the same region, Robert St. John's "From the and of the Silent People." St. John is the better writer; t White has a much clearer understanding of the problems the Balkans. St. John, of course, made no pretense of beg more than a reporter. Leigh White tries to explain to the intricate political, ethnographic, and linguistic probms of this most heterogeneous and tradition-bound part of e world. He spent only two years in the Balkans but he arned an amazing amount, and the record of his convertions with politicians, statesmen, secret agents, newspaperen, soldiers, and workers in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoavia, Bulgaria, and Greece are most revealing.

He exposes the various fascist and Nazi spies and "collabrationists," and from his book I learned what became of ome of the people who shadowed the foreign correspondents the various countries. One of these was Louis Matzhold. 1 1937 the Associated Press was using Matzhold as one of s local correspondents in Vienna. Liberal-minded Amerian correspondents suspected Matzhold of being a spy of ne Gestapo and resented his connection with the A. P. since gave him entry into our midst. Now White reports that it was long before we discovered that Heinrich Himmler ad appointed Matzhold chief of the Hungarian section of he Gestapo. Soon afterward it became impossible for Amerian journalists to work in Budapest (our telephone service vas always interrupted). . . . " And this man was employed s a paid assistant by a leading American news agency!

Mr. White relates simply and effectively his experiences n the various bombed Balkan capitals. He was always accompanied by Maricruz, a Spanish loyalist refugee who became his wife. Apparently her spirit deeply affected his thinking.

His book is imbued with a truly liberal spirit. And thereore I was all the more interested to note that this man who aps the Magyar fascists, the Rumanian Nazis, the Greek king and his Metaxist friends, takes an attitude toward the Yugolav situation which is different from the accepted liberal view in this country. On the basis of his experience he warns as that the present Yugoslav division is not a simple ideological rift but also a Serb-Croat feud, and he comes to the conclusion that only a federal solution can save Yugoslavia. He also disagrees with Louis Adamic that "sovietization" is the "only alternative to the disreputable dynasties of which our Metternichs of the State Department and Foreign Office are apparently so enamored." He is not convinced that Russian imperialism would be any more acceptable to the Balkan peoples than the Anglo-Saxon variety.

Mr. White's book is readable, truthful, liberal, courageous, and sincere. And the American public should read it, for though the events it covers occurred three years ago, the problems it discusses are those of tomorrow.

M. W. FODOR

## What Is Faith?

THE PRIMACY OF FAITH. By Richard Kroner. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

N THESE days when there is much loose talk about the duty of religion to save the world, it clears the air to have some informed discussion of theology. Not that the nineteenth century wasted its time criticizing dogma and revelation, or that we must undo its work; simply that by now the stripping process has reached the core of any articulate faith and destroyed it. People can talk of religion and mean nothing in particular except the opposite of a widespread suspicion of belief. Compared with some religious enthusiasts of today, Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar would sound like a hair-splitting scholastic and Matthew Arnold would be accounted a precisian.

Fortunately, the Gifford Lectures, founded half a century ago with a "scientific aim" in view, continue to create occasions for reflective thought on matters religious and even theological. Inspired by the task of giving these lectures, Professor Niebuhr prepared his monumental "Nature and Destiny of Man," and shortly before, Professor Richard Kroner, formerly of Kiel and now of Union Theological Seminary, delivered the substance of the present volume, "The Primacy of Faith."

Mr. Kroner starts with the traditional inquiry, Can we know divinity, and if so, how? He shows in rapid order the limitations of a natural theology and the impossibility of a rational faith, even when the rationalism is that of Kant, who transferred the reason of faith from the theoretical to the practical realm. There is a gap, according to Professor Kroner, between any knowledge we may have of nature and the knowledge we may hope to have of God. But that gap cannot be filled by an act of pure will, amounting to a determination that there shall be a God.

Faith alone can bridge that gap. Very well; so much is traditional, but what is faith? Professor Kroner answers, it is the act of the religious imagination. "Imagination," he says, "binds together what the thinking mind separates; or more precisely, it maintains the original unity." That unity in man can be analyzed into soul, mind, body. In universal terms, it is nature, reason, and God. God and the soul are mysteries which only the imagination-and Mr. Kroner is not afraid to name the poet as the true describer of the unity of life-can grasp and possess without resolving. "Therefore, faith is necessarily imaginative."

This again is traditional, but in another sense. It belongs to the grand nineteenth-century tradition. With all its rationalism, naturalism, higher criticism, and agnosticism, the nineteenth century seldom failed to recognize the role of intuition, springing from reason, which was its characteristic discovery after the excessive simplicities of the previous age. After Rousseau came Hegel and Coleridge; after them Kierkegaard, William James, and Samuel Butler hung on to the central perception that life is an element, inevitably destroyed by analysis. Imagination for them was the faculty of keeping together the inner and the outer aspects of a single fact. What this implies as to religious beliefs and practices is another question, yet a question that cannot be touched until this fundamental premise is either adopted or rejected. Professor Kroner addresses himself to the task of persuading us to adopt it; he argues its congeniality with the nature of man and its fruitfulness for man, without, however, meeting the pragmatists more than halfway. But he is uncompromising in his insistence on restricting reason to its proper sphere. He thus occupies a middle position between Kant and James along one diagonal, and between Hegel and Kierkegaard along the other.

His book, particularly after the opening chapter, is compactly and lucidly written, in a tone pleasantly modest yet sufficiently affirmative. It puts the question of a faith for moderns in clear technical terms. What it calls for, by way of supplement, is a full historical account, in equally clear descriptive words, of the wanderings of the religious spirit since Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection."

JACQUES BARZUN

## The War: GHO and GI

TARAWA. THE STORY OF A BATTLE. By Robert Sherrod. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.

D DAY, WHAT PRECEDED IT; WHAT FOLLOWED.

By John Gunther, Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THE CURTAIN RISES. By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. \$2.75.

ALTHOUGH they might not relish the remark, both John Gunther and Quentin Reynolds belong to the older generation of war correspondents; their reputations were well established before the United States entered the war. Because of their status they don't have to perform the grubby tasks that befall the spot-news reporters who must stick with the troops month in and month out. Reynolds flits about for Collier's to any place he thinks a big story will break. Gunther, interrupting his broadcasting, popped over for ten weeks last summer to have a look at the war. Less celebrated correspondents who have yet to establish their reputations do not enjoy such professional luxury.

The result is that Gunther and Reynolds devote a good deal of space to being entertaining about a war which they thoroughly enjoy. They tell what they ate and drank in odd corners of the earth, and they talk about all the famous people—whom they call by their first names—that they ran across in unexpected places. To them the war takes on certain aspects of a gay, mobile Stork Club. Mr. Reynolds especially reminds one of an Elsa Maxwell at the front.

Mr. Gunther's book is not all cakes and ale, for he has genuine zeal to find out what's going on, and he works hard at it. His picture of General Eisenhower before and during the descent on Sicily is illuminating. Eisenhower's modesty seemed genuine; that is, he had none of that grotesque Mac-Arthurian yen for self-advertisement which so often overtakes generals who have lived in peace-time obscurity all their lives and suddenly find themselves pitched into the big headlines. Eisenhower had a deeper wisdom; he realized that his principal public-relations task was to overcome the centrifugal psychological forces which so often make allies fly apart. He insisted on intertwining Americans and Britons in the command organization in order to weave the two nationalities into a single fighting force. Perhaps that aware-

ness is one reason why Eisenhower was selected to be the first general since the Middle Ages to attempt the spanning of that momentous moat the English Channel.

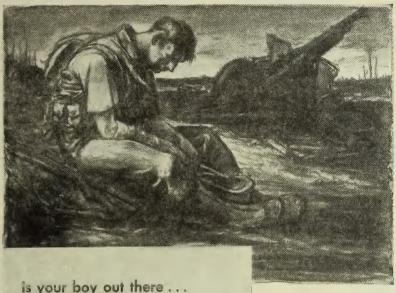
Mr. Gunther also picked up some nuggets about the situation in Germany's Balkan satellites—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary. The Nazis have not occupied them extensively, and they are free to the extent that they read many copies of Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down." The people of these nations which are fighting the Allies hope for an Allied victory, to save them from (a) their ally, Germany; and (b) Russia. Their governments, however, hesitate to desert the Axis because Hitler has shrewdly shifted Balkan boundaries to keep them in line.

In a sense war correspondents not only record contemporary history but also influence the course of events. Their opinions help to form the mental paths of many persons in the United States. However transitory their books may be, it is a healthy sign that both Gunther and Reynolds have a liberal outlook which may leaven the views of stay-at-homes. Gunther in particular thinks along the same lines as Leland Stowe—that the war sliguld be an upheaval that will make men freer throughout the world, and not just an imperialist scramble.

Correspondents also shape events because, in their capacity as the eyes of the people at home, they are partly responsible for American morale. In this respect some of the work being done by the newer generation of war correspondents may be more useful than the chatty product of the Gunther-Reynolds school. The men who are now building their reputations are apt to have more contacts with G. I. than with G. H. Q. Take, for instance, the tough, realistic account of Tarawa by Robert Sherrod, a *Time* reporter. In his book war is not pretty, not fun. Here is the whistling of shells, and the ghastly smell of the dead. One sees how young Americans behave in their last hours of life. This is about as near as you can get, in an armchair, to being in the midst of battle.

On the way to Tarawa the officers and men talked themselves into thinking the conquest would be a cinch; it might take a few hours, or maybe the Japanese had fled entirely as they had from Kiska. But Tarawa turned out to be the bloodiest battle in the history of the Marine Corps. The first thing that went wrong was the failure of the Higgins landing boats to surmount the offshore coral reef. That meant the men had to wade ashore a distance of three or four city blocks under machine-gun fire. The Japanese still were present and alive on Tarawa and scarcely hurt by our inadequate plane and sea bombardment. Mr. Sherrod waded in with the second wave and saw men hit all around him. The assault battalions were knocked to pieces in the landing; perhaps a third of their officers and men were casualties. The Americans who did reach the beach established themselves on a few yards of sand between the sea wall and the water. At first they huddled under the sea wall. Gradually they became accustomed to death and walked upright; then they swarmed over the sea wall to kill the Japanese that were killing them. They took Tarawa, although the Japanese had thought a million men couldn't do it.

Mr. Sherrod is bitter about soft, pleasant accounts of the war. Such stories "gave the impression that any American



in the land of blood and tears?

Is he slogging along some muddy road... or huddled beneath a leaky tent? Do you see him now, thirsty beneath a broiling sun?

Or is your boy fighting a wintry blast in the land where winter never ends? . . . Yes, millions of people worry tonight for the men in the lands that God forgot.

But if your heart is sick with longing for some special boy . . . remember this and find comfort . . . wherever he may be, in the frozen wastes of Iceland or the jungles of New Guinea . . . you can reach out and give your boy some little comforts that speak of home.

He will get coffee, doughnuts and other American comforts when the long march is over... thanks to you. He will steep between sheets when he gets his furlough, in a town ten thousand miles from home . . . thanks to you. Even should he be a prisoner of war, he won't be condemned to live on alien bread. For every week the Red Cross will carry to him a carron of food. Yes, eleven full pounds of real American food, the kind you

used to give him at your own table. And real American cigarettes and tobacco!

He will get all this . . . and more . . . straight from your

heart through the Red Cross.

Because the Red Cross is you—the Greatest Mother in the World, because it represents all the mothers of America. The Red Cross is your blood and your bandages, the sweaters you knit and the gifts you pack.

And the Red Cross is your money too! This year when your Red Cross has a bigger job than ever before to do... this year when your Red Cross is serving your own sons in every corner of the globe... this year you will want to give more, more of your time, more

of your work, the blood from your heart...and more of your money to help the work go on.

So dig deep and be glad. For wherever he is



The RED CROSS is at his side and the Red Cross is YOU!

could lick any twenty Japs." They may have impressed folks back home, "but they sometimes did not impress the miserable, bloody soldiers in the front lines where the action had taken place." Many Americans, he says, "have not been prepared psychologically to accept the cruel facts of war." He tells of a bomber pilot who went home on leave: "When I told my mother what the war was really like, and how long it was going to take, she sat down and cried."

Mr. Sherrod tells what the war is really like.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

## Fiction in Review

LTHOUGH neither its theme nor its setting is new to A fiction, Lillian Smith's first novel, "Strange Fruit" (Reynal and Hitchcock, \$2.75), is a newly moving and unusual book. There is something very comforting in the singlemindedness with which we are in the habit of approaching the "Negro problem," but Miss Smith is anything but comforting or single-minded. In her hands the Negro problem turns out to be not only the problem of the whole South but, by implication, of all modern society. To say, for instance, that "Strange Fruit" anatomizes a small Georgia town at the end of the last war would be to regionalize and to particularize in time a social study which is applicable to any number of other American communities and moments; or to say that Miss Smith's book is concerned with racial conflicts would be to ignore her knowledge that in the degree that race is set against race, man is set against himself. "Strange Fruit" is so wide in its human understanding that its Negro tragedy becomes the tragedy of anyone who lives in a world in which minorities suffer; when it ends in a lynching, we are as sorry and frightened for the lynchers as for the victim. Indeed, we are terrified, for ourselves, at the realization that this is what we have made of our human possibility-a rare effect for the problem novel to produce. Yet Miss Smith's novel is no more than a problem novel; it is simply a very good

Of all race situations, I suppose the situation of miscegenation is the touchiest. Even the liberal Northern imagination shrinks from the question, "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" and I think it took special courage and passion for Miss Smith to hang her novel on the main thread of the love of a white boy and a colored girl. However, Tracy Dean is not the usual scion of Southern aristocratic blood that is running thin; he is the son of the rather nice white doctor of the town, and if he is weak, it is because it served his mother's complicated emotional needs to make him weak. Nor is Nonnie Anderson the conventional highspirited Negro girl; she is college-educated and refined, by her mother's excessive pride, beyond the point where she can ever hope to find a workable way of life in a bigoted society. Perhaps, that is, these two people are doomed even apart from the question of their marriage. They never do marry, of course; and Miss Smith knows they never could marry; actually she never says they should marry. Yet as their love story unfolds, the issue forces itself upon us: why in the world can they not marry? What is this difference in color which is admittedly no bar to love but so unassailably a bar to marriage? And even our vaunted Northern liberalism begins to look unpleasantly like hypocrisy.

Indeed, the prime merit of Miss Smith's novel is that it refuses to give quarter to an easy tolerance. It would be a very complacent Northerner who could take any real comfort from the fact that "Strange Fruit" is a novel about the South. Sam, Miss Smith's Negro doctor, is at some pains to explain that there are some nice white people in Maxwell, Georgia, too; among them he specifies Mr. Harris, owner of the sawmill and one of the town's most substantial citizens. Well, Mr. Harris is a liberal and he risks his life to try to save the Negro who is being lynched. But it is also Mr. Harris who never pays quite as much as the union scale, and some of his underpaid workers are of the lynching party; Mr. Harris is also strong in support of a church which not only blinks at lynching but considers itself above saving black souls in the same revival tent with white. Clearly "Strange Fruit" is concerned with contradictions, within any one person and within the social group, which have their parallels above the Mason and Dixon Line and in fields other than those of racial conflict.

Just as the town of Maxwell is divided between its colored section and its white section, Miss Smith's story divides itself between its white characters and its colored characters. But I think Miss Smith does a better creative job with her white people than with her Negroes. In conflict with each other, or in family or affectional relationships, her Negroes carry great psychological conviction, but when Miss Smith is inside their minds or trying to characterize them as personalities, they tend to fade or fall into stereotypes. It is a common failing in books about Negroes by white people. With the best will, it seems to be impossible for a member of the dominant group to imagine the way of thinking and feeling of a people who for so many generations have been taught to hide their thinking and feeling.

It was an odd experience to read Ramón J. Sender's "Chronicle of Dawn" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50) in the same week with "Strange Fruit." Miss Smith's book so bravely rushes head-on into the tragic confusions of modern life, and Mr. Sender's book so tragically turns its back on the world. Written in the first person, "Chronicle of Dawn" purports to be the diary of a Spanish Loyalist dying in a French concentration camp; because there is no longer any hope for his side, Pepe has refused rescue, and he spends his last days recalling his childhood. But it is only a very short period of his boyhood that he records—the few months, when he was ten, in which he learned to love the girl whom he evidently still loves and in which he also learned the meaning of heroism. And no doubt Mr. Sender intends that this connection between love and heroism as well as the meaning of his hero's self-willed death shall be explained by this brief reminiscence. However, they are not explained, and the inclusion of a long parable of heroism makes the explanation only the more obscure; at its supposedly most meaningful moments I found "Chronicle of Dawn" least revealing. And even as a straight recollection of Spanish boyhood. Pepe's reminiscence, for all Mr. Sender's good prose, was marred for me by the fatal coyness with which Mr. Sender reproduces the mind of a ten-year-old.

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## IN BRIEF

NEWS OF THE NATION: A NEWS-PAPER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Sylvan Hoffman, editor, and C. Hartley Grattan, associate editor. Foreword by Allan Nevins. Garden City Publishing Company. \$3.49.

Witchcraft Deaths Rise to Nineteen, Zenger Vindicated by Jury in Free Press Test Case, Hanging Ends Kidd's Career—these are sample headlines culled at random from this fascinating file of forty-one issues of tabloid history, starting with Columbus Discovery Rocks Continent and ending with the attack on Pearl Harbor. As a device for making the learning of history attractive, this is one that depends overwhelmingly on its execution. Fortunately the ingenuity, intelligence, and accuracy with which the project has been carried out are fully equal to the objective. Students will find in these papers, which presumably will be issued to them one by one, not only an exciting and journalistic running account of the principal developments of American history, but a wealth of absorbing detail on the art, styles, books, and social by-play of each period as well. The death of Wild Bill Hickok, the establishment of the first soda fountains, and the founding of the Police Gazette are the sort of items that give "News of the Nation" a richness not to be found in the conventional history text. Controversial matters are ably handled in editorials and cartoons, the illustrative material is amusing, and the spirit of contemporary excitement has been so effectively caught that you are sure to come away from this file as indignant over the steal of the election of 1876 as over the steal of the soldier vote in 1944.

THE FRENCH RIGHT AND NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1939: A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Charles A. Micaud. Duke University Press. \$3.50.

It is a great pity that the educated public has such a horror of scholarly books. Here, with the learned apparatus of a thesis, and in a spirit of scientific research, is a study which tells us more about the downfall of France than all the backstairs gossip about Madame Hélène de Portes. Dr. Micaud's findings are summed up in this sentence: "In their eyes [the rightists'] domestic and foreign policy could no longer be sep-

arated; victory over Italy, over th rebels in Spain, even over German meant to them a victory of the workin classes in France and of Soviet Russi in Europe, and this victory had to b opposed whatever the effect upon na tional security." In terse and familia terms: "Rather Hitler than Blum!" is the knell of nationalism, in the cour try and in the class where nationalist had once been most ardently supported The danger of an ideological conflict: not over, as Dr. Micaud warns us in h closing sentence. All earnest students of European affairs will need this quiet vigorous book: I am not prophesyin extensive sales. It ought to be require reading for the Big Four: "Et nun Reges, intelligite; erduimini, qui jud catis terram."

GREAT AMERICAN PAINTINGS FROM SMIBERT TO BELLOW: 1729-1924. By John Walker an Macgill James. Oxford Universit Press. \$5.

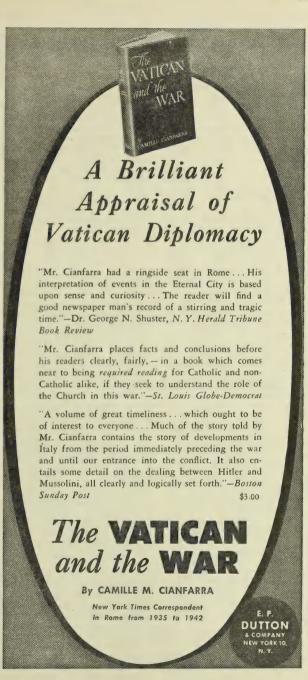
The twenty-page introduction to the book of fine black-and-white reproduc tions (the few in color are of uncertai quality and mar the effect of the whole provides a résumé of the history of American painting that is all the mor illuminating because it is biased. Th main line, the authors say, has been particularly uncompromising and nativ kind of realism. Consequently, the earl Copley, Stuart, Sully, Homer, Eakins and Bellows are allotted the greates space, while Whistler, Cassatt, and Sai gent are the only non-realists in thi sense to receive more than two plate each. And of course, Ryder. But Blake lock is not represented at all, nor New man, nor the Hudson River and th panoramic schools. And only one o Washington Allston's canvases is repre duced. The authors push their thesis little too far.

## FILMS

ALTHOUGH it lasts just ninetee minutes, "With the Marines at Tarawa" gave me, in that time, a sharpe realization of combat than any othe film I have seen. I also respected it craftsmanship and its taste, barring a ill-timed utterance of the line "thei lives mean nothing to them" whil the camera is examining Japanes corpses. It interests me that color, s harmless to musical fantasies and s generally fatal to films which deal, eve nominally, with peace-time realism

ds a lot to the power and immediacy these war scenes. A man who was at rawa tells me that it is impossible to plicate the sounds of such an operaon, and that with such material as was hotographed, the editors have pulled punches, as I suspected they might ve; the cameras simply failed to get wn some of the things we read of in e newspapers. This eyewitness-he is a correspondent there—thought the cture a good job but was, I could see, little amused that it had moved and cited me so intensely. I don't wonder was. But I think it can be highly commended to anyone who, like my-If, needs to diminish so far as he can e astronomical abyss which exists beeen the experienced and the inexpericed in war. The faces of individual arines, at the end, are even more imbling and more instructive than the orst of the records of combat.

"See Here, Private Hargrove" suffers proper disadvantage, compared with l'arawa." It is callow, puppyish, whimcally amusing-to those who can easily vallow that contradiction-and uninrested in telling the truth even about aining. Taken within its own modest mic intentions it is harmless enough, suppose, and reasonably entertaining it may perhaps genuinely amuse men training camps-and there are good erformances by Bill Phillips and eenan Wynn. But there is something apleasantly cuddly about it-a sort of between "Stalky" and the pansyuck-driver sort of New Yorker humor. "Voice in the Wind," a heartfelt loestring quickie shot in thirteen days, a pretty awful moving picture, I reale, but I was touched by its sincerity I by a number of things in it, and as sympathetically interested in a good eal more. It is being advertised as "a range new kind of moving picture," nd that makes me realize, as the exciteent over the "originality" of "Citizen ane" used to, that already I belong to grizzling generation. The picture is ke a middle-thirties French melodrama renched in the Rembrandt-and-mosses manner of German "art" films f the early to middle twenties. Even ithin those terms it is much less good nan it might be, solemn, unimaginave, thinly detailed; but it is also richly ostalgic if you have any affection for ad period art. (I have an idea that the ss discriminating among the German efugees will go crazy over it.) Also I njoyed hearing a piece of Chopin layed without interruption and with propriate oversensitivity, while the



tragedy came to a standstill, sniffling and wiping its eyes. It takes a lot of anti-commercial courage to do that in a film; and however wrong most of it goes, "Voice in the Wind" has a great deal of that sort of courage.

"The Impostor" is a piece of anxious manufacture about Jean Gabin as a fugitive killer, masquerading as a Free French hero, in Equatorial Africa. Gabin himself, artificiality and all, is good. The rest of the show sadly proves just how nearly possible it is to make a French film in Hollywood, or anywhere else except France.

JAMES AGEE

## MUSIC

77 HAT the advocates of opera in English want, and what the Metropolitan failed to achieve with its "Falstaff" in English, the Nine O'Clock Opera Company succeeded in achieving with its performance of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," which was presented in New York recently in the Town Hall Endowment Fund series: a play on the stage, of which almost every word could be heard, which was therefore completely intelligible and entertaining even to an audience with no advance knowledge of what it was about, and which the engaging members of the company made highly enjoyable. But the cost of this success was even greater losses than those of the Metropolitan's "Falstaff."

The words could be heard and understood so well because the singers were singing in a small hall and had no orchestra between them and the audience, but only an accompanying piano offstage; and the loss of all that the orchestra contributes to "Figaro" was the first musical cost. Then the play was cut down and simplified; and with some of the complications and the characters involved in them there was eliminated some of the music-some rather good music like Bartolo's La vendetta! and the first-act Susanna-Marcellina duet. Bu: additional music was eliminated even where characters and action were retained; and this included both of the Countess's great arias, Porgi amor and Dove sono. And of the music that was retained, what was not slow-moving and large-spanned melody like Voi che sapele and Deb vieni, non tardar was hurried over in a way that made it ineffective, unclear, difficult for the mind to get hold of-even if this mind were not too concentrated on the quick succession of words to give any attention to the music.

In addition to these musical losses there was one which I pointed out last week. The audience listening to Non piu andrai sung in English could hear and understand Figaro's ironic statements to Cherubino. But if his audience had read the English translation in advance and were listening to the aria sung in Italian it would have had notonly the same knowledge of what Figaro was saying but the additional enjoyment of the delicious effect, with Mozart's music, of the Italian words and rhymes of Per montagne, per valloni, Con le nevi e i sollioni. Al concerto di tromboni, Di bombarde, di cannoni, Che le palle in tutti i tuoni. And this is, of course, only one example of what was true throughout the performance.

At New York's new City Center of Music and Drama I attended the first performance of Bizet's "Carmen." I cannot recall ever having heard the title role sung as beautifully as it was sung by Jennie Tourel-with such loveliness of vocal sound and such musical phrasing. But I also cannot recall anyone whose physical appearance did more damage to her credibility in the role, and wno had less sense for the stage with which to overcome that initial handicap. For lack of this sense, which would have built up and projected a continuous line of pose and movement and through this an impression of dramatic character, her impersonation was a collection of discontinuous mannerisms-the traditional Carmen mannerisms, and additional prima donna mannerisms, which were made even more absurd by the absence of the alluring appearance and personality that they presumed.

There was the same contrast between musical excellence and dramatic absurdity in the entire performance. The orchestra was poor; but most of the leading singers-Mario Berini (lose). Mary Martha Briney (Micaela), Regina Resnick (Frasquita), Rosalind Nadell (Mercedes), but not George Czaplicki (Escamillo)-sang well, except for a few constricted high tones from Berini and Briney; the chorus sang superbly: and Laszlo Halasz conducted very well. On the other hand not even the dignified entrance processions of pot-bellied noblemen and dumpy noble ladies in the Metropolitan's "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser" are as funny as what the chorus of women in that "Carmen" performance looked like and did; and

even more explosive were the appearance and antics of Resnick and Nadell, Hans Wolmut, the stage director, could not help what these people-and some others-looked like; but he could have controlled what they did. He seems to have set out to think things out freshly -but only half the time; as a result there were some new details of staging that made dramatic sense, along with some of the traditional ones that make no sense at all. The factory girls, for example, came out of the factory in the first act, as they should; but Carmen preserved her right to a prima donnal entrance from somewhere in Seville. Or some of the men were provided with a dramatic purpose for being on the stage by being made to pass bales of merchandise from the factory for loading; but one man was allowed to sit at the back of the stage during the Micaela-Jose duet and distract attention by little movements of personal boredom, physical discomfort, and so on. Moreover the identical bales turned up in the third act-most of them borne on bent-over backs, but one of them carried by the string as though it were a birdcage just bought at Macy's.

Virgil Thomson, however, who at times is so much more exacting than I, found the performance "acceptable (by present standards) dramatically." This was in a Sunday article which included some more of his extraordinarily shrewd and well-expressed observations on the Metropolitan-this time on its "repertory out of all proportion to the season's length. . . . No repertory can be effective if it is larger than the plant that houses it can handle in terms of scenery storage, music and stage rehearsals, lighting arrangements, and the regular employment of dependable artists. The Metropolitan has a roster of 106 soloists, some of whom never sing at all and others of whom sing infrequently. This season's repertory includes, to be played within twenty weeks, thirty-one different operas. In addition, it is rarely that all the performances of any opera are given with the same cast that has rehearsed for its opening. This means that nothing is ever properly rehearsed and that nothing ever gets played often enough, once it is produced, to acquire finish." For its twenty weeks, he concludes, the Metropolitan should use a company of fifty resident soloists in no more than twenty works. Sound advice, to which you may be sure the Metropolitan will pay no attention.

B. H. HAGGIN

# Letters to the Editors

## Ppublic Versus Monarchy

r Sirs: In his article Legitimismw Style in your issue of February 19 fessor Vambery expresses the opinthat a modern pretender seeking oration of his throne was playing rn an "illegitimate legitimism" by ring to enlist the support of the masses ough advocating a "peasant and ker state." He states that the preeler would lose the support of the servative elements and not win that whose who stand for agrarian reform. w does he know? A situation is quite cceivable wherein the conservative elenats might consider themselves enily lost unless ceding the bulk of Ir rights and privileges, and wherein masses might prefer a "moderator" ceing left at the mercy of all sorts of it or left pressures. Masses are someies very reluctant to assume the reansibility and self-sacrifice of leaderb. Karl Marx knew this as his corcondence proves, but some modern Lerals seem to be blissfully unaware of

am amazed that nobody ever seems a consider the possibility of just everyy in Europe being deadly tired of nting after the war. Old loyalties w suddenly prove extremely strong, active, and convincing. Symbols of past like the double eagle which fessor Vambery not very delicately s an "ambiguous bird" might be unectedly powerful. Nostalgia for ngs past is also a political force, little some historians seem to admit it. hile the old leaders of the masses y still consider the question of reolic versus monarchy a question of nciple—in spite of the fact that the ial Democratic parties in monarchies e fared better than in most repubthe masses themselves may feel q te differently. They may agree with (certainly not reactionary) "Enlopedia of Social Sciences" and coner the form of government one of venience. Neither the republican nor monarchical form of government is tself reactionary or progressive. Both e shown great elasticity. I certainly d not cite examples to prove my nt. It would therefore be as well for ple, if they are Europeans, to cease prand the ghost of 1848, and if they Americans, to identify every king with George III. After all, we find, for instance, among the Hapsburgs, Joseph II, the only revolutionary emperor the Western world has ever seen, and among the British rulers not every king was a George III. And even he did not look exactly as ugly to the British as to the Americans. The whole idea of identification of monarchy with reaction and clericalism or even fascism belongs to the dustbin and is unworthy of any conscientious political thinker. I quote Macaulay from memory; it is the circumstances which do not count with some gentlemen that decide in every single case the merit or demerit of a given proposal.

Sorry if I am so undogmatic.

An old, very authentic, and tested anti-fascist:

EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER Washington, D. C., February 18

## But Hapsburgs Are Hapsburgs

Dear Sirs: Although I doubt that "conservative elements" might voluntarily cede "the bulk of their rights and privileges" I do not repeat Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's question does he know?" not only because I am unaware of a single instance in history "conservative elements" renounced their privileges and still less their estates at a pretender's request, but because if they did they would cease to be 'conservatives." Nor do historical events prove that people were ever so tired of fighting as not to start a civil war after their defeat rather than restore a pretender to the lost throne of the dynasty. Nostalgia for the past may prove, indeed, a strong political force, but only for those admirers of the past who indulge in the hopeless pastime of undoing history. It is true that republic versus monarchy is not necessarily a question of principle, but I venture to disbelieve that Social Democratic parties have fared better under the Romanovs, the Hohenzollerns, or in Hapsburg Hungary (where until 1918 socialism and prostitution were handled by the same police department) than in Switzerland, France, or the Weimar Republic.

By referring to Joseph II, whose liberal despotism ended in lamentable failure, and to George III my critic confirms the thesis that each dynasty has

to be appraised on its merits and traditions. The fact alone that Mr. Ranshofen-Wentheimer found but one progressive-minded Hapsburg and but one reactionary ruler of England seems to determine the relative value of both dynasties. I fully agree with my critic that we must not identify monarchy with reaction and clericalism, but the Hapsburg tradition we cannot separate from either. This is apparently the stumbling block on which the identity of our view splits. Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer signs as a "very authentic and tested anti fascist." No one who has read his "Victory Is Not Enough" will question the authenticity of his anti-Nazism, but one might not concur in his appraisal of Marshal Pétain (pp. 63, 95) or indorse his opinion that with the Cagoulards, the Croix de Feu. and the royalist conventicles an "intense revival of spiritual values set in." Religion is a wonderful thing, but it must not degenerate into politics. Violence remains violence and authoritarianism remains despotism even if they claim to make the people happy under the auspices of a holy church. An out-of-date Beelzebub is scarcely fit to expel a young and vigorous Satan.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, March 3

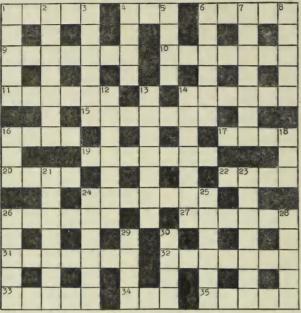
## Our Village Is Dead

[The letter which appears below was written by a Serb who is now a prisoner in Germany to his brother in Canada.]

Dear Brother: I am alive and well. wishing you every good from the Lord and my heart. Yesterday I received your address from Milos so I can tell you what happened to us in this war. All we had is gone and most are dead Brothers Tanasiya, Dusan, Milisha, Marko, and Milisha's Stevan were killed, with 700 others, at the town hall of Grabovce. The goods were taken and the houses burned. Women and children were taken to camps, and no one knows what happened to them. My wife is working in Berlin and was separated from our children at Gradisca. Milos wrote that my Danica died in camp in Jaska near Zagreb. About the other two I know nothing. Partisans have taken little Stanko and we don't know what happened to him.

## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 56

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

1 Hangs (anag.) 4 Nothing has been seen of the Great

one since 1844

small drop either way Afternoon performance which starts in the morning!

10 Grandee in a state of fury

11 There's a coin in the plate already 14 Opinions held from ten onwards 15 Simple Susie felt let down when the umbrella repair man told her he couldn't ----- her lost umbrella 16 Sounds like "nose," but is opposed

to "eyes

- 17 Does it turn to dust when it rolls out of sight when dressing? 19 Are loud-speaking ones driven to
- noise by their weakness? Cicero thought so
- 20 Peter Pan was never called this 22 Colloquially right 24 Wasted away seemingly for ten
- 26 It's a wise cow that knows its own
- 27 Black birds 31 Part of the mechanism of a rifle 32 The last of thirteen London crosses
- 33 Current form of hunting 34 On the tip of one's tongue-half of
- it, anyway 35 Seven actors have this at heart

#### DOWN

- 1 A little Arab, not necessarily Ara-bian
- A newspaper editorial makes it clear The best sauce

4 Yes, yes . . . with a final yes!
5 Acute dislocation of the knee

Burke wrote of a wise and salutary

8 Everything he touched turned to

gold
12 Every teacher was first of all this
13 His might be described as a pillarto-post existence

14 Just the dog to go wrong in a row 16 Game quite unconnected with tiddley-winks In hiding

21 Ditties (anag.)

23 The land of tall stories 24 He would have the motive, if not the opportunity, to rob Ted

25 Little different from what you would expect of a mad age

There is a land of this in Spanish America 28 "And finds, with keen discriminat-

ing -Black's not so black, nor white so very white" (Canning)
Letter of the law!

29 Letter of the law! 30 "Careless their merits or their faults His pity gave ere charity began" (Goldsmith)

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 55

ACROSS:—1 A HELMET; 5 PYRRHUS; 9 IVORY; 10 INOCULATE; 11 TAGGED ONE; 12 DOSER: 13 RETORTS; 15 SPOONER; 17 INDENTS; 19 TEMPTED; 21 TWANG; 23 TALKATIVE; 25 NEGOTIATE; 26 TIERS; 27 SPENSER; # STRAYED.

DOWN:—1 AVIATOR; 2 ELONGATED; 1 MAYBE; 4 TAILORS; 5 PROCESS; 6 ROUND WORM; 7 HEADS; 8 SEBARDR; 14 RUNAGATES; 16 NOT LIKELY; 17 INTENTS; 18 SET FAIR; 19 TALKERS; 20 DRESSED; 22 ANGLE; 24 ACTOR.

I was mobilized in 1941 and taken prisoner at N. Gradacec. Milos is clerk at Pitomaca. About Stana and Andja we don't know, I think, and Milos wrote. that they are not alive. So our village is dead. Yovica Doljan and Vasil Devic were hung. Rade Beljanovic and his uncle were killed in their own barnyard. I can't tell it all. Greetings to Mate Opacic. His father is dead same as Stanko Opacic. Greetings to S. Krnjaic. I know only that his sister-in-law Ljubica is alive. Niece Dragica is in Germany.

Write to me if Mile is alive. Send his address. I am attaching a label for a food package which please send me. We receive many of them through Geneva. Many greetings to all of you.

S. J. C.

## Room to Swing

Dear Sirs: Permit me to commend G. A. Borgese for his appraisal of the books by Spellman and Sheen. You are to be congratulated for giving Mr. Borgese the hill, Ramath-lehi, to stand upon and room to swing the jaw bone with skill (Judges 15:15-17). Your attempt to keep eyes open and minds alert will keep me, and many others reading The Nation weekly.

A. B. CARL'TON

Evergreen, Ala., February 28

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# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK: SATURDAY · MARCH 25, 1944

NUMBER 13

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 8, 1879, Washington Editorial Bureau: 313 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

WHO IS TO ADMINISTER FRANCE AFTER THE invasion? The President stated last week that he had reached a decision on this subject but refused to say what it was. According to persistent reports in Washington, which unfortunately are backed by a good deal of indirect evidence, the plan is to give General Eisenhower the responsibility of allowing or not allowing the French Committee of National Liberation to reorganize civil affairs in France. He will be free, it is said, to deal with the committee or any other group according to the requirements of military expediency. If such a plan is really put into effect, it will be an invitation to anarchy. Allied headquarters will become the fount of political power attracting a swarm of thirsty intriguers and selfseekers with the Vichy functionaries well to the fore. Such groups will be hoping to get an opportunity to carry on the political and business rackets in which they have engaged under German protection. But they have nothing to offer us and to treat with them would be to arouse a violent reaction from the men who have been fighting and suffering to free France. We shall badly need the support of an orderly civil administration and the only authority with popular credentials is the National Committee of Liberation. In his speech on March 18 to the Consultative Assembly at Algiers, General de Gaulle said: "Every effort to maintain the Vichy power either in partial or camouflaged form or to maintain any artiment (the National Committee) would be intolerable and condemned in advance." Is it "expedient" to ignore this warning?

THE UKRAINIAN HARVEST WILL NO DOUBT be below normal next fall but it will be a harvest reaped by Russians for Russians. The great German looting expedition to the East is drawing to a close as the beaten German soldiers retreat beyond the Dniester and drag themselves through the Bessarabian mud. Their sojourn in the promised land has proved brief and bloody. By Hitler's orders they held on desperately, and too long, to their last strongholds in the South, but as the Red Army cut one line of communications after another they were forced into disorderly retreat. Now they are leaving behind them forever the rich farms and orchards of the Ukraine, the coal, iron ore, and manganese on which

German industry was to wax fat. We wonder what will be the effect on morale when the German people realize that there is nothing to show for their millions of dead and maimed; that there is going to be no Lebensraum in the East, no future butter to compensate for twelve years of cannon. It is not surprising that the German peace offensive should be reopening. Hitler's only remaining hope is to split the United Nations, and to this end he is probably putting out feelers East and West simultaneously.

THE REPLIES COMING IN FROM GOVERNORS to the President's questions on the Eastland-Rankin bill as passed by Congress are confused and confusing, but they make one thing clear. The anti-Roosevelt brigade is determined to make it as difficult as possible for soldiers to vote in 1944 lest they vote for the President. If the states'-rights cry against the original Green-Lucas bill was genuine, one would expect the Governors to show their sincerity by calling special sessions to permit use of the alternative federal short ballot permitted by the Eastland-Rankin bill. But judging from the replies of many Governors, the silence of others, and the monstrosity passed at Albany under Governor Dewey's direction, Republican and anti-New Deal Governors are not interested in exercising those well-advertised states' rights to insure a soldier vote. Fewer than half a dozen states have given statutory recognition to the federal ballot provided in the bill, and not more than half a dozen more seem prepared to do so. The President has said that if replies from the Governors indicate that fewer soldiers are likely to vote under the Eastland-Rankin bill than under the Soldiers' Vote Act of 1942, he will veto the bill. The act of 1942, for all its shortcomings, at least waives registration and poll-tax provisions on soldier ballots.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE'S LATEST ATTACK IS directed at Australia. "Rather than carping about the pay of American soldiers," it declared in a recent editorial, "the Australians had better be getting into the Pacific war themselves. They still retain severe restrictions against sending drafted troops beyond the area of Australia's direct interest." Australians naturally have resented this insult, but they may comfort themselves with the reflection that they are in good company. For when it comes to ally-baiting, Colonel McCormick plays no favorites: they are all enemies to him. To anyone who knows anything about Australia's war record the suggestion that it is not yet in the war is so outrageous as to be almost funny. Out of a population of little over 7,000,000 it has 858,960 men in its fighting services -practically two out of every three males between eighteen and forty years. The equivalent figure for this country would be more than 16,000,000 and we are a

long way short of that. It is true that drafted men may not be sent outside the Commonwealth unless they volunteer, but no fewer than 86 per cent have volunteered for service anywhere. Up to the end of 1943, the Australian army, excluding the air force and the navy, had suffered 65,890 casualties. An equivalent figure for the American army, on a comparative population basis, would be in excess of 1,200,000. Our actual total through February 23, as reported by Secretary of War Stimson, is 121,458. We are sure that General MacArthur appreciates these facts and would not indorse the Tribune slander. He knows, although the American public is not aware of it, that a large part of the burden of the campaign in the New Guinea jungles has been borne by Australians, who far outnumber the American troops employed there.

REPRESENTATIVE JESSIE SUMNER MIGHT BE annoyed if we called her an isolationist, and, indeed, she is so nearly ready to declare war on Russia that the description is no longer appropriate. But she surely would not object to being called a constitutionalist, since she, in common with her America First friends, is always attacking the President as a betrayer of the Constitution. We would like to suggest, however, that she might be better equipped for her task if she were to study our organic law a little more carefully. For she seems to be ignorant of the fact that under the Constitution the . President is empowered to act as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This power cannot be usurped by the legislative branch. Nevertheless, Miss Sumner has introduced two bills, one directing a postponement of the invasion of Europe, the other ordering the coordination of all American forces in the war against Japan under the command of General MacArthur. This second measure further provides that no forces shall be withdrawn from this theater without the General's consent and that all men and materials he requests shall be turned over to him. We hardly suppose that Congress will give these bills another thought since they trespass so blatantly on the province of the Executive. But if they ever get to the committee stage we hope Admiral Nimitz is summoned as a witness. We should like to hear his unvarnished and probably unprintable comments on the second bill.

SHORTAGE OF MAN-POWER ON THE EVE OF invasion will doubtless come as a rude shock to those who have opposed national service on the ground that we were over the hump so far as man-power was concerned. It is true that the shortage is concentrated in relatively few areas, chiefly on the West Coast, and that in other parts of the country cutbacks have created a temporary labor surplus. But in the absence of a national-service law the man-power authorities have no means of compelling people to leave the areas of sur-

plus to seek jobs where they are needed. And employers complain of increasing difficulty in persuading women to take war jobs. As the prospect for victory increases, this problem is bound to become more serious. Already tens of thousands of men and women are reported to have quit war work in order to have first chance at what they hope will be a permanent occupation. Local chambers of commerce have tried to revive local consumer-goods industries in order to prevent workers released by cutbacks from seeking war jobs in other cities. Each day's favorable war news brings an intensification of business-as-usual pressure, from both employers and workers. The singleness of mind which made the conversion to war production possible without national service is no longer a dominant factor. Thus we may expect our home-front difficulties to become increasingly acute at a moment when many people have been looking forward to some easing of the pressure.

X

THE LACK OF A CLEAR SELECTIVE-SERVICE policy has been highlighted recently by a series of seemingly conflicting orders regarding the deferment of essential workers in war industries. An order calling for a review of all occupational deferments was followed by another virtually suspending deferments for men under twenty-six but permitting men over that age to remain in their present classifications. At first these orders were interpreted as relaxing somewhat the pressure for the induction of fathers, but later statements by General Hershey indicate that more fathers than ever are needed to fill draft quotas. The most unfortunate aspect of the situation seems to be the disappearance of any effort to dovetail the requirements of war industries with those of the military services. The steel industry has been warned that the army and navy will no longer permit deferments even if it means curtailing war production. Complaints from the West Coast indicate that draft boards are taking highly skilled men, such as aeronautical engineers, who are "completely irreplaceable." Some of the blame for the existing confusion should be placed on the War Manpower Commission for its failure to insist on the training of suitable substitutes for the men now being drafted. The local draft boards should also be held accountable for their failure to draft pre-Pearl Harbor fathers on schedule, thus increasing the pressure on occupational deferments. But the chief culprit in the present crisis is Congress, which light-heartedly sabotaged the War Manpower Commission's efforts to direct pre-Pearl Harbor fathers into the war industries. And as a result of a blanket Congressional exemption for farm labor, some 570,000 young men in the eighteen-to-twenty-six group are kept out of the service at a time when highly skilled men of similar age are being drawn from the war plants,

# Stalin and Badoglio

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

STALIN'S recognition of the Badoglio government must mean something or other. The Soviet government does not act inconsequentially; indeed, its severest critics concede—or charge—that its policy is dictated by a degree of calculating self-interest seldom reached by other governments. But just how Russia's interests have been served by its recognition of Badoglio's decrepit regime, nobody seems to know. One thing alone is certain. By his latest diplomatic maneuver Stalin has pleased neither the British-American authorities who set up the Italian puppet government nor the democratic elements who oppose it.

Several writers have suggested that Russia's move may be less important than it looks from this side of the world. For many years the State Department has used recognition as a diplomatic weapon, an instrument of intervention, a way of achieving political ends without committing an overt act. The Soviet Union is more matter of fact. It has consistently maintained relations with any de facto government which wished to have relations with it. Badoglio's government, however feeble, is the only going concern in Italy; it is the only thing one can do business with. And Russia intends to do business in Italy. By establishing diplomatic representation in Italy Stalin will have an independent agency through which he can exercise whatever influence or get whatever information seems to him desirable. The British and Americans obviously resent such premature and unilateral diplomacy. But it is hard to see how they can openly object. Badoglio is their man. Nobody else chose him; nobody else wants him; and they have turned over to him the administration of the entire liberated territory.

But while Stalin's desire to have a say in Italy may be a factor in his recognition of Badoglio, I cannot believe it is the chief one. The whole sequence of events points to other, more serious motives. In the long run Stalin cannot want a reactionary regime in Italy any more than he wants Pétain in France or Franco in Spain. One of the surest guaranties of a new war against Russia would be the establishment of a bloc of clerical-fascist states in Western Europe to serve as the nucleus of an anti-Soviet European policy. Stalin's best bet in Italy is the republican elements represented in the six parties now united against the Badoglio government. To repudiate this political force would be an irresponsible act if no more lay behind it than a desire to play a bigger role in Italy.

European democrats with whom I have talked are puzzled. Most of them feel let down and alarmed. So certain were they that Russia would continue to back popular elements in Europe that the recognition of Badoglio is looked upon as a form of treason. One of the strongest and

best of the Italian anti-fascist leaders, Randolfo Pacciardi, put his opinion in writing. He pointed out that the British were now the dominating element in the Mediterranean. Political decisions are still subordinated to military ones, and the military command is in the hands of the British. Stalin's move, he said, might be an attempt to thrust himself into the situation, or it might serve to confirm an agreement made at Teheran. Pacciardi went on:

The Italian anti-Fascists unanimously protested against Churchill's speech of February 22, which recognized as "legitimate" the government of Badoglio and the King. A strike was organized at Naples which was later transformed into a meeting of protest. The day after the meeting Stalin officially recognized the Badoglio government. The slap given to the anti-Fascist parties-Communists included-is evident. Churchill's plan for a "legitimate" government has been reinforced despite American objections. . . . There is no doubt that in the complicated game of international competition the discredited regime of the King and Badoglio threatens to establish itself. Russia's gesture cannot help but create discouragement and disorientation among the Italian democratic forces, which consider the suspension of the monarchy and the creation of a provisional government essential for the rebirth of the nation. The united front of the forces of the left will go on if the Communists are able to continue their anti-monarchical action in Italy in spite of Russia's act. There is no doubt that the Republicans and Socialists will intensify their agitation against the monarchy.

Russia is supremely capable of pursuing two or more apparently conflicting policies at once; this was demonstrated during the period of the pact with Hitler. In the light of all the events since Teheran it seems probable that the Soviet government is again performing a double if not a triple play. It is edging closer into the Italian situation; at the same time it has acknowledged British-American supremacy there, in exchange for Britain's acceptance of Russia's preeminence in the Balkans (this mutual understanding would not rule out Stalin's interest in Italy any more than it prevents Churchill from attempting to graft Peter onto the Tito regime in Yugoslavia); at the same time Russia may well be encouraging, sub terra, a continued popular opposition to Badoglio, or at least be looking forward to his overthrow when northern Italy is reconquered. All these ingredients may be present in the intricate mixture which makes up the foreign policy of the Soviet government, but one fact, stressed by Colonel Pacciardi, emerges above all the speculative possibilities. By recognizing Badoglio Stalin has strengthened the reaction and undermined the anti-Fascist forces; he has done this just at the moment when the resistance to the monarchy most desperately needed reinforcement. If this is the price he had to pay for acceptance of his claims in the Balkans, one can only say that inflation in Italy has reached a new high.

## A Guild Victory

REEDOM of the press is one of our most important constitutional guaranties, but it does not place publishers above the law. That truth ought perhaps to be self-evident, but it has once again had to be reaffirmed by the War Labor Board under a ruling to the effect that an order under the War Labor Disputes Act providing for maintenance of union membership as a condition of employment is not an abridgment of freedom of the press in contravention of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The issue arose in the course of hearings before a WLB panel on a union security-contract dispute between the American Newspaper Guild and the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Patriot, and was referred to the full board for decision as a test case. Intervening as interested parties were, among others, the New York Times, the Washington Star, the New York World-Telegram, and Time, Life and Fortune.

In arguing their case, the publishers could not contend that membership maintenance or even a closed shop violated the First Amendment, for dozens of them have signed contracts in the past containing these provisions. They had to rely, therefore, on the theory that union maintenance became a danger to freedom of the press when enforced by order of a government agency. Chairman William H. Davis of the board made short work of this contention in writing the majority opinion, signed by all the public and labor members. He pointed out that the question whether Congress had power to vest in a government agency any control over conditions of newspaper employment was settled by the Supreme Court in 1937 when the Associated Press lost its appeal against a NLRB decision.

Mr. Davis also dealt faithfully with the publishers' claim that a maintenance-of-membership clause "would give the guild power to have a member discharged from his job and so would increase the power of the guild to influence the opinions and professional writings of the editorial employee or reporter." In this connection Mr. Davis quoted the Guild's constitution, which provides that no eligible person can be barred from membership or otherwise penalized because of his convictions "or because of anything he writes for publication." Such a provision, he continued, becomes a standard of judgment for the impartial arbitrator provided for in the board's maintenance-of membership clause. Moreover, as he pointed out, the clause in no way alters a publisher's rights to hire, fire, and wield a blue pencil. However, as an additional safeguard, the board's order declared that any maintenance-of-membership clause in the publishing industry must include a provision giving any member who claims he has been expelled or penalized by the Guild on account of his convictions or writings the absolute right to present his case to the impartial arbitrator.

While concurring in the decision, the labor members of the board in a separate opinion deplored this precaution as both unnecessary and dangerous in tendency. They also attacked sharply the dissenting opinion of the industry members who had suggested that "few Guild members could fail to unconsciously slant their writing regarding their own or another union. The labor members observed tartly that they "would be deeply grateful if many newspaper publishers were as careful to print labor news as impartially as their reporters write it."

There, indeed, they put a finger on the real danger to the First Amendment today—control of the press by a small group of men who are nearly all on one side of the economic fence. Freedom is not lost when newspapermen are protected in their employment, but it can be smothered by a monopoly of news and opinion.

# Peace Terms for Japan II. ECONOMIC

In DISCUSSING the military aspects of the peace terms to be imposed upon Japan, we noted that there is little difference of opinion regarding the necessity for military safeguards to minimize the danger of a new drive for world domination in twenty or thirty years. But military precautions will mean little unless they are accompanied by economic and political measures designed to undercut the power of the military clique and redirect Japan's energies along peaceful lines.

For security reasons some experts advocate that Japanese industry either be destroyed altogether or be shipped to China to aid that country in its reconstruction. Others would leave the industrial structure virtually intact, but try to encourage its conversion to the production of civilian goods.

Neither proposal is practicable. The population of Japan cannot possibly be supported by an agricultural and handicraft economy alone. At present at least 60 per cent of Japan's 75,000,000 people are urban, and it is reliably estimated that abolition of Japanese industries would condemn at least a quarter of the population to death by starvation. Before submitting to such terms, the Japanese would undoubtedly fight to the last man.

On the other hand, Japan's present industrial establishment is ill adapted to peace-time requirements. The development of heavy industries to meet war needs has thrown the whole economy badly out of balance. Only if Japan is permitted to retain its naval and military establishment, or is encouraged to play a dominant economic role in Asiatic industrial development, could these heavy industries be maintained. Since either course would play into the hands of the militarists, it is evident that Japan's

economy must be subjected to drastic reorganization.

The extent of this reorganization will depend partly on the degree to which Japanese industry is destroyed by bombing. If, as seems not unlikely, all the essential war industries are pulverized before the Japanese government capitulates, no drastic industrial terms will be needed in the peace treaty. Deprived of the sources of cheap raw materials in the empire and of an assured market in the Japanese army and navy, and facing the competition of new Chinese industries in Manchuria, Japan could hardly reconstruct its heavy industries. But if they survive the war relatively intact, steps will have to be taken to force a dismantling of at least part of them. For reasons of security we shall have to demand that all facilities for airplane or warship construction be destroyed. Ultimately, the overexpanded Japanese steel and machine industries will have to be reduced, preferably by control over exports, to a size that can be justified by domestic civilian requirements. These restrictions might, however, be imposed gradually. For the first two years, while Japanese industry is in process of conversion, some plants might be used to provide China with machinery, rails, and transport equipment as reparation for the destruction inflicted by the Japanese armies, And as unused factories are closed down, their facilities, instead of being destroyed, might be shipped to China, the Philippines, and the East Indies to speed up the industrialization of those countries. Enough heavy industry should be left to supply an expanding consumer-goods industry.

Although some such readjustment in Japanese industry is essential to the development of a sound peace economy in Japan, more positive economic measures will be needed to encourage the growth of democratic forces inside the country. There may be a fairly extended period in which the United Nations will have to give food and other assistance to the victims of this forced reconversion. But the main emphasis of our policies must be upon helping the Japanese to develop a welfare economy in place of their present war economy. They must be given an opportunity to improve their living standards so as to remove the feeling that they are being oppressed by the Western powers. This will necessitate some concessions on our part. If, as is generally agreed, the Japanese Empire is dissolved, steps must be taken to see that Japan is guaranteed full access to the raw materials it needs for its consumer-goods industries. And it must be assured a market for its products so that it may obtain foreign exchange with which to buy necessary supplies from abroad. This means that many of the pre-war laws discriminating against Japanese consumer products must be repealed.

Without doubt there will be complaints that cheap Japanese labor will offer unfair competition. These can be silenced, however, if a provision is inserted in the peace treaty compelling Japanese industrialists to accept minimum standards of wages, hours, working conditions, and guaranties of the rights of collective bargaining as drawn up by the International Labor Organization. Such a requirement would tend to break down the rigid class structure of Japan, thus undermining the peculiarly

unhealthy conditions which led to the rise of Japanese imperialism. And by increasing working-class purchasing power it should strengthen the democratic element in the country and bring to the pinched masses more prosperity than militarism has ever provided.

# Millionaires' Beveridge Plan

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 17

THIS Much Gained: The March issue of the National City Bank's excellent monthly letter makes an important observation in discussing the Baruch-Hancock report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies and the Senate's George committee report on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. The bank points out that nothing comparable to these studies was prepared during or after the First World War. "If there had been," the bank says, "it is likely that the wide swings in production, employment, and prices between 1919 and 1922 might have been moderated."

The Baruch-Hancock report reflects (1) the hold that the idea of planning has taken on the entire community and (2) the determination of Wall Street and big business to do the planning. Now that the National Resources Planning Board has been safely interred and largely forgotten, the old campaign to disparage planning has died out, and the right wing in both Congress and the Executive branch has taken over the job.

Planning Still Limited. Planning, as envisaged by big business, is still of the most elementary sort, and covers only the job of winding up the economic side of the war. Big business would provide an umbrella in the transition from war to peace but isn't prepared to make any but the most trivial repairs in the leaky roof of our peace-time economy. "With peace . . ," the report says, "each has the right to make what he pleases. Governmental direction and aid disappear. The markets become free"; that is, free from governmental but not from private restriction.

The Baruch-Hancock report plans first for the difficult but relatively minor job of contract termination. While it is very important not to bog business men down in red tape and to pay them as quickly as possible, it would also seem important to protect the government from inflated claims. The report approaches this problem from the business side. It says that audit of claims by the Comptroller General would "quibble the nation into a panic." The report would limit the Comptroller General's review powers to cases of fraud. Fraud is a narrow legal concept, and review of such cases is inadequate protection in dealing with the complex accounting items involved in warcontract claims. This loose arrangement, plus the 6 per

cent profit allowed on uncompleted work and the 2 per cent on unprocessed inventory (material on which no work at all has been done), would seem to open the door to millions in extra and undeserved profits.

Although at one point the report proposes direct payments to subcontractors at the discretion of procurement agencies, the principal procedure it recommends would seem to leave the big prime contractors "free to make their own settlements with subcontractors." The payment of subcontractors is not an easy problem, but a report reflecting the point of view of small rather than big business would have tried to work out ways to protect the subcontractor and speed payment to him.

Reconversion. Considering the deflated condition of the machine-tool industry, the recommendation that manufacturers be allowed in advance to obtain the tools: needed for reconversion would seem to be sound. Baruch would place great power in the hands of the Industry Advisory Committees, in reconversion as in the disposal of surplus property. These committees have not been too representative in the past. The report suggests that the "advice" of the Smaller War Plants Corporation "should be drawn upon to make certain that small business is effectively represented on the Industry Advisory Committees." This pious injunction is likely to be ignored. Why not give the Smaller War Plants Corporation power to nominate small-business representatives to every Business Advisory Committee? One of the most important and dangerous recommendations in the report is that wartime suspension of the anti-trust laws be extended to the reconversion period to protect these committees. If they meet to plan the expansion of production, no such protection is needed; the anti-trust laws only forbid restraint of trade. If they meet to plan the restriction of production, no such protection should be granted.

The Heart of the Report. I leave to more trusting souls the task of dwelling on the social demagogy in the report, on what the boys in the poolroom would call its rich coating of applesauce, and come now to the heart of it, the disposal of surplus property.

The background of the problem is this: The New Deal has provided no safeguards against a post-war depression; social insurance won't do here what it failed to do in Britain and Germany. War-time spending has concealed our fundamental economic difficulties, and war-time technological progress has intensified them by enormously increasing the productivity of labor. The basic change is the huge expansion of productive plant and the fact that most of this is government-owned. In a sane production-for-use economy this increased plant would automatically raise living standards to unprecedented levels. In a sensible capitalist economy, actually concerned with the preservation of free enterprise, government-owned plants would be used as competitive market, a task two generations of trust-busting has been unable to accomplish.

The Baruch-Hancock recommendations, the executive order setting up the Surplus War Property Policy Board, and the man chosen as Surplus War Property Administrator are a triple-plated guaranty that no such use will be made of government plants. Will Clayton, the man picked as administrator, is an old associate of Jesse Jones, an international operator in cotton, an ex-Liberty Leaguer. The War Property Board, made up of top officials, has only advisory power under the executive order, and the Baruch-Hancock report firmly closes the door on any possible yardstick use of government plants. Jesse Jones emerges as the most important figure in the setup. His lieutenant is the administrator; Jones himself sits on the policy board; and the actual disposal of government plants is delegated to the RFC.

The speed with which the Baruch-Hancock report was released, and implemented by executive orders and appointments, all within the space of a single week-end, had the earmarks of a kind of right-wing economic coup to head off action by Congress on the Murray-George bill for an Office of Economic Demobilization. There isn't much to choose between Baruch and George, but the bill would provide a little more protection for the public interest. Under the bill the Attorney General would have some actual power to check monopolistic disposal of plants; aircraft, synthetic-rubber, aluminum, and magnesium plants would be placed in a special category on which action would await further discussion in Congress; no surplus property could be destroyed without a two-thirds' vote of the proposed seven-man National Demobilization Board. The George report, bad as it is, calls for consultation with labor and agriculture as well as with business in the handling of all demobilization problems; neither has a place in the Baruch-Hancock recommendations.

The Work Director. The biggest phony in this setup is the office of Work Director. This is supposed to be the place where the returning soldier "can go in dignity and where he can be told of his rights and how he can get them." The Work Director is supposed to be a man "of proven executive capacity . . . business sagacity . . .

character . . . great courage." I can see no resemblance whatsoever between this portrait and the man chosen. Brigadier General F. T. Hines is a mediocre reactionary, a hangover from the Coolidge-Hoover era, and notorious in Washington for his opposition to work relief. His appointment makes the job a kind of cruel joke.

## 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

T IS WORTH RECORDING that an extremely liberal constitution for the German republic has passed its second reading in the Weimar Assembly; that a coalition Cabinet of seven Socialists, three Democrats, and three Centrists has been elected; that Herr Ebert, almost without opposition, has been chosen President.—March 1, 1919.

FROM THE RHINE to the Yellow River the world is in a state of unrest and revolution. The next step in the German development none can tell. Russia is a vast experiment station for half a hundred new economic and social undertakings. From the Caucasus and Central Asia we hear reports of violent outbreaks. The Emir of Afghanistan has just been murdered. India, which is kept hidden from our curious gaze by the high defensive wall of a strict censorship, suffers from vast strikes, the first sign of a concerted nationalistic movement, while China is maintaining a perilous balance between Japanese aggression and revolutionary separatism.—March 8, 1919.

THE DISQUIETING NEWS comes from Paris that the statesmen there assembled have definitely resolved to crush Bolshevism in Russia by force of arms. . . . Have they not yet discovered that the intervention of last August in Russia only strengthened the Soviet authority?—March 8, 1919.

THE THIRTY-SEVEN SENATORS who signed the Lodge resolution against the League of Nations, we now learn, are not diehard opponents of any League, and the resolution was a political trick wittingly turned to embarrass the President and to misrepresent the nation before European eyes. . . The Republicans probably hope that by the time elections come around such despicable machinations will be forgotten.—March 15, 1919.

ZEALOUS PATRIOTS among our lawmakers are attempting now in ten or twelve states to enact legislation, first, to prohibit the use of any foreign language in elementary grades, and, second, to bring all parochial and private schools under the jurisdiction of the state in order to enforce the first ruling.—*March* 22, 1919.

THE RECORDS OF UNEMPLOYMENT in America are mounting steadily. We are passing today through the initial stages of a process of readjustment which by the middle of the summer inevitably will develop into a serious situation. Troops are returning from abroad in ever-increasing numbers; and, in the meanwhile, wounded soldiers with all the medals afforded by the field of battle are begging on the streets of New York.—March 29, 1919.

# World War III Ahead?

#### BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

HERE is little connection between the ideals of liberal internationalists and the sorry realities of the contemporary international scene. While the idealists still hope for some kind of world government, or at least for an international police force under a world federation, the real issue is whether the great powers, now united in conflict, can reach enough agreement with each other to avoid new rivalries out of which a new war will inevitably be bred. Despite the Moscow and Teheran conferences, signs multiply that no great advance has been taken toward a genuine system of mutual security. If no basic accord is reached, the failure will be obscured by an agreement to disagree. The obvious form of such an agreement would be the division of Europe and Asia into "spheres of influence," which would probably be known as "regional federations" and which would represent the outer ramparts of the schemes of unilateral defense of the various great powers.

Obviously such a solution of the problem confronting the nations of the world is only a palliative for the disease of international anarchy. By defining the "spheres" in which each of the powers would undertake not to poach on the preserves of the others, the great powers would avoid immediate conflict; but ultimate conflict would not long be postponed. Such an arrangement would certainly not solve the problem of the "no man's land" lying between the various spheres of influence, in which each of the powers would seek to extend its influence. No partitioning of Europe, for instance, would solve the problem of either France's or Germany's relation to the total structure of Europe. The destruction of Germany, offered by charlatans and some misguided "idealists" as a solution for the problem of world security, might accentuate the problem, by increasing the economic chaos of Europe. Furthermore, the dismembered portions of Germany would become fair sport for rival powers, each of which would seek to bring some portion of the vanquished nation under its dominion. (The recent protest of the London Times against rumored plans for the dismemberment of Germany would lead one to suspect that Britain at least is opposed to such a policy.) If the world remains unorganized, there is even the possibility that the most ruthless plans of destruction will not be carried out, for a shrewd vanquished nation might well escape its fate by courting one of the victors and playing it off against the others. Ruthlessness toward the vanquished can no more give us security than vindictiveness toward bandits and pirates can achieve ordered government in those regions of land and sea where lack of civil authority invites lawless men to flourish.

The world, in short, needs order. Yet there is little prospect of a fully developed system of constitutional order—of a world government or even of a fully elaborated federation of the world. The great powers, the nucleus of a global alliance which will win a global war and thereby become the embryo of a world community, show no inclination toward any delegation of their authority to a world government. At the moment, even the prospects for something much more modest are not too bright. This more modest something would be a partner-ship in which a system of genuine mutual security would overcome the fears by which allies are turned into potential foes, each covertly preparing for the next war by seeking strategic advantages against the others.

Though not bright, the prospect of such a partner-ship still belongs to the realm of political possibilities; the prospect of a world government is quite beyond that realm. For world government requires the explicit abridgment of sovereignty and the creation of a universal political authority by a sheer act of will and reason. The coalescence of new and larger human communities usually does not take place in such explicit terms. The alternative requires only the implicit abridgment of sovereignty through the creation of agencies for the fulfilment of common tasks, and through mutual commitments; the smaller powers would necessarily be drawn into the general agreements because these agreements would not be possible without their cooperation.

The possibility of a global alliance of the big powers, containing quasi-constitutional checks and security for the smaller powers, rests at least on some historical foundation. Nations are fighting in a common cause, and they have made commitments in conducting the struggle. They cannot even liquidate the war without participating in various relief and rehabilitation agencies, though it must be observed that it is not yet at all certain that there will be common armies of occupation. The defeat of a common foe does of course destroy a part of the force of cohesion. But, on the other hand, there are a historical partnership and an organic coalescence of power upon which new political structures can be built if the fear of anarchy can, to some degree, supplant fear of a concrete foe. It is generally understood that the great powers are adverse to the organization of Europe because they fear that European unity would ultimately result in the hegemony of Germany upon the Continent. Yet the danger of a powerful Germany grew in an unorganized Continent, and will grow again if there is no greater unity between the powers than is now contemplated.

The justifications which some liberals find in the Russian counter-measures, and the support of the conservatives for our counter-measures are both beside the point. Both sides may be justified, and it would be difficult to determine what overt action or attitude initiated the vicious circle. The important point is that if we do not break through the circle, a third world war cannot be avoided. Neither we nor Russia will finally tolerate the domination of Europe by the other side.

The most significant mark of a real agreement among the great powers as distinct from a bogus agreement to disagree will be its provision for the reorganization of Europe and Asia. The reorganizations of Europe and of Asia cannot proceed independently of each other since the effective power is held today by three, possibly four, great powers, none of which, except China, is either purely European or purely Asiatic. Continental federations must therefore stand under the aegis of the great powers. But they must be achieved, because without them no stable agreement between the great powers is conceivable. The logic of world events thus points to a global alliance rather than a purely constitutional world order, but to constitutional commitments on the second, that is, continental level of organization.

Consider the case of Europe. We are afraid, not without reason, that Russia may seek to dominate the Continent. Russia is afraid, not without justification, that we are seeking to dominate the Continent against it. The impulse to domination is in each case partly a defensive strategy against the supposed or real peril of domination by the other side. This is precisely the kind of vicious circle of fears from which wars arise. It must be observed that if this game is going to be played, Russia has more cards than we and is more likely to win. But such success or failure is also irrelevant to the main issue. The success of either Russia or the Western powers upon the Continent would not prevent another world war. The war would in fact break out before the complete triumph of one party or the other and would be prompted by the desire of the losing side to frustrate the triumph.

Liberals have concentrated their criticism on the flitations with reactionary forces carried on by our own State Department and the Churchill government. They have been quite right in pointing to the catastrophic effects of this policy, both in the dismay and confusion it has brought to the democratic forces of the Continent and in its effect upon our relations with Russia. But they have not emphasized sufficiently that the first prerequisite of a truly democratic policy is an over-all agreement with Russia, which can quite obviously not be achieved without a total plan for the democratic reorganization of

Europe. If such an agreement is not reached, the futile effort to reorganize Europe through reactionary, fascist, and semi-fascist forces will continue, no matter how strongly criticized. It will continue because the fear of Russia's domination of the Continent will prompt and seem to justify these measures. Only an agreement which will overcome these mutual fears will make it possible to give the democratic forces in Europe genuine support and such an agreement can be successful only if support of the democratic forces is made integral to a plan for the reorganization and unification of the Continent.

Any plan for the reorganization of Europe must include provisions for a total reorganization of its economic life in which the irrelevancies of national tariffs will be overcome and in which a common credit and money policy will facilitate the free flow of goods. The political unity of Europe will, furthermore, facilitate disposition of the difficult problems arising from the Nazi expropriation of German, French, and other property. The property system of Europe has gone through the "meatchopper" of a total war, and there is no possibility of restoring it to a semblance of the past or in conformity with the British and American property system. Any effort to do so would mean either the support of reactionary political movements in the hope that they would protect "liberal" economic reorganization or the formation of a cartel system which would make the Continent a colony of the hegemonic powers. Either course would force the masses of the Continent to the side of Russia, even though their hope of genuine emancipation through Russia may be quite illusory.

On the other hand, bitter experience has taught us how the peril of totalitarianism lurks in a program of complete socialization. There is a possibility of working out a synthesis between socialized and individual property on the Continent which might well make a creative contribution to the solution of the property problem in the whole world. Furthermore, such a synthesis could become an instrument of reconciliation between Russia and the West and thus transform Europe, economically as well as politically, into a meeting ground, rather than a battle ground, of rival powers.

Any such plan would be good for the Continent because it would offer it economic order rather than chaos. But it would not be adopted primarily for that reason; the hegemonic powers, even though they call themselves the "peace-loving nations," are not as magnainmous as that. If adopted at all it will be because the great powers can solve their mutual problems only upon that basis. The case of Asia is similar, though in some respects it is more complex and less immediately urgent.

The reorganization of Europe and Asia can only take place under the aegis of the great powers, but it cannot take place at all without giving the smaller powers constitutional rights and authority within the total framework of the agreements. It is at this point that constitutional justice must be introduced into the system of global alliance. The possibility of its being introduced lies not so much in any scruples the great powers may have about misuse of their strength as in their inability to achieve any order in the continental realms which lie between them without drawing the smaller nations into the system of agreements.

While self-interest places such agreements within the realm of political possibility, they are not in the realm of probability for the simple reason that the so-called democratic nations are still dominated by groups which seek the preservation and extension of their economic power—the more desperately because they have an uneasy feeling that it is doomed. The opposition of these forces to an organized and partly socialized Europe may be too stubborn and blind and also too powerful to be overcome in time. But there is a bare chance that it can be overcome because the alternative policies presented by the opposition so obviously lead to another war. If this oppo-

sition is to be defeated, however, the democratic forces in Britain and America must be armed with a policy which is in the realm of political possibility. Democratic energy must not be dissipated by consideration of abstract plans which belong to the millennium.

It must be observed in conclusion that however vexatious may be the problems arising from the plans of various nations for strategic security, they are subordinate to the main issue. Russia's desire for a strong strategic frontier, Britain's hope of drawing some of the Low Countries into its Commonwealth system, and America's interest in a big navy and in naval and aerial bases are all in the same category. It is inevitable that all nations should seek for some provisional unilateral security. But if there is no over-all agreement among them, their plans will turn into schemes for merely unilateral security.

All of them must become, increasingly, counsels of despair, because they are plans for the relative security of this or that nation in the event of another war. None of them will be plans for the security of the world against the peril of war.

# The Future of Japan's Islands

BY WILLARD PRICE

OW that we have begun to occupy Japanese-mandated islands, the question of their future becomes a matter for urgent consideration. The vast archipelago of Micronesia, comprising the 1,400 islands of the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, is, as we have painfully learned, the key to the western Pacific. With it Japan unlocked the treasures of the Indies and the Philippines. It made possible the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor and the southward advance toward Australia. Without it Japan would hardly have dared to dream of conquering America.

The Cairo conference made it clear that Micronesia would not be returned to Japan. Who, then, is to hold this pivotal position, which controls the islands of the Pacific and the shores of Asia? Although the United States is pledged to a peace of "no annexations," the assumption is being made in influential quarters that we shall take over Micronesia as a matter of course. Hugh Byas, former New York *Times* Tokyo correspondent, writes, for instance: "The mandate now held by Japan should be summarily transferred to the United States."

While greatly respecting the opinions of this veteran newspaperman, I would suggest that we have no warrant to deal "summarily" with peaceful and law-abiding populations, no matter how small. They cannot be passed about as one would pass the butter. True, they have been. Neither the Spaniards, the Germans, nor the Japanese consulted the natives before seizing their lands. The United States should be the nation to stop such violation of ordinary human rights. Nothing would do more to allay the suspicions of Asiatics, who, prompted by Japan, fear that America and Britain mean to extend their imperialism over all Asia.

Unlimited self-determination is, of course, impossible. If each island of two or three thousand people were to constitute its own government we should have a myriad sovereign nations in the Pacific: the result—chaos and constant war. The Micronesian is perhaps a little more advanced than we in his social thinking. He realizes the inadvisability of self-government if by that is meant separate rule for each island or even each small group. During my visit to the islands, managed with difficulty in the days when Japan was preparing them for their role in the war to come, I asked many chiefs about this. Their views were pretty well summed up in the opinion of a Ponape chief: "When we ruled ourselves, every chief was at war with every other. It is better to have some higher authority."

A plebiscite might be held to learn the desire of the Micronesians as to what that higher authority should be. At the time of the Versailles conference an American missionary who had served in the Marshalls stated his belief that if a plebiscite were taken, the people of the Marshall and Caroline Islands would ask to be placed under American administration.

That may be the solution of the problem. It would not be entirely satisfactory. The United States cannot afford the taint of imperialism if it is to get on well with Asia in the post-war era and avert a world-destroying color war. Asiatics would suspect that the plebiscite had been "fixed." Dissenting islanders might rise in rebellion, as in the Philippines in 1898, and we should have to use American troops to put them down.

Moreover, there is no warrant for regarding the western Pacific as an American ocean. Micronesia is four thousand miles from our West Coast. It is much closer to China, to a colonial Holland more important than Holland itself, to French Indo-China, and to the soon-tobe-independent Philippines, not to mention British possessions and Australian mandates in the southwest Pacific. In the event of war it is the strategic center of the western Pacific.

Inevitably the fate of Micronesia is of international concern. Why should it not be internationally controlled as a benefit to all and threat to none? During the interim between the capture of the archipelago and the end of the war Micronesia will be governed under the authority of the United Nations. What could be more natural at the peace conference than the transference of that authority to whatever world organization may then be established? Japan would not immediately be a member of such world council and would therefore have no part in the management of the manadate. Only after a long period of probation would Japan be admitted to the association of nations and share in its responsibilities.

Whether the island mandate is held by one nation or by all, the worrisome question arises: What is to be done with the Japanese? There are now 100,000 of them in the mandated islands as against only 40,000 natives. And the high birth rate of the Japanese means that, even if no more were admitted, the Japanese population in the islands would steadily and swiftly increase. We know enough about the Japanese to be sure that they would try to rule any land in which they were numerically predominant. Japan would champion its colonists. The situation would invite a new war.

The obvious remedy may seem drastic, but it is probably unavoidable if there is to be any chance of enduring peace in the Pacific. Every Japanese person—man, woman, and child—in Micronesia should be sent back to Japan. This is not so colossal an undertaking as it might at first seem. The movement of 100,000 persons to Japan would not compare for a moment with the migration in 1922-24 of 1,350,000 Greeks from Asia Minor to Macedonia and Thrace. That dislocation, painful enough at the time, has resulted in great satisfaction to both Turkey and Greece.

The argument that Japan is too crowded to accommodate these nationals is not valid. One hundred thousand Japanese will hardly begin to take the place of the three million men Japan is estimated to have lost in war since 1937. In a population of seventy-five million so small a number as one hundred thousand can be easily absorbed.

While the Japanese have complained of lack of space, they have declined to populate their own island of Hokkaido. It is north of the main island of Honshu and a bit cool—rather like Wyoming. It does not have the rather precious miniature beauty of the Honshu landscape. The Japanese, who like small things, do not feel at home there. But it is a richly fertile country of broad plains suited to large-scale agriculture. It has an area of thirty thousand square miles, a population of only two and a half million, and room, according to Japanese authorities themselves, for twenty million.

How should the brown men of the islands be governed after the Japanese regime is finished? We should not be too proud to learn from our enemies. The Japanese system of administration, which is very similar to that set up in the other Pacific mandates, has worked pretty well. It is to govern the natives through their own kings, whom the people respect and obey as persons with a hereditary right to rule. The Japanese designate the kings as soncho, or district heads, and pay them a salary.

The structure of the Japanese South Seas government is, in brief, as follows. At the base are the natives, with a degree of self-government through their own kings or soncho, under a Japanese police officer. The entire mandated area is divided into six "Branch Bureaus," each supervising a group of islands. The six governors of the Branch Bureaus are responsible to the Governor General of the South Seas Bureau, who is stationed at Palau. And the South Seas Bureau, in turn, is superintended by the Minister of Greater East Asia in Tokyo.

The new administration might well follow a similar pattern. The natives should be allowed to keep their kings. Some kind of administrative grouping is almost essential because of the wide separation of the islands and the difficulty of communication. If the control is international, the governors of the different divisions should be chosen regardless of nationality: British, American, Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, Chinese, French, Russian. Micronesians themselves should certainly be eligible for this position. The only criterion should be merit and ability to confer with colleagues in a common language. An over-all governor general might be appointed for a definite period by the United Nations or whatever world association may take its place.

The question of a common language might be raised at this point. To suggest that this should be English is to risk charges of "linguistic imperialism." We should respect the native culture, many people will argue, and encourage the Kanakas to use their own language.

There is, however, no Kanaka language. Or, rather, there is a different language for the Kanakas of every island. Saipan cannot understand Yap; nor Yap, Palau; nor Palau, Truk; nor Truk, Ponape; nor Ponape, Kusaie; nor Kusaie, Jaluit. Democratic unity is of course impossible with such diversity of tongues. The printed word is denied to islanders for the simple reason that it would not pay a publisher to print the world's literature in a language read by only two or three thousand people. Mental expansion is difficult in a limited language. There are only 6,000 words in the Palau tongue, 3,000 in Truk, 1,000 in Yap; there are 600,000 in English.

But, assuming that the schools of the Pacific teach the islanders a common language, why should it be English? Why not Japanese, Chinese, or Malay?

Malay is not a great world language. Chinese is, but it comes in nine different dialects and is very difficult to learn. It would draw the Pacific toward China but would cut it off linguistically from the rest of the world. Japanese is also a very difficult and exceedingly provincial language. The English language is spoken by 260,000,000 people. It is preeminently the language of world communication, and as Christopher Hollis has said, it "is the language, far more than any other, in which the story of freedom is told." That is of importance if we look forward to ultimate democracy in the Pacific.

And in the far future the Micronesian islands may emerge from mandate status into a complete democratic self-government, perhaps in conjunction with other island groups of the Pacific. This cannot happen now, not because the native is an ignorant savage—he is not, and his knowledge of democratic ways is surprising—but because the islands are so isolated from one another. Yap and Truk are more distinct than the United States and Russia. A Chamorro family in Saipan talked to me about Broadway in New York and Piccadilly in London but could tell me nothing about the Marshalls.

This situation will change in time. The sea separates islands; the air will unite them. The impetus given to aviation by the war, the building of airfields on the islands. the suitability of lagoons as landing places for seaplanes, all forecast the day when every chief or well-to-do copra farmer will have his plane. Instead of waiting a month for a boat from Truk to Yap and then taking four days for the trip, he may get off at any time and make the trip in two hours. What seems fanciful now will be commonplace in fifty years. Daily postal service between the islands will integrate them, and the improvement of the radio and the radio-telephone will have the same effect. A newspaper, either printed in one place and distributed through the entire area by plane or transmitted page by page by wire photo and printed locally, would help all the diversified peoples of the Pacific to have the same information every morning. And it is only when people begin to think together that they will act together.

## Hendrik van Loon

[Last week Hendrik van Loon died at his home in Old Greenwich, Connecticut. Mr. van Loon was one of the most generous and most talented of The Nation's friends, and we read with satisfaction all the warm appreciations of his personality and his work. Reading them, we recalled the very earliest days of The Nation's separate existence, after Mr. Villard sold the New-York Evening Post in 1918, when Hendrik van Loon wrote unsigned contributions to the column headed In the Driftway, and the later days when be contributed occasional articles and many funny pointed drawings. And we decided that the best small tribute we could pay our old friend would be the publication this week of a few reminiscent examples of his versatile talent. We present them berewith.—EUTORS THE NATION.

THE Drifter looked out of the window across the dreary court. It was raining. In many of the offices the electric light was burning and busy girls were hammering away at their machines. The whole building was buying and sell-



Washington, D. C.—Prohibition Agent Swiller spends \$3,249.47 to get evidence that 30 cents' worth of corn brandy is sold within the shade of the

ing and counting profits; romance had been dead these thousand years and pig iron was king. Then there came a little old man with a pot of paint. He stopped before a door, took off his coat, and put his hat on the window-sill. Then he began to scrape. One by one the gilded letters telling the curious that this was the private entrance to So and So's, who dealt in This and That, were quickly removed, the glass was

washed, the door made ready for further pictorial operations. The little man took a stick in his left hand. He worked very fast, and the letters of the new occupant grew with astonishing rapidity. Within half an hour there they stood neatly done in black and gold upon the gray background of the glass panel:

#### C-Z-E-C-H-O-S-L-O-V-A-K C-O-N-S-U-L-A-T-E G-E-N-E-R-A-L

In the midst of steel and automobiles and soap and oils and skins and the concrete mechanism of our modern world of trade and business a miracle had happened. A new nation had been born. Some day that door will be in the museum at Prague, and from all parts of Bohemia people will travel to see the handiwork of the little old man with his pot of paint.—IN THE DRIFTWAY, December 7, 1918.

At last a classical word has reached the Drifter's ear from Paris. Switzerland, that house of mercy to the sick and weary of all the world, which fed the Allied prisoners from its own meager larder, which served as letter carrier extraordinary to all prisoners of war and performed a thousand unrecognized services, maintained an army of half a million to maintain rigorously the "no-trespassing" edict against all

neighbors. During the Armistice it was necessary for the President of the Swiss Republic to visit Paris, on which occasion M. Ador called upon M. Clemenceau. The unsophisticated Drifter would have looked for an appreciation of Gallic flavor, but quadrilateral internationalism is not Gallic, nor is



U. S. A.—110,000,000 people manage to keep cool with Coolidge.

it grateful. The Tiger's greeting to his Swiss confrère was typical of the Allied attitude toward the neutral. "M. le Président," he remarked, "votre neutralité m'a embêté." It "made him tired." The words are veritably Napoleonic. They will be contradicted, but they will live.—July 5, 1919.

THE 1924 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN CLEVELAND

Let us be merciful and mention the one thing that can be said in favor of this noble gathering. It is composed of Nordics. The foreigner and the Negro and the Jew are



From The Nation, May 19, 1926

1914—1915—1916—1917—1918
"Bill, this is pretty terrible."
"I know it, Joe. But think of the wonderful time our children will have."

almost totally missing and cannot be held responsible for whatever happens. Years from now when their children look them in the face and ask, "Daddy, what did you do in 1924?" they at least can answer, "Never mind, you nasty little brat. I was not at the Republican convention." . . .

Try and imagine the setting of the stage for this gigantic piece of hokum. On the one hand we have a candidate who has as much personality as last year's time-table. On the other hand we have the most powerful and the richest and the most glorious and the grandest country in the world. And a small piece of this nation, in freedom conceived, is going to name a man for whom not one-third of one per cent of the sum total of the delegates feel one-third of one per cent of personal liking or admiration or even respect. And five months from now their henchmen just as deliberately are going to try to vote this same candidate back into the White House for four years more of mush and maple sugar.—THE NORDIC JUBILEE, June 25, 1924.

## In the Wind

THE MARCH 17 ISSUE of Yank, the army magazine, publishes letters on the soldier-vote controversy by fifty-seven soldiers. Fifty-six want a federal ballot; one wants no ballot at all; none are interested in states' rights.

THE UNITED STATES Chamber of Commerce approves of American participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—on this condition: "Care should be taken that, under the heading of rehabilitation, commitments for post-war reconstruction are not authorized."

OPPOSITION to a national-service act is expressed by the Worth Street Forecast, an organ of the cotton-textile business, in these terms: "History will record the guileless candor of native-born Americans predominantly Anglo-Saxon developing a land inordinately rich in resources and extending the helping hand to myriad others to whom freedom was unthinkable and unworkable. These hordes have spawned on the American shores, mistaking liberty under law for license and eventually destroying the law itself."

PRINTERS' INK, an advertising magazine, reports that a group of grocers and tobacco distributors, "hitherto highly articulate and bitter against OPA," has recommended that Congress "pass legislation continuing OPA as an after-thewar agency to establish minimum prices below which merchandise could not be sold."

FESTUNG EUROPA: They tell it in Norway: The Nazi mayor of Asker had a young pig of which he was extremely fond. He named him Truls, a good Norwegian name. He even resorted to the black market to get the best of feed for the animal. But one morning shortly before Christmas the pig was missing. There were blood stains on the snow, and tacked to the pigsty was a placard bearing a drawing of the iron cross with which German soldiers' graves are marked and this inscription: "TRULS. 12/17/43. He Fell in the Fight Against Bolshevism."

# Kenneth Leslie Answers Smear Campaign

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THE PROTESTANT

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February 14, 1544

Editor-New York World-Telegram

125 Barclay Street New York 15, N. Y. Sir.

I must request space for a brief reply to Mr. Wolman's articles in the World-Telegram of February 7, ¶ and 9, which label THE PROTESTANT, its Textbook Commission to Eliminate Anti-Semitic Statements in American Textbooks, and myself, ■ being "anti-Jewish."

Mr. Wollman charges me with being anti-Semitic because I attack the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Finally Mr. Wolman "proves" that I am an "apologist for Communism" because I demanded a diplomatic break with Spain and a resocation of the deportation order against Harry Bridges. I am anti-Catholic, according to Mr. Woltman, because I called Archbishop Spellman "the dainty servant of Vatican intrigue."

In his smear attack on myself and the organization I represent Mr. Woltman goes to great pains to areate the impression that by my criticism of the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews I am guilty of anti-Semitism. But Mr. Woltman very carefully omits to mention the reason for my attack against those bodies.

THE PROTESTANT accused and still accuses the American Jewish Committee of appearing the groups responsible for the creation of

THE PROTESTANT strongly opposed and still opposes the hush-hush policy of the American Jewish Committee in fighting anti-Semitsm. THE PROTESTANT pointed out that Judge Joseph Proskauer, heard of the American lewish Committee, was one of the key figures in the American Liberty League, whose members contributed money to the Sentinals of the Republic for anti-Semita activities.

THE PROTESTANT charged and still charges the American Jewish Committee with trying to prevent exposure of Henry Ford's continguapent of anti-Semitic activities headed by men in his employ.

THE PROTESTANT proved, by meems of incontrovertible documents, that the American Jewish Committee had been delinationt-

Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. JOSEPH G. MOORE St. Paul's Parish, Evansville, Ind. KAREN MORLEY

Assoc. See'y. Baptist World Alliance ROBERT H. NICHOLS New York Synod Peeblyterian Church R.T. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS San Francisco, California Hollywood, California LOUIE D. NEWTON

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Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y. LEONHARD RAGAZ Crozer Theological Seminary A. CLAYTON POWELL GORDON POTEAT

Catholic and Protestant religious textbooks,

Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y. "Neue Wege," Zurich BEN RICHARDSON Editor,

Montreal, Canada KAYMOND ROBINS LESLIE ROBERTS

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Los Gatos, California RUPUS W. WEAVER Washington, D. C. ROBERT WHITAKER

Institute of Applied Religion University of Chicago CLAUDE WILLIAMS

As to the anti-Catholicism of THE PROTESTANT; to quote treely from my editorial in the first issue of THE PROTESTANT, in Dec., 1938: and for that reason much of our material will be deraw from Catholic sources. For nessyring is #\_recesseary now #= it was in Luther's day, If ever there was a protestor it was obtained by the catholic and Protestors have the same implication! . . A very dear Catholic friend of mine writes. Some of the nobest protestors to strate the same implication! . . A very dear Catholic friend of mine writes. Some of the nobest protestors are the catholic and Catholic s. S. Francis, for instance and Catholic strains and Durah A penetrating exchange of views, so long as it is fouched with the charity as well se the clarity of Christ, ought to be the word of mall. The Right away we shall make  $\blacksquare$  confession. We believe that some of the best protesting today is being done by Catholics.

THE PROTESTANT has NEVER attacked the Catholic religion. It has taken and still is taking issue with the political activities of the

purpose of our venture could not be better expressed."

As to our defense against the series of unprovoked attacks upon us by the National Conference of Christians and Jews: we have time and again pointed out that we cannot condone the appeasement policy of the Conference. We have published in THE PROTESTANY a very comprehensive criticle by Rabbi Joshua Bloch, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library—an article in which this distinguished scholar analyzed the record of the National Conference and revealed = 1 "Noax" its claims of having cleaned up anti-Samilian in Vatican and its emissaries. Those who read THE PROTESTANT know that our editorial policy is crystal-clear on that point.

THE PROTESTANT more than once directed attention to the fact that Father Edward Lodge Curran, the Number Two Jew-batter in this country, was a member of the National Board the ste matter conference of Christians and Jewas It was only after we had done this that this that was removed. We did not meet with the same success with regard to Mr. Carlelon Hayes, America's Franco-gloritying Ambas. sador to Madrid, who is to this date one of the chief figures of the National Conference.

THE PROTESTANT adheres to its policy of attacking Fascism here and abroad, irrespective of whether its sponsorship be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, As long \*\* Mr. Wollman brought up the myth of "responsible fewish groups" being worried about the tendencies of THE PROTES-TANT I should like to quote from an editorial in a recent issue of the Congress Weekly, published by the American lewish Congress which is headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and unquestionably is America's most important inducional Jewish organization for the defense of Jewish rights The Congress Weekly states:

"Mr. Kenneth Leslie, editor of THE PROTESTANT, in a recent article on "Christianity and Anti-Semitism" has the courage to declare: "Anti-Semitism as we know it in the Western world is an element which has been for 2,000 years part and parcel of the Christian tradition. It can only be dealt with as such."

not feign such ignorance as not knowing in which of the Christian denominations anti-Semitic teachings are emphasized in larger degree. Inasmuch as the violent acts of the hoodlums are a product of home environment and beliefs indoctrinated in the youths by paternal and religious authority it is the job of the Christian community to investigate and reveal the source of Our position as Jews and as victims prevents us from elaborating any further on this statement. But even my Jews we baninfluences that bring about this evil. The veil over these real sources of the evil must be removed. To quote Mr. Leslie again: 'Democracy must say to Christi: anity: Clean house of this anti-democratic thought and action,"

go into sackcloth and ashes for having been guilty of "selling buttermilk and growing apples," an Mr. Woltman revealed in his "Case Against Intolerance." I feel na bitterness against Frederick Woltman for his attempt to destroy THE PROTESTANT and build up the Ameri-I have ignored the personal angle of Mr. Woltman's attack and taken up only a few of its more serious aspects. Lauppose that I should can Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But one cannot evade history and distort undeniable facts even through sensational headlines and the recitation of eminent names to cover up falsification of the truth.

M. Pierre van Paassen, Mr. Johannes Steel, the news analyst, and Mr. Joseph Brainin, associate editor of THE PROTESTANT, whom Mr. Wollman also includes in his diatribe. the Jews in this country, in Europe and in Palestine have come to regard = their greatest champion, is accused of anti-Semitism, then the accuser must be pitied for having exposed his ignorance-or malice-so flagrantly. I want to believe that, as the editor of a newspaper whose mashead carries the slogan "Give light and the people will find their own way", you will find the space to publish this letter.

ereneth Sincerely yours,

KENNETH LESLIE

# Watch Mexico

BY FRANK JELLINEK

Mexico City, March 1 HE Bolivian coup and the confusion surrounding its origins made the Mexican government acutely aware that similar dangers threaten Mexico. While there was no concrete evidence that the agents of the Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis were directly interfering in Mexican affairs, certain elements common to nearly all Latin American countries were undoubtedly at work, and President Manuel Avila Camacho took immediate action to forestall a crisis. By a series of moves he gave warning to the forces of the right that further infiltration would not be tolerated, and that ambitious politicians would be playing with fire if they tried to carry his own appeasement policies too far. He did not move to the left; he merely played off the left against a right offensive.

The extraordinary indirection of Camacho's defensive strategy was fairly typical of his whole policy, which is based fundamentally upon the economic rather than the political situation in Mexico. Mexico is undergoing an inflation that is not only bringing misery to large parts of the population but creating tremendous instability in the comparatively limited circle of its beneficiaries. Exports of raw materials are at the highest peak in history, but imports are limited mainly to cash, since war requirements of the United States have cut off the influx of machinery, replacements, and consumer goods. The imported cash is not used for productive investment but for speculation or hoarding. Hoarding is, in fact, officially encouraged by the free sale of gold. But efforts to reduce the money in circulation or to distribute it more widely have had little success. A 220,000,000-peso internal loan was taken up chiefly by the banks and big business houses; there has been no attempt to sell war bonds to the general public.

Despite a Presidential decree ordering wage increases ranging from 50 per cent for a weekly wage of 7 pesos to 12 per cent for the large wage of 84 pesos, the disparity between wages and prices widens constantly, and actual starvation is averted only because most Mexican families have a little land for subsistence farming. A labor shortage in certain semi-skilled trades, such as building, has created a small group of comparatively prosperous artisans, but their work is so inefficient that normal times must inevitably bring their downfall. They then will become excellent fascist material.

In a period of fourteen months the Ministry of Econ-

omy evolved no fewer than twenty-eight schemes to control prices. Each was followed by a new rise. The total increase cannot be accurately stated owing to fluctuations in different districts and the operations of the black market, but it is estimated to be 28 per cent since 1940.

Politically, the difficulties of control are almost insuperable. The question was never squarely faced by Cárdenas, even when he had the means of enforcement. Now, any broad program would arouse the opposition of the war profiteers, who are rapidly becoming conscious of their status as a new native bourgeoisie. A scheme of control based on an extension of the Cárdenas reforms and a clean-up of the administrative machinery would drive the profiteers, the government fears, to join those who plot the overthrow of the democratic structure.

The forces of the left have been entirely ineffective in combating the present situation. Their initial mistake was to characterize Avila Camacho as "the continuer of the Mexican Revolution." When the war came in May, 1942, the labor unions declared for a policy of national unity. But all attempts to obtain real cooperation, such as labor-management committees, a national production board, even a unified labor central, collapsed. Protests by left leaders against abuses, corruption, and intolerable living standards were at once held against them as violations of their own pledge to effect unity. Defeatism, opportunism, and open corruption attacked large sections of the laboring masses, for whom the organized movement had accomplished practically nothing. The disappointed workers began to turn against the government itself. Labor gangsters made a glorious comeback amid the cheers of the reactionary press.

Cárdenism, however, remains a latent force, though Cárdenas himself has kept his pledge not to intervene in politics and has occupied himself with reorganizing the army. It is doubtful whether the majors and the colonels share his political views. But the army still plays a decisive role in Mexican politics: no politician could maintain himself in power if the army were against him.

There has been a good deal of talk about a Mexican expeditionary force. Avila Camacho has said that one will be sent if the United Nations ask for it, but that it would prefer to fight under its own flag and as an army of liberation, perhaps in the Philippines. If the force is sent, it will mean that the government has become strong enough to disregard the right's continuing utterance of non-interventionist slogans.

The Sinarchists, the most outspoken group of the opposition, have recently discovered a huge red plot to seize power. It is headed, they say, by Cárdenas, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Federation of Labor (CTAL), Soviet Ambassador Constantin A. Oumansky, the mild Friends of the Soviet Union, and the Protestant missionaries. To accuse your enemies of an ambition to do something you want to do yourself is an old fascist trick—the "preventiverising" propaganda was used by Franco in Spain. It would suit the right very well to see Cárdenas provoked into breaking his pledge. His movement would be called a "Communist rising," and any effort the right might make to quell it would be regarded with far less skepticism in Washington than was the Bolivian coup.

There is, of course, no question of Mexico backing out of the war, though widespread enthusiasm for it is not at present a dominating emotion. Civilian war activities have more or less stopped. There are no more blackouts or mass voluntary drills, no sale of war bonds, no rationing. No large proportion of the people actually favor Hitler or Franco now, because no one wants to be on the losing side, but it is not uncommon to hear a business man admit rather coyly that he is a "Germanophile." The definitely pro-Nazi papers, Omega and Hombre Libre, have a fairly large circulation among the middle class. The distance between coolness toward Hitler and enthusiasm for the United Nations, though Mexico is one of them, is still greater than Allied propaganda agencies seem to realize. It is not lessened by the prominence given in the Mexican press to columnists like Hearst's Karl von Wiegand and Howard's William Philip Simms.

Professions of friendship for the United States or the United Nations do not necessarily mean more than an attempt to maintain and increase political power at home. And the United States has many facets. Very often friendship for it is friendship for persons like Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen and other outstanding foes of the Soviet Union. Even the Sinarchists, whom Sheen recently supported as Father Coughlin had supported them before, resolved to suppress open attacks on the United States after a recent semi-secret meeting of regional and national "chiefs." The present aim of the Sinarchists is to appear as an "element of order." Since they stress Christianity as their guiding principle, their claims have met with some success, especially among the less politicalminded members of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. They are moving away from Hispanidad, the Phalangist slogan for restoration of Spain's "spiritual" empire in the Americas, and toward Hispanismo, the stressing of the "Spanish element" in the American republics. Hispanismo's center appears to be Buenos Aires. It attacks Jews, "Communists," Protestants, Free Masons.

The Roman Catholic church is undoubtedly sharing in the usual war-time religious revival. In many places the church hierarchy deprecates the political exploitation of religion if only out of fear that an anti-clerical response will be aroused. This is true in the United States, where Cardinal Mundelein disowned Coughlin, in Argentina and Colombia, and in Mexico, where Archbishop Luis Martínez has advised Catholics to support the government. Nevertheless, Catholicism, with its long tradition of rule and its legend of paternalism, has the kind of appeal to the masses that the word "socialism" had in Hitler's National Socialism. Significantly, it appeals mainly to the most wretched and to the wealthiest, both of which groups oppose the "materialism" of the newly rich and the "socialist" leaders who were unable to improve living standards.

The demand for a New Christian Order is strong just because so many honest persons are unwilling to oppose it. It is spreading, too, because most of the left is going to the opposite extreme and attacking, not the perversion and penetration of the Catholic hierarchy, but Catholicism as a whole. The attitude adopted by the Mexican government, which fears a revival of the old church-state struggle, has been to appease both elements in the church and to play for safety.

Whether the growth of New Christian Order ideas, spreading from Madrid and Detroit to Buenos Aires and Mexico, is the result of a far-reaching plan is uncertain as yet, although strange coincidences are to be noted. A serious phenomenon is the widespread emergence of the Jesuits, who have been outlawed for years. Father Eduardo Iglesias, S. J., is closely connected with the Sinarchists and with high society in Mexico. Father Wilkinson, S. J., is reported to be the brains behind the Argentine military group. Members of the Society have high connections in Washington and Whitehall. A recent supplement to Excelsior advertised the Jesuits' contribution to Mexico and included attacks on "corrosive Judaism," Protestantism, and English piracy. American officials who see some good in the Sinarchist movement fear Jesuit penetration.

United States official observers have shown no keen understanding of the Mexican crisis. The official policy is non-intervention in Mexican affairs. This policy is carried so far that even schemes bound to be of permanent benefit to Mexico-for example, for the prevention of tropical diseases—are kept secret. Since most Mexicans believe that intervention is the monopoly of Ambassador George S. Messersmith and his six hundred employees at the embassy and its annexes, this secrecy defeats its own ends. Senator Hugh Butler's charges that the United States is "coddling" Latin America met with little approval in Mexico, where the general opinion is that the United States needs certain materials and will come to get them regardless of price. But the left did see that Butler and Sheen are representative of trends which constitute the remains of United States imperialism.

The danger facing Mexico is very similar to the one which erupted in Bolivia. It derives from a possible combination of disillusioned democrats, starving masses, diversionist Catholics, and owners (not producers) of export goods—the elements upon whom the Nazis count for "reinsurance" after military defeat in Europe. While the Berlin-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis can hardly cause a spectacular crisis in Mexico immediately, the prospect is not unlikely when the end of the war pricks the present boom. The last Mexican civil war lasted ten years.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SEVERAL million more workers will be needed by German war industries this year, according to the Bremer Nachrichten of February 13. And as these millions cannot be found in Germany, "they will have to be imported from the occupied territories and the countries of our allies." This announcement was the first mtimation that another enormous importation of slave labor was contemplated.

Three days later it was revealed that the matter was to be handled in a new and original way. On February 16 the Gauleiter of Hesse-Nassau received a batch of French workers from the departments of Marne-et-Loire, Sarthe, and Indre-et-Loire and honored them with an address. He told them that the German province of Hesse-Nassau had "adopted" the three French departments from which they came; Hesse-Nassau was to be their Pate, or godfather, and take them under its wing. And in order to make the arrangement quite clear, he said the "godfather's" duties had been intrusted to the Labor Office of the Gau. Apparently France, as a reservoir of man-power, has been divided among the Labor Offices of the various German provinces. As Pate of a certain section, each has now its own hunting grounds.

The subject was embellished with poetry and philosophy some two weeks later when a prominent functionary in the Reich Labor Office, a Dr. Stothfang, described it in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of March 4:

Now that this war has become for Europe a life-or-death struggle, it is absolutely necessary to mobilize all Europeans in defense of the Occident. Incomparably more must be done than has been done in past years. The phrase "Europe's community of fate" must be implemented by a tremendous common effort, military and economic, on the part of all European nations. Germany has shown what can be done. As champion and leader in this war Germany has a moral right, and as the chief protagonist of a sound and just New European Order it has a moral duty, to see that Europe's whole labor force is mobilized for the war effort.

If within the framework of this increased mobilization of European labor [the Doctor concluded] Germany must now insist on employing more foreign workers on its own soil, the demand is not unfair considering the blood sacrifices of German soldiers. It must not be looked upon as something to be complied with under duress but as fulfilment of an obvious duty imposed by Europe's fateful struggle.

During the last war a type known as Frontschwein (front pig) appeared in Germany and played a considerable role. A Frontschwein was a soldier who no longer had any respect for anything. Feeling himself an alien in civilian life and even above military discipline, he was a curious combination of warrior and outcast. The reappearance of "front pigs" in Germany today was the subject of some interesting remarks in the Journal de Genève of March 6:

The Frontschweine who were so well known in the First World War have appeared again, and as in 1918 are beginning to leave their mark on the national life. Soldiers from the eastern front are distinguished from others by a red ribbon worn on the tunic. In the streets, in trains, and in public buildings these red-ribbon soldiers make no pretense of saluting their officers, and the officers themselves do not demand it. Nobody likes to come in contact with men from the eastern front—they always make themselves masters of a situation. The Nazi Party, too, knows what a force the red-ribbon men constitute.

The reporter then described a scene he had observed in the South German city of Augsburg:

On February 23 Augsburg had an air raid shortly after mid-day. The shelter where I sought refuge when the sirens sounded was full. All the tables were occupied, and a large number of men, including many officers, were standing. At one table with six chairs, four were occupied by red-ribbon men-a corporal and three privates. Two chairs were vacant, but no one dared to approach the table. Finally a smartly dressed air commander entered, saw the empty chairs, and asked the corporal courteously if he might use one of them. Without rising or saluting, the corporal looked the commander up and down, then said in a tone admitting no contradiction, "Can't you see that this table is occupied? We are keeping these two chairs for our comrades." Without a word the commander walked awayin his beautifully polished boots.

In the opinion of the narrator, this attitude of the red-ribbon soldiers has become so general that practically nothing can be done about it. "Of course," he admitted, "these men could be arrested, but what then? You can't arrest thousands of fighters when every one is needed." So "power has become impotent," and an element is growing up in the population which may develop into no one knows what. In 1918 some Frontschweine became rebels and revolutionaries; a larger number, marauders, free-lance soldiers, secret-society murderers, adventurers, Nazis.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## What Price Art?

THE SILENCE OF THE SEA" by Vercors (Macmillan, \$1) is a tiny book—scarcely longer than a short story—with a dramatic genesis and history. We are told that it was written in Nazi-occupied France in the fall of 1941, published in that country by an underground publishing organization called Les Editions de Minuit, and then smuggled to England, where, translated by Cyril Connolly, it was brought out under the title "Put Out the Light." We are further told that it is the first in a series of such French underground publications which are to be known as "Les Cahiers du Silence." The name Vercors is of course a pseudonym.

Naturally one comes to such a volume much prejudiced in its favor. It is not only that we know that many of the distinguished writers of modern France are still living in that country; whether the author of this story is someone with whose work we are already familiar or an unknown writer, we are eager to greet any work that has survived the occupation. But whatever our good-will, "The Silence of the Sea" unfortunately turns out to be far from a great short story; perhaps, indeed, only the greatest short story could possibly live up to so dramatic a birth. It is sophisticated in conception and sure-handed in the writing, but its interest is distinctly political rather than literary.

Told in the first person by a cultivated Frenchman-by indication a writer—the story describes the developing relationship between himself, the niece with whom he lives, and a German occupation officer who is billeted in their home. The German, in civilian life a composer, is handsome and cultivated; he is sensitive to the hostility of his unwilling hosts and even respects it. He never intrudes into the part of the house in which they live except for a short visit each evening, when he knocks on their sitting-room door-only to enter without being asked to. Then, while the old Frenchman sits on one side of the fireplace sipping his coffee and the niece sits on the other side of the fireplace knitting or sewing, both of them coldly silent, the officer talks to them of his life and ideas. It seems that he is in love with French culture, the culture represented by the long rows of books that line this room in which he is so unwelcome; he sees the conquest of France as a marriage between the beautiful soul of France and the strong body of Germany, and he even carries this image to the point of describing the native betrayers of France as the disreputable matchmakers of an inevitable and fruitful union. And as he talks it becomes clear that the Nazi officer is purposefully addressing himself to the young niece, symbol of the French spirit; it also becomes clear that his charm and passion are beginning to affect his listeners profoundly despite the fact that they maintain their hostile silence. But one day the officer goes on leave to Paris, and upon his return his hosts realize that the evening intrusions have ceased. We watch them wait in increasing tension for the accustomed knock at the door. At last the evening arrives when it is heard again: for the first time the Frenchman calls loudly, "Come in," and even adds, "Sir." The German is markedly disturbed; he has come to explain his absence. While on leave in Paris he has visited German headquarters and had a shattering experience; he has learned that Germany intends to destroy French culture for a thousand years, not to woo it as he had imagined. Under such circumstances he can no longer serve as an occupation officer and he has applied for military duty; he has come this evening to say goodby. At the news the niece for the first time raises her eyes to the German and for the first time addresses him. In the attitude of a deserted lover, she utters a tortured farewell.

I think that even in outline the ambiguity of such a story must suggest itself. When one also takes into account details of the narrative which I haven't space to report here, "The Silence of the Sea" becomes even more puzzling; obviously it is susceptible to a variety of interpretations. In the only sense, however, in which its direction is clear to me—I could hope to be mistaken—I find it one of the thoroughly disconcerting documents, if not of the war, then of an aspect of contemporary intellectual life. For what Vercors seems to be saying is that if Nazism would only promise to preserve French culture, it could or would or should be made acceptable to the French; and by French culture he means purely and simply French art, the good French literature which the officer catalogues as he stands before his host's bookshelves.

There are no people in the story except the characters I have mentioned and one or two people to whom the officer refers; there are no French people except the narrator and his niece. By implication, there is no starvation or exploitation or murder or forced labor in the train of Nazism; there is only the outraged dignity of the spirit of French culture waiting to be properly appreciated. By further implication, there is no importance in the power of a political system over the multitudes of uncultivated people, there is even no connection between a nation's culture and its uncultivated people. In short, the intellectual class lives alone in a vacuum, and its sole purpose is the creation of more and more thought in a vacuum. By my reading, "The Silence of the Sea" is a reductio ad absurdum of the plea for the intellectual's position of special privilege.

Yet if a reductio ad absurdum can be valuable, this seems to me to be a valuable one. For here is a story which states boldly a point of view that lies deep in the attitude of certain sections of our intellectual life; it allows us to see the political folly to which the logic of this point of view must lead. Basically, that is, the isolationism-in-thought of "The Silence of the Sea" is identical with the isolationism-in-thought of those of our intellectuals and artists who insist that they have no share in the running of government or in the making and waging of wars. Have they then no share in the outcome of government and wars? If they have not, they must logically be prepared to welcome any political system so long as it allows them to function—even fascism. And this is a bitter irony; for if there is one thing which would horrify such intellec-

tuals it is the accusation that they are reactionaries. Because they revere the internationalism of art and have no respect for the political units which are nations, even because they don't care enough about society to be bothered with its forms, they are able to masquerade to themselves as political liberals, even political radicals. But perhaps a story like "The Silence of the Sea" will suggest to them the way in which the notion of a cultural aristocracy can work out to be as strong an arm of political reaction as a hereditary social aristocracy.

DIANA TRILLING

## Faith, Hope, and Gusto

UNDER THE BRIDGE. By Ferris Greenslet. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

EVERY man and every book," Hippolyte Taine once wrote, "can be summed up in three pages, and those three pages can be summed up in three lines."

That remark, however sound it may seem to a literary editor in a time of paper shortage, looks wildly absurd to reviewer who has in hand the autobiography of Ferris Greenslet-author, publisher, fisherman, traveler, raconteur, scholar, business man, bon vivant, gentleman, and artist. It would look absurd to Ferris Greenslet himself, although he too is a vigorous pruner of the vine of language. During the several years at the turn of the century in which he sat on the reviewing stand of The Nation, trying to "sum up" scores of poets, essayists, biographers, and historians as they hurried by, he learned the skill of literary compression. Undoubtedly, however, his hardest assignments were those in which he had to characterize just such books, if there were any, as this that he has now written-books with no predominant theme or topic, books about the "number of things" with which the world is proverbially replete, books in which the chief binding element was their "charm." Books of that kind refuse to be summed up in any fewer words than they contain. They are not meant for reviewers but for whatsoever seasoned and leisurely readers there may be left in this distracted world.

'Under the Bridge" shows that Ferris Greenslet has had an excellent style from which to refrain during the three decades in which he has published almost nothing of his own. That fact was long ago made clear by his study of Joseph Glanvill-a better book than he seems to realize. There, however, and to some extent in his later studies of Lowell, Aldrich, and Pater, one occasionally heard a languid echo of the eighteen-nineties, a rhythm or a euphony caressed for its own sake. Thus it was not entirely without reason that he was considered, on his first visit to London, "a child of the literary loins of Walter Pater." But now all the roses and raptures, the languors and lilies, are gone from his page, and he writes a prose, as pellucid as gin, which differs from the jog-trot of ordinary journalese in being more exact, more nimble, and easier on the educated ear. The beauty of the writing in his present book is unsought and intrinsic. In a phrase which he applies to another writer, he is now "a master of the magical word too few."

Ferris Greenslet got his literary training from Winchester of Wesleyan, Woodberry of Columbia, Wendell Phillips Garrison of The Nation, Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly. and Charles Eliot Norton of Shady Hill. Under such tutelage, not to mention the great exemplars of the past which he more than most writers of our day keeps in mind, he could not fail to be a "stylist," good or bad. But a highly trained sense of style commonly brings a writer many more hours of torment than minutes of triumph. The weariness of his interminable fumbling not merely for the right word but for the precisely right rhythm and cadence, the pain of continually proffering unacceptable cacophonies to an ear grown morbidly sensitive and also tyrannical, is more than any but the martyrs of style such as Conrad and Flaubert can long endure. Does this suggest a reason why Ferris Greenslet turned aside from the writer's task thirty years ago and became a business man of letters? Or should one say that what might have been his literary career went down when the familiar essay, during the early months of the First World War, was spurlos versenkt?

An essayist he is, by gift and training, as almost any page of this autobiography will show. The color and climate of his mind suffuse the most heterogeneous objects, places, and persons. He has the quick sympathy and warmth of notice, the married wisdom and wit, the speed of thought issuing from leisure, of which good essays are made. He has both zest and taste—two diverse qualities brought together by Hazlitt's favorite word, gusto.

It has been said that "the corruption of a poet is the making of a critic," and perhaps one might hazard a similar suggestion about essayists and publishers. At any rate, the qualities of mind that make "Under the Bridge" a thoroughly delightful book are precisely those that a man would use in the discovery and promotion of books by other hands. For publishing, of course, besides being a business, is also an art and a hazardous form of sport. One of the main qualifications for success in it is a cautious and hard-headed gusto. And Ferris Greenslet has succeeded.

He seems to have been about equally concerned, during the last three decades, with fishing for trout and angling for manuscripts. Now both of these occupations require faith, hope, and gusto; but the greatest of these is gusto. "Under the Bridge" contains, in one paragraph, altogether the most amazing fisherman's yarn that the present reviewer has ever heard or read-and a peculiarity of it is that it must be true because no one could have imagined it. Another tale, equally astonishing and veracious, is that concerning the way in which Ferris Greenslet stalked the wily old bottom-hugging and weed-loving Henry Adams, trying him with all manner of wet flies, dry flies, and rolling casts until "The Education" lay in Houghton Mifflin's capacious creel, a veritable fourpounder. (The fact seems to be, however, that Adams never really rose to any fly that Greenslet tossed him. One fears that he was "snagged.")

Gusto backed by intelligence will take a man a long way. It has taken Ferris Greenslet many times across the Atlantic, has given him the freedom of London as well as of Boston, has led him up—not down—the amber brawl of a hundred brooks and rivers, has brought him the friend-ship of many people who write books, or try to write them, or have written them in the echoing past. Two-thirds of the men and women who have made their mark in the



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writing of English during the last thirty years, he has known. Among other things, therefore, his book is a gallery of portraits, or rather of sketches swiftly but accurately drawn. For example, who could better this one sentence about Brander Matthews: "His cup was small, but he drank from his cup"?

Clearly, too, gusto can last a long while. It can survive the reading of fifty thousand manuscripts, most of them bad, and come up at the end with such a glowing tribute to one book as Ferris Greenslet here pays to Willa Cather's "Shadows on the Rock." It can make a man who is nearing seventy feel sure that the writing of our day is better than that which he knew in his youth, and also that the American writing of the years just ahead will be better still.

The unquestionable success of the life recorded in "Under the Bridge" has been due, one guesses, to the fact that Ferris Greenslet has always done pretty much what he wanted to do, and so has done it well. Good fortune has helped him, no doubt; but intelligent choice has played its part. His lines have been cast in pleasant places, but he has chosen his own streams and pools. And success, we know, is the reward of success. All his life he has tossed his flies into beauty, so that now it is right and just that he should be drawing them back over waters of peace where the striped bass come in with the tides of summer among the sedgy sea-meadows of Ipswich.

## Diary of Tomorrow

TOMORROW ALWAYS COMES. By Vernon Bartlett. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

READERS of *The Nation* have already appreciated Vernon Bartlett's ingenious Diary of the Future. They will want to have it in full, with introduction and conclusion. There is nothing fanciful about the book but the form and a few irrelevant details. No Utopia, but sober, and sobering, realism. Bartlett expresses the same misgivings as Motherwell, Brant, and a score of others; he has chosen to do so through a conscious pastiche of Harold Nicolson's "Peacemaking." Alas, that after twenty-five years we should still be so unsure of the morrow!

The common man everywhere wants the right thing—peace within the nations and among the nations through the abolition of privilege. For privilege can maintain itself only by force, and has to be challenged by force. The governments, "realistically," are utterly confused. "Unconditional surrender" is a perfect slogan, provided it is not an excuse for moral cowardice. After unconditional surrender, what? This we must ask ourselves and, in rough outline at least, tell our enemies. For our terms ought to be synonymous with what we are fighting for.

Bartlett sees three dangers ahead. The first is distrust among the major Allies. We have no confidence in the Russians, because they are Communists; but we have even less confidence in the British, because they are capitalists. What is to prevent them from doing exactly what we are planning to do—use the world crisis to win trade and establish supremacy?

The second danger is that the English-speaking powers are working insidiously but constantly in favor of the Euro-

pean tories. "Legitimacy" and the fear of revolution are the excuses. Pershing, no radical himself, denounced that danger a quarter of a century ago. In Great Britain we find still in high places appeasers, partisans of Franco, and admirers of the late Mussolini. Our long amity with Vichy, our deal with Darlan, the unhappy Giraud-Peyrouton interlude are frankly ominous. To cap it all came the Little King-Badoglio imbroglio. Bartlett may be too optimistic when he believes that a tory regime, backed by American machine-guns, could not maintain itself for six months in Europe. What can unarmed mobs do against an organized force?

Of the third danger Bartlett is undoubtedly conscious; yet his thought remains a trifle vague. That danger is the Big Three (or Four) fallacy. It is bound to ruin the peace, for it is Machtpolitik naked and unashamed. Why should a second-rater be given a position of influence in the Council of the Nations, instead of, for instance, Benes or Hambro? If we have a common ideal, let us place at the top the men who can understand and serve it best. The Big Four system is sheer imperialism—the desire to impose (benevolently!) our will upon the little fellows. Imperialism must be resisted; but that resistance breeds nationalism, which, as Borgese puts it, is "of all heresies the deadliest." In an atmosphere of justice and reason nationalism loses its sting, turns into harmless cultural autonomy. Under the threat of force it becomes virulent again, with at least a semblance of holy wrath. I should hate to see nationalism, through our fault, flare up again as a fanatical faith.

The snubbing of the "little" nations will arouse—is arousing—hatred against us. To the average American, who does not understand how offensive our policy is, this resentment will appear as the blackest ingratitude. We shall once more wash our hands of an incorrigible Europe—until a new European conflagration reaches our shores again.

Many of the details are graphic and ingenious. There is a good plea, for instance, for a United Nations flag. Bartlett gives Hitler a useful hint: it is reported that the Führer has been flung into a great caldron of molten metal; thus identification will be impossible, and Adolf may walk off with shorn moustache. Bartlett revives the old cliché about the English lack of imagination-which would make Shakespeare, Dickens, Disraeli, Cecil Rhodes, and not a few others un-English. If the British did not despair in 1940, it is not because they were too dull-witted to know that they were licked but because they had imaginative faith in a phantom, the empire: "Now we are alone—the five hundred million of us!" The empire could not have saved England; but it gave her faith, and faith gained time. Time for America to wake up; time for Hitler to start his suicidal attack on Russia. Jules Romains has a great theory of "la mystification créatrice." A myth may win a day; it takes truth to win the day.

A generous, an entrancing book; and a wise one, although a little hesitant in tackling the main cause of evil. Bartlett himself is not quite free from the "global insularity" that goes with English speech. At any rate, he is vastly ahead of our governments.

ALBERT GUERARD

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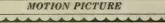
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#### DRAMA

THE central character of "Jacobow-sky and the Colonel" (Martin Beck Theater) has been making his way through the world for a long time. He is the eternal refugee, the "wandering Jew," one of those men I was told about as a child—men who had been alive since the time of Christ and would continue to pace the earth until the Last Judgment. He is a folk figure created out of who knows what desires, needs, beliefs. He is a great temptation to writers, and he can be an awful bore and a worse fraud, especially in the hands of a sentimentalist.

In the present play he is incarnated as a Polish Jew fleeing from the Germans, a man named Jacobowsky, for whom there are always "two possibilities." The part was outlined, I presume, by Franz Werfel, since the piece is based on a play by Werfel; it was filled in by S. N. Behrman; it is portrayed by Oscar Karlweis. And as a result of this lucky combination of sugar and salt and the magic of good acting the ancient character seems not so much created as released. Mr. Karlweis, by means of an unobtrusive skill and strong feeling, brings him to life; the plot gives him scope; and that old usurer, the age we live in, lends him an extra measure of intense reality-at the prevailing high

Jacobowsky is the most interesting character on Broadway at the moment, with the possible exception of Iago. Unfortunately the company he keeps is not as good as it should be. In general, the casting, the acting, and the direction must be marked down as another set of hazards which the eternal wanderer has to overcome with his sharp wit and his old wisdom. The aristocratic Polish colonel, to whom he gives safe conduct to St. Jean de Luz because he, Jacobowsky, can't drive the car he manages to obtain, has neither the elegance nor the afflatus of "one of the finest minds of the fifteenth century." Louis Calhern looks and acts about as much like a Polish nobleman as the football players in "Rackety-Rax." As a result many of Mr. Behrman's best lines are muffed, and the rich possibilities of the contrast between S. L. Jacobowsky and Colonel (Don Quixote) Tadeusz Boleslav Stjerbinsky are largely unrealized-except in the champing imagination of the spectator. Annabella, as the French sweetheart of the Count, is quite colorless. The lisping Gestapo official borders on burlesque, but even so he is much more convincing than the Broadway Nazi played straight, and he is also amusing.

A good portion of the large cast is left behind in Paris in the first act, and that is just as well, for the French "types" are conceived and drawn with amazing gaucherie. Indeed, most of the first act might better have been abandoned altogether.

As for the play itself: at one point someone makes the old observation that the situation is hopeless but not serious. But that mood, which is the right mood, is not sustained. At intervals, as if the authors had not quite the courage to sustain it, they interrupt the play with solemn speeches, thereby diluting its essential seriousness—which is crystallized in its funniest lines.

MARGARET MARSHALL

#### FILMS

UNISIAN VICTORY" is bound to be compared with "Desert Victory." That it suffers by comparison is by no means entirely the fault of the Englishmen and Americans who made it. "Desert Victory" started with great advantages, and took highly intelligent further advantage of each of them. History imposed upon the film a grand and simple form; it was possible to personify anonymous forces in two, rather than two dozen, opposing leaders who had the further advantage of being psychologically provocative figures; and the film was made under a single, focused control and for a single purpose. "Tunisian Victory" had to tell of a campaign much more complex, in political as well as military respects; it was apparently necessary to highlight, and bow and scrape to, every half-sized military wig in sight; the film suffered the liabilities of "full collaboration"; it evidently suffered too at the hands of people whose concern was purely political and propagandistic; and its makers were trying not only to give a short screen history of a vast and intricate action but at the same time to play international Gaston and Alphonse. The questionable political overtones of the invasion never so much as smudge the sound trackthough one good look at the people involved is perhaps enough; the military story, on the other hand, is told so doggedly, with such textbookish wordiness, that the film never escapes for more than a few seconds at a time into the sort of pure tragic excitement which "Desert Victory" proved a war film can be. There are shots, and clusters of

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shots, as fine as any in the British film, but they never get a chance to gather cinematic momentum; the words, the verbalized facts, forever nag them to heel, and their competently edited heeling is no acceptable substitute. It was a mistake too, I think, to try to "humanize" American and English soldiers, whose screen faces hardly need that service, by means of two disembodied voices, one Cockney, one Kansas City, for they give the film the pseudo-democratic, demagogic coloration of most vernacular literature. "Tunisian Victory" is, in fact, at its worst whenever it tries to be "human" for humanity's sake; I, at least, felt that the people on the screen and in front of it were being unconsciously patronized, which is one cut worse than consciously; and judging by the run of British and American films I have seen, I feel pretty sure whose national disease that is. For the privilege of producing a Lincoln we have been paying through our tinhorn nose, in counterfeit kind, ever since we brought him down with a Roman phrase.

Beyond provoking friendly mention of ripe Ann Sheridan, decent Dennis Morgan, and shrewd S. Z. Sakall, "Shine On, Harvest Moon" offers nothing worth talking about. "Tender Comrade" — "wife," that means—is very much worth talking about, and I hope that adequate strength and space will coincide in a week or two. Meanwhile I can say only that it is one of the goddamnedest things ever seen.

JAMES AGEE

### MUSIC

HE people who think up programs for the New Friends of Music are incapable of distinguishing a neglected masterpiece from an unplayed work that deserves its obscurity; and there have been occasions to curse them for the dulness they have inflicted on me; but on the other hand I owe them my first experience of Mozart's marvelous Viola Quintet K.614 in E flat. And by a fortunate accident-since they are equally incapable of distinguishing excellent from mediocre in performers-I got my first impression of the work from an unforgettable performance by the Primrose Quartet, a group of N.B.C. Symphony string-players (Shumsky, Gingold, Primrose, Shapiro) whose technical virtuosity produced for this highspirited music textures of living sound that were astoundingly light and sharp. Since then I have heard the Quintet

played at least three times by the Budapest Quartet, but surprisingly enough without the same lightness and sharpness, and therefore without the same effect

The most recent occasion was the Budapest's final concert in its Y.M.H.A. series; and again there was the extraordinary change in the group's playing when it got to Beethoven-this time Opus 132 in A minor. As for the work it is notable for offering the most intense communication of the pain which the last quartets convey with their exaltation; and it has passages which are among the supreme moments of this group of works. One of these comes in the middle of the second movement, where the first violin, playing at a great height and as though at a great distance, displaces the awareness of the pain of this earth with a vision of a celestial joy. Another is the slow movement: and whereas the Cavatina of Opus 130 and slow movement of Opus 135 have tremendous impact from the brevity and concentration of their utterances, the famous Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen (Solemn Song of Thanksgiving of Convalescent) of Opus 132 attains overwhelming stature and greatness through its expansive elaboration of form and content. The form is like that of the slow movement of Beethoven's Ninth Sympony: a long opening section, which recurs twice after an alternating section, and which is varied each time that it so recurs. The variation process which elaborates rhythm, figuration, texture, in this way intensifies meaning; and the illumination and exaltation are carried, the second time, to a point of superearthy ecstasy which, as far as I can recall, is not attained elsewhere in these last quartets.

Columbia's newly issued recording of the Budapest Quartet's performance of Opus 132 I shall report on next week.

A friend took me to hear the performance of "Falstaff" at which Leonard Warren replaced Tibbett in the title role. This was the first time I have heard Warren that he did not bawl his head off in a way that I have found painful to listen to; instead, employing the youthful beauty, freshness, flexibility, and ease of his voice with musical taste and discretion, he achieved one of the most impressive vocal performances I have heard in recent years. And he also acted the part well. In addition, freed of the burden it had had to carry, the entire performance had more ease and happiness. It had flaws: Harshaw's voice

was inadequate for Dame Quickly; there was raggedness and strain in some of the ensembles. But it was an excellent performance of an extraordinarily beautiful work.

And here I can no longer keep myself from quoting Bernard Shaw. He had, he said, not gone to Milan for the first performance of "Falstaff," and therefore knew only what he had been able to get from looking through the score. And one must marvel at the critical powers which enabled him to perceive in this way that "'Falstaff' is lighted and warmed only by the afterglow of the fierce noonday sun of 'Ernani'; but the gain in beauty conceals the loss in heat-if, indeed, it be a loss to replace intensity of passion and spontaneity of song by fulness of insight and perfect mastery of workmanship. Verdi has exchanged the excess of his qualities for the wisdom to supply his deficiencies; his weaknesses have disappeared with his superfluous force; and he is now, in his dignified competence, the greatest of living dramatic composers. It is not often that a man's strength is so immense that he can remain an athlete after bartering half of it to old age for experience; but the thing happens occasionally, and need not so greatly surprise us in Verdi's case, especially those of us who, long ago, when Von Bülow and others were contemptuously repudiating him, were able to discern in him a man possessing more power than he knew how to use, or indeed was permitted to use by the old operatic forms imposed on him by circumstances."

I am not a "true-blue, died-in-thewool Savoyard" like my Boston correspondent who went to nine of the Gilbert and Sullivan Company's performances up there and wrote me an exhaustive evaluation of them which ended with the recommendation that if I went to only one let it be "The Gondoliers." I am merely a person who enjoys Gilbert and Sullivan and who enjoyed most of what I could see and hear of "The Gondoliers" from a very bad seat. The only really and intensely bad thing in the performance was the excruciating sounds produced by the young lady who sang Casilda, who I presume produces similar sounds in the other operas. The rest of the principals were good; the chorus sang better than it looked; the orchestra I was in no position to hear properly; the performance as a whole went off well. B. H. HAGGIN

### Letters to the Editors

#### Fit to Forget

Dear Sirs: The severe editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 4 opposing Izvesitá's criticism of the Vatican entirely overlooked the known facts in the matter of the Vatican's consistent and necessary support of German militarism for the past one hundred years.

Apparently the person who wrote the editorial was unaware that the *Times* itself once castigated the Vatican in much more scathing terms than *Izvestia*, for the same reason, accurately prophesying that the issue "will be potent in molding the history of Europe for years to come." This editorial in the New York *Times* went so far as to call the Vatican's support of German militarism "the profound immorality of the temporal policy of the Church of Rome."

The editorial appeared in the *Times* of February 8, 1887, and is as follows:

All is grist that comes to the mills of Rome. The collision between the spirit of military absolutism and the spirit of parliamentary liberty in Germany, a contest watched with the deepest interest all over the world, and whose issue will be potent in molding the history of Europe for years to come, is viewed by the Pope merely as a welcome opportunity to improve the condition of the Roman Catholic church in Germany.

The party of the Center in the Reichstag is the Catholic party. Dr. Windthorst, who has been its leader throughout the long struggle against the May laws, is its leader now. He led the successful opposition to Bismarck's bill increasing the army and providing for its support for a period of seven years, commonly called the Septennate bill. When the Reichstag had rejected the bill and Bismarck had dissolved that body and a new general election had been ordered, Baron Frankenstein sent to Rome, through the Papal Nuncio at Munich, an inquiry as to the views and wishes of the Pope concerning the conduct of Catholics in the struggle. The Pope's reply is made in a letter written by Cardinal Jacobini: "That the Septennate question embraces religious and moral considerations which justify him in expressing the opinion that he may expect from the Center Party's conciliation toward the measure a beneficial effect in the final revision of the May laws." The Pope desires, moreover, "to meet the views of Emperor William and Bismarck, and thereby induce the powerful German Empire to improve the position of the papacy." . .

Dr. Windthorst now declares (in an address delivered on Saturday at Cologne) that the Center Party knows what it is about such better than the Pope, and will fight

the Septennate to the end. And the meeting he addressed adopted a resolution approving the course of the Catholic deputies of the Rhine provinces and urging their respection.

Rhine provinces and urging their reelection.

One sentence of Dr. Windthorst's address reveals with pitiless and perhaps unintentional frankness the profound immorality of the temporal policy of the Church of Rome. "The Pope's advocacy of the Septennate bill," said Dr. Windthorst, "was independent of the merits of the measure, and arose from reasons of expediency and from political considerations." It would be difficult to frame a more accurate analysis of the papal motives while at the same time indicating a more sweeping denunciation of the papal policy. Liberal principles, the right of popular government, the German constitution, and its guaranty of parliamentary institutions, says the Pope, may go to the dogs if we can secure some further modification of the laws which relate to the church, and so improve the condition of the papacy in Ger-

The New York Times's dire prophecy came true, as the First and Second World Wars sadly testify. Pope Leo XIII's command to the Catholic Center Party in 1887 to aid militarism in Germany was a contributing factor to the First World War. Again in 1933, when the Vatican removed the Catholic Center Party as the only remaining obstacle to Hitler's rise to power, the Second World War began. How true it is that a strong militarist Germany is essential to the Vatican policy can be seen in the late Kaiser Wilhelm's "Memoirs," where he tells that on his visit to Pope Leo XIII the latter insisted with him that "Germany must become the sword of the Catholic church." LEO H. LEHMAN

New York, February 14

#### Vansittart Again

Dear Sirs: As a twenty-year subscriber and an associate of The Nation I feel compelled to write about the anti-Nazi Germans who write in the liberal press, particularly their references to Lord Vansittart.

These writers make me conclude that Lord Vansittart is correct when he says there is no difference between the left and right parties in Germany.

In The Nation of February 12, Fritz Sternberg says in his article, Germany, Economic Heart of Europe, "I shall not enter upon a discussion of the German character in this article; I would merely remind the Vansittarts high and low that the Russians, who have suffered

most of all from German aggression, do not demand that Germany be dismembered; rather they demand that the groups which promoted aggression—the Junkers and the big industrialists—be destroyed."

In *The Nation* of January 1, 1944, Reinhold Niebuhr in his review of Lord Vansittart's book "Lessons of My Life" asks "why Lord Vansittart has become our modern Cato, crying that Carthage must be destroyed."

Also Franz Schoenberner in his attack on Emil Ludwig in the December, 1943, issue of the *Protestant* refers to "Lord Vansittart and all the other anti-Germanists working overtime as volunteers and honorary members of Dr. Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry."

It appears to me that the truth about Germany hurts these writers, as shown by the above sly attacks on Vansittart's book. Lord Vansittart says in his book, page 23, that he does not advocate persecution or extermination. He does not mention dismemberment or total destruction, which is the equivalent of a Carthaginian peace. Lord Vansittart takes a very generous view, in which he advocates the defeat, the demilitarization, occupation, and reeducation of Germany. I would take sterner measures. Vansittart would give the Germans a full life and a full larder.

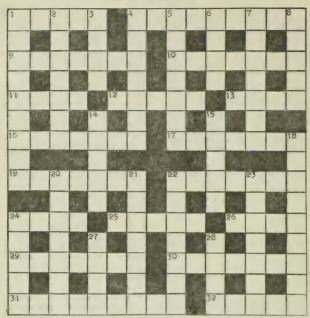
It is difficult to know what these writers are up to. Let us beware of them.

In the article first referred to Fritz Sternberg says, "So it is to be hoped that Germany will be allowed to remain undivided in its 1919 boundaries." This can hardly be, for contrary to the first quotation, Russia will not allow East Prussia to exist. It will be divided between Poland and Russia so that Russia can protect its Baltic shore.

The frontiers of Germany after the war should be, in the west, the River Rhine, Holland, and the River Ems, in the south Switzerland, the River Inn, and the mountains of Czechoslovakia, in the east the River Oder. The part east of the Oder should go to Poland. In the north the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein should go back to Denmark. A reading of "The Mailed Fist, 1864-1939, the Background of Hitlerism," by S. L. G. Knox, published by Friends of Democracy, Inc., will show

### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 57

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 It's hard to make this of some clues,
- 4 Duke in The Gondoliers who led his regiment from behind; he found it less exciting (hyphen, 5-4)
  9 Not in with the team, and not in

- without the team

  10 Just bury him in the meantime, as
  a Cockney might put it

  11 Is almost out of sight after being

- driven home

  12 Employer of idle hands

  13 An outlandish place to land

  16 Naive young actress, a la Française

  17 There's nothing like it!

  19 By no means verbose
- 22 The car is put to bed 24 In the midst of life we are in ----25 Birthplace of Fascism
- 26 Indigo blue
- 29 "This meat is too high for me; I cannot attain unto it"

  80 You have one before you now
- 31 To be so gloomy would turn one
- insane 32 She is younger than Helen by ■ thousand years, at least

#### DOWN

- 1 This bird makes it clear that you have to pay for even a little lovemaking
- 2 The sage wrote of the indolent but agreeable condition of doing this
- 3 Throw out—time's up!
  4 Church dignitary who starts early but finishes behindhand

- 5 A lady's maid, not a large beer 6 This voice should be altogether re-
- 7 Terrifying: no wonder a G.I. horse 8 Sea shell, but not the kind fired

- Hirsute
- 13 Hardy describes this old tradesman as a "blood-colored figure" 20 A political one shouldn't be wooden 21 Don't call this wine "red ink" in an
- Italian's hearing 22 Fine to be at ease, for a Castilian
- nobleman 23 Tom Thumb's rank 24 The man of capital is not afraid to
- plunge 27 A fallen star
- 28 May mean a good deal

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 56

ACROSS:-1 GNASH; 4 AUK; 6 MINIM; 9 MATINEE; 10 ENRAGED; 11 NICKEL; 14 TENETS; 15 RECOVER; 16 NOES; 17 STUD; MO ORATORS; 20 PETE; 22 RAIN; 24 DECAYED; 26 FODDER; 27 RAVENS; 31 EJECTOR; 32 CHARING; 33 OTTER; 34 TON; 35 ENACT.

DOWN:—1 GAMIN; 2 ARTICLE: 3 HUNGER; 4 AYES; 5 KEEN; 6 MURDER; 7 NEGLECT; 8 MIDAS; 12 LEARNER; 13 POSTMAN; 14 TERRIER; 16 NAP; 18 DIN; 21 TIDIEST; 23 AMERICA; 24 DEBTOR; 25 DAMAGE; 26 FUEGO; 28 SIGHT; 29 WRIT; 30 SCAN.

why it is necessary to arrive at these boundaries.

While on the subject of preventing a "soft" peace for Germany a word of warning might be given about pleas for a "just" peace emanating from the Vat-

We must all do everything in our power to stamp out this German brutality and its menace to humanity.

HAROLD C. CLAUSEN Pittsburgh, Pa., February 13

#### Hell-bent for Reaction

Dear Sirs: I. F. Stone's article in your issue of March 4 is one of the finest things I have ever read. But in a country hell-bent for reaction it will hardly be enough to turn the tide.

One can see why the "big boys" are leading on with the very measures that are going to enrich and help them at every turn, but just why the vast numbers of the middle class and even many of the workers subscribe to the things that will prove their own destruction God only knows; I don't.

I am fearful that it will take far less than ten years to prove how eminently right Mr. Stone is today.

J. G. MASTERS Smethport, Pa., March 5

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VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 1, 1944

NUMBER 14

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

### The Shape of Things

AMERICAN LISTENERS WHO HAD NOT BEEN following British politics must have found the second half of Mr. Churchill's Sunday radio talk rather puzzling. After presenting one of his usual sweeping surveys of the war, he suddenly switched to the domestic front. In a bitter attack he castigated critics who, he said, were demanding complete solutions of all post-war problems. Clearly, this reflects the groundswell of opposition in Britain which has recently overwhelmed several government nominees at by-elections. The form of Mr. Churchill's counter-attack indicated his awareness of popular insistence on a new and different Britain after the war. He claimed that, while the war always came first, the government had not been negligent in social planning. He pointed to the Education and Health bills now before Parliament and promised a comprehensive socialsecurity measure in the near future. Finally he outlined a large scheme of public housing and probably startled some of our economic royalists by his reminder that the British government had power to take all land needed for state purposes at its 1939 valuation.

THE SENATE WENT ON A RAMPAGE LAST week, sending the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill back to the House festooned with amendments of a legislative nature entirely out of place in a money bill. One of these was a triumph for Senator McKellar of Tennessee, who has long been conducting a spite attack on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Originally he had attached sixteen amendments to this bill, all aimed at T. V. A., but strong opposition compelled him to drop all but one. However, the sixteenth, which provides that T. V. A. must come to Congress for all operating expenses instead of using its receipts as a revolving fund, threatens to bind with red tape a most efficient and useful agency. Friends of public power put up a good fight against this amendment. But amazingly, another McKellar proposal—to compel Senatorial confirmation of all government employees earning more than \$4,500 a year -was approved without debate. Clearly it will be impossible for the Senate to give proper consideration to the thousands of appointments involved, and the result will be interminable delays, "trading" in jobs, and a vast increase in the value of Senatorial patronage. A third amendment, sponsored by Senator Russell of Georgia, who said it was aimed at "bureaucracy," abolished all Presidentially created agencies which have functioned for wear unless Congress makes specific appropriations to maintain them. In this case the intended victims are such bodies as the Fair Employment Practices Committee. These amendments now go to the House, which we hope will reject them as political in the worst sense.

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A PLAN FOR LIMITING PRICE CONTROL TO some forty-five essential commodities is reported to be receiving serious consideration in the Senate Banking Committee. Republicans supporting the proposal argue that there can be no justification for controlling prices on items for which there is no critical need. Actually, an acceptance of the plan would not only imperil the entire stabilization program but play havoc with the production of essential civilian commodities. Inflation, as the President has repeatedly pointed out, must be controlled on every front if it is to be successfully controlled at all. A creeping inflation in non-critical items would create additional buying power which ultimately would swamp all efforts to hold down the prices of essential items. But that is not the worst of it. An increase in the prices of luxury items would inevitably divert labor and capital from the production of essentials into the luxury trades, thus causing shortages of the price-controlled items and surpluses in non-essentials. While it is true that this shift could be limited in part by the WPB and WMC through a system of priorities, experience has shown that direct control, particularly of man-power, is much less effective and arouses much more opposition than over-all price-stabilization.

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THE JAPANESE DRIVE INTO INDIA IS NOT generally regarded as a major operation. But it has both military and political aspects that are frankly disturbing. Important military results can be achieved only if the Japanese succeed in pushing beyond Imphal to cut the supply lines feeding General Stilwell's remarkably successful offensive in North Burma. In view of the mountain terrain, this objective will be difficult to attain. Indeed, it is quite probable that the Japanese have no intention of pushing beyond Imphal at this time, when the rainy season is approaching. But even this limited gain may have important political repercussions. Premier Tojo's announcement that the Indian nationalist, Subhas Chandra Bose, is accompanying the Japanese troops, indicates that Tokyo intends to set up a puppet Indian state on whatever territory is wrested from the British. The Japanese apparently believe that the establishment of a "free India," even on a small scale, will provoke serious disturbances within India, which, at the very least, will have the effect of hampering Allied offensive plans. They have been encouraged in this belief by a series of anti-British and anti-American speeches in the Indian Legislative Assembly, now in session. Although the possibility of widespread disturbances in support of the Japanese is discounted in the heavily censored dispatches that reach this country from India, the danger is probably greater than is admitted.

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AUTHENTIC INFORMATION FROM INSIDE India is scarce nowadays. It is difficult to find out how Indians feel or what they are doing. But apparently, in common with people in many other countries, they are working on post-war plans. A commission consisting of India's biggest business men has worked out a Fifteen-Year Plan of economic development involving an expenditure of thirty billion dollars. Among the members of the commission are Mr. J. R. D. Tata, the head of India's largest steel corporation, G. Birla, the textile magnate, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Dr. John Mattai, and many others. Mr. Tata, a thirty-eight-year-old Parsi, has made himself the spokesman of the plan. Most of the money is to be Indian money. The immediate goals contemplated are a 130 per cent increase in the output of agriculture, and a 500 per cent increase in industrial income. "Food, clothing, schooling for everybody up to the fifth form, and a dispensary with one doctor and two nurses in each village" is the fifteen-year aim. Food exports are to be discouraged. In launching it, the commission stated that "the underlying assumption of the scheme is that shortly after the war, India will have a national government with full freedom in economic matters and that the economic unity of the country shall be maintained on a federal basis." The plan has been submitted to the British government of India.

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ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES WILL SOON be going into a huddle with Britain and Russia on postwar international aviation, it does not yet seem to have a policy of its own. Among other questions still to be decided is whether American overseas air services are to be organized on a monopolistic or on a competitive basis. This is a very burning topic indeed in air-transport circles. Sixteen of the seventeen domestic air lines, nearly all of which have been gaining experience of international flying during the war, are insisting on competition and their right to expand internationally. They are therefore up in arms about a bill, introduced by Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, creating a "billion-dollar All-American Flag Line," which, he says, "must and shall be the leading air carrier . . . throughout the world." The line would operate under a federal charter but would be a privately owned corporation in which the domestic air lines would be allowed to participate along with the existing foreign services. This is essentially the plan of Pan-American Airways, which up to the beginning of the war enjoyed a de facto monopoly and would now like to have its position legalized. Other major powers, the argument for this policy runs, have and will continue to have one "chosen instrument" to represent their interests in international air transport. Thus, by dissipating American strength among a number of competing companies, we shall severely handicap ourselves in bargaining for reciprocal rights. Pan-American is willing to give the domestic lines a stake in its operations; it is even willing to allow the government a minority interest. But if there is to be a monopoly of this business, which is so intimately connected with foreign policy, the real issue to be decided is whether it can be safely intrusted to a private corporation organized for profit.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR TOOK A NEW turn last week when the booksellers of abolitionist Boston stopped the sale of a book written by a Southerner who believes in racial equality. Censorship in Boston also took a new turn, for the sale of "Strange Fruit," the book in question, was banned not officially by the police but unofficially by the Boston Board of Retail Book Merchants. The all-too-voluntary action of these timid souls occurred, however, shortly after Police Commissioner Thomas F. Sullivan "scanned a copy"-presumably in the usual fashion of policemen turned criticsand indicated a few "objectionable" passages. The booksellers then told the publishers, Reynal and Hitchcock, that if certain "minor changes" were made the book might be dispensed even in Boston. At this point, we are glad to say, somebody stood up straight. The publishers, after consultation with the author, stated that they have no intention whatsoever of making any changes. We don't imagine many residents of Boston will be prevented from reading "Strange Fruit"-and no doubt many will read it who wouldn't otherwise have been interested; but the serious fact remains that a book has been banned in such a manner that, as matters stand, it cannot have its day in court.

THE RESIGNATION OF RANDOLPH PAUL AS general counsel of the Treasury Department was perhaps inevitable in view of the harsh treatment accorded his tax programs in Congress. But there are few men in official life who more richly deserve the gratitude of the American people for intelligent and loyal public service. Although Mr. Paul never succeeded in persuading Congress to adopt a vigorous, all-out tax program based on the principle of equal sacrifice for all groups, he was successful in pushing through a much sounder program of war financing than this country had in World War I.

Furthermore, by constant struggle, he was able—almost single handed—to protect the American people from a regressive sales tax that would have placed the burden of the war even more completely on the lower-income groups. It is to be hoped that some time in the not too distant future a way will be found to apply his technical knowledge, honesty, and courage to the task of clearing away the fiscal wreckage caused by the two tax measures adopted by the present Congress.

### Hitler's Satellites

It IS much easier to join a criminal gang than to leave it. Quitters, as members of the Hitler outfit are discovering, are liable to be bumped off without ceremony. And apart from this penalty, genuine repentance requires renunciation of the loot which was the original inducement to sign up. Few gangsters are ready to carry reform to such lengths.

It is difficult, therefore, to take too seriously the peace bids, open or furtive, of the Nazi satellite states. True, most of them realize by now that they have backed a loser, but they are so caught up in Hitler's toils that they find it almost impossible to get free. Moreover, they all cling to the hope that somehow they may be able to hang on to the prizes which Hitler handed to them. Hungary, for instance, was very handsomely bribed before it joined the Axis. It received several big pieces of Czechoslovakia, more than half Transylvania, and some coveted corners of Yugoslavia. In short, its alliance with Hitler brought fulfilment of the Greater Hungary program which ever since the last war had been the sole stock in trade of successive governments dominated by the feudal landlords. No Hungarian government dependent on this class and committed to this policy can now voluntarily surrender the loot. That is why we strongly suspect Regent Horthy and his followers of faking, with German assistance, their much-publicized revolt last week. By presenting the German occupation of their country, obviously designed to strengthen the Carpathian defense line against the advancing Russians, as a coup which they vainly resisted, the Hungarian fascists hope to build up a record which will stand them in good stead at the peace table. By posing as victims of Hitler they hope to be allowed to keep some of their illicit gains and retain their power inside Hungary.

Rumania is in a more awkward spot than the Hungary, for it has been a victim as well as a beneficiary of the Axis. It was forced to yield to Hungary a large portion of Transylvania and to Bulgaria a piece of the Dobrudja. In return it was promised Bessarabia and a slice of the southern Ukraine, but it paid dearly in lives for the temporary conquest of these lands, from which its army is now ignominiously fleeing. It has nothing to gain and

much to lose by staying in the Nazi camp. Nevertheless, the current Rumanian peace feelers do not appear to be made in good faith,

The Rumanian emissary, Prince Barbu Stirbey, is being presented as an independent close to the royal family. But he could not have left Rumania without the approval of both the government and the Gestapo, for his visit to Cairo has been attended by a fanfare of publicity. The Prince is blessed with an English wife and close connections with the British interests which owned much of Rumania's oil before the war. Possibly his hope was to convince the British that Russian invasion of Rumania would be disastrous and to offer to surrender provided the country was occupied by Anglo-American troops. Since Britain and America are in no position to march into Rumania, the only reason for putting such terms forward would be to create bad blood between the Western Allies and Russia. This would explain why Stirbey's mission received a German blessing. Fortunately, the British seem to have referred the Prince to the Russians, and the question of armistice terms to the London European Advisory Commission, on which Russia is represented. According to Washington reports, the terms approved are unconditional surrender and Red Army occupation.

In any case, neither Hungary nor Rumania is in a position to surrender without German permission. They are in the front line of the defense system based on the Carpathians and the marshy country between the mouths of the Danube. And with German troops occupying key points and German officials running the police, the governments of these countries will continue to obey Berlin's orders. We can gain nothing by dickering with them, but we can capitalize the dismal failure of their pro-Axis policies by appealing to the workers and peasants to resist both their own collaborationist rulers and the Nazi invader.

### Dewey and the Small Investor

ONE will deny that stockholders' suits are subject to abuse, but the evils they involve must be weighed against the far greater corporate abuses from which they offer the small stockholder some slight protection. The Coudert-Mitchell bill passed in the closing hours of the New York legislature would so severely limit the bringing of such suits as to make the remedy available only to the large investor who usually has other means of safeguarding his interests. Under the Coudert-Mitchell bill, a stockholder must post a bond to cover costs unless he owns \$50,000 worth of stock or can get the support of 5 per cent of the shareholders. The bond

in many instances is likely to be beyond the means of a small stockholder and the task of obtaining the assent of 5 per cent of the shareholders is a difficult one, especially in a widely held corporation.

The bill also introduces the novel principle that a stockholder may not sue for acts committed by a corporation prior to the time when he bought his stock. Were larger and stronger interests involved, this would be attacked as an invasion of property rights. For acts committed long before stock is purchased may seriously affect the value of the securities, and the officials responsible may still be playing a dominant role in the corporation's affairs. It is important to remember that most corporations carry on their affairs in secrecy, providing only a grudging minimum of information to their ostensible "owners." Mismanagement or deliberate plunder of a corporation's assets may remain hidden for years, and may be unknown to the person buying its securities.

We regard the Coudert-Mitchell bill as worthy of national attention. New York is the home of many of our greatest corporations, and suits against their directors cannot be taken into the federal courts unless complete diversity of citizenship is shown. The Wall Street financial interests and corporation lawyers behind this bill may try to get a companion bill introduced in Congress changing the rules of the federal courts to apply similar restrictions to stockholders' suits. Finally, the bill, though a minor one, is a test of Governor Dewey's social outlook. He is being asked to veto the bill, and in making up his mind he will be making a choice between the interests of the small investor and the large corporation.

The laws of New York, by providing judicial supervision over settlements in stockholders' suits and the legal fees granted in them, already furnish considerable safeguards against "strike suits." Additional protection could be granted by permitting the SEC to intervene in stockholders' suits and to be heard on their settlement, as it has the right to be heard today on corporate reorganizations.

It is quite true, as stated in a report for the Chamber of Commerce of New York, that "the derivative action, as maintained by stockholders with a negligible interest in the recovery, is like the informers' action in that it intrusts the correction of general wrongs to litigation for profit." But the remedy is not to take steps which virtually eliminate suits by small stockholders and give corporations protection they do not deserve but to establish some more responsible and public means of correcting corporate abuses. Enactment of the Coudert-Mitchell bill would leave the directors of large corporations freer than they are today to abuse their position of trust in the management of other people's money. The stockholders' suit is little enough protection, and until some better substitute is provided should be left alone. We hope Governor Dewey will veto the bill.

### Total Insecurity

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TWO weeks ago in this page I discussed the "crisis I of confidence" that threatened to engulf the people of Britain and the United States in a wave of cynicism certain to dampen their fighting spirit. Nothing has happened since then to end the threat. Instead, under growing pressure, the leaders of the two countries have either evaded the great issues of policy involved or draped them in such cloudy folds of generalizations that even their contours were lost. Mr. Hull's contribution to the mystification of the people is ably discussed on the page following this one. Mr. Roosevelt, in the course of an otherwise excellent statement urging the free peoples of Europe and Asia to open their doors to the victims of oppression, interjected the suggestion that those persons who "have been going around asking bellhops whether the United States had a foreign policy" could find it right in that statement. This was the President at his worst. People are not asking bellhops about foreign policy; they are asking the President of the United States and his Secretary of State. And they are not getting anything out of them. Mr. Churchill quite correctly told the House of Commons that the Atlantic Charter should be clarified; but when he spoke on Sunday he said nothing about it or about the problems that have turned that set of pious principles into a burning issue.

But our leaders will have to pick this issue up be it ever so hot. Even the President, faced with a hostile Congress and an election campaign, will have to talk about foreign policy and war aims of this country. The people will not be put off with sarcastic flippancies. Men are dying, not only to defeat Hitler and Tojo, but to bring into being a world in which their sons will not have to die the same way. Such a world is not, it seems, emerging from the smoke of this war. Instead the only configurations we can make out look exactly like those of the world that plunged so steeply into the crater. Security through strategic boundaries; security through alliances; security through control of sources of raw materials in distant lands; security through bases; security through the creation of "strong" governments to prevent revolution-security of every unilateral variety, all adding up to total insecurity.

The Atlantic Charter does begin to look rather frayed. No wonder its friends want it either reinforced or altered to fit. I find myself, however, rather indifferent to its fate and I can trace that indifference to a cynicism which, however reprehensible, has existed ever since the document was framed. As Louis Fischer pointed out in his article on Germany two weeks ago, the Charter declared that the nations signing it would "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other," and that they desired to see

"no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." Why I never took this to be more than an honest aspiration, I don't know. Perhaps because the whole episode of the meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill at sea, and their dramatic proclamation of the eight-point program that afterwards came to be known as the Atlantic Charter, was so patently a political act rather than a sober consideration of war aims. It was an act staged with the one overpowering purpose of committing the United States to a more complete part in the struggle and, by publishing that commitment, of strengthening the resistance to Hitler in every corner of the globe. This does not mean that the Charter was cynically and disingenuously contrived; I have no doubt that it represented the best hopes and the genuine intentions of its authors. But it has always seemed to me foolish to regard it as a rigid formula to be applied categorically to the problems which will face the nations as they slowly fight their way out of the Nazi stranglehold.

What is needed, in my belief, is an understanding among the powers covering the very explicit issues which the war has washed up to their doors. The words used in the Atlantic Charter about annexations are not as important, for instance, as finding a solution for Eastern Poland which, first, satisfies the wishes of the greater part of its population, second, contributes to Russia's sense of security, and, third, outrages as little as possible the reasonable desires of Poland. Questions like these demand wisdom, flexibility, and above all confidence between the nations responsible for a decision. Since these factors are spectacularly lacking on all sides, it is inevitable that decisions should be made by individual powers according to their own ideas of national interest.

The Red Army is marking out the frontiers in Eastern Europe. The British and Americans are planning the future of France without consulting the National Committee of Liberation, and are making political decisions in Italy without consulting anyone. (It is of the greatest significance, if the report is correct, that Secretary Hull told the Republican Congressmen in his "off-the-record" talk last week that Russia's recognition of Badoglio was caused by the failure of Britain and the United States to keep Moscow informed of what they were doing in Italy.) Britain is troubled over our decision—also taken without consultation—to build a pipeline across Saudi Arabia. Britain feels, too, that its large and historic economic interests in the Argentine entitle it to some say in diplomatic dealings with that country's successive fascist governments. So the game of cross-purposes goes on.

It is this game that endangers the whole future. Somehow it must be stopped or no one of our baffled statesmen will be able to find an answer to the question rising higher, coming now from all sides, increasing in volume: What are we fighting for?

### Mr. Hull's Troubles

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 24

EORGE CREEL may be a poor propagandist, but he is a good prophet. In that ignominiously feeble essay in apologetics The War on Cordell Hull, in Collier's for March 11, Mr. Creel predicted that the drive against Hull "is only suspended . . . attacks will start again." The magazine was hardly off the stands before Mr. Hull was once more in hot water. A renewed wave of doubt and dissatisfaction has swept the press and Congress, but its source is quite different from that so luridly portrayed by Mr. Creel—"the ideologists, emotionalists, and fellow-travelers who . . . want him to import his policies from abroad."

In Mr. Creel's official portrait Mr. Hull appeared as a saintly and selfless fellow besieged by the yapping hounds of "the self-styled Liberal Front...led by Earl Browder." I dwell upon the picture not for the purpose of refutation but because of the light it throws on the thinking of Mr. Hull and some of his closest associates. It is difficult to expect current criticism of American foreign policy to be understood and met by people who take so simplistic, melodramatic, and self-pitying a view of their position.

As a matter of fact Earl Browder and the Daily Worker have given Mr. Hull their blessing, but the New York Herald Tribune continues to ask, "Have we a foreign policy?" The Washington Post sees a "diplomatic vacuum." The Wall Street Journal complains that while Mr. Hull "could evolve a statement that said what it meant . . . there was totally lacking any assurance that it would mean what it said." Even the New York Times is distressed, and Arthur Krock's best efforts still leave the case for Mr. Hull as nebulous as the Secretary's rambling tête-à-têtes with the journalistic faithful. The clair-voyant A. A. Berle himself, the Fouché of the State Department, collector of dark dossiers, can hardly detect a red plot in this all but unanimous criticism. Or can he?

The newspapers quoted are neither isolationist nor reactionary. They are conservative supporters of that policy of international cooperation to which Mr. Hull himself is pledged. And it is from men of similar mind in Congress that questioning comes. These sources, journalistic and Congressional, agree with Mr. Hull in principle. Almost everyone does, since the only declarations he permits himself go little beyond the broadest and most incontestable truisms of national interest, international morality, and minimum collective security. It is not quite fair, but also not too unfair, to say that Mr. Hull in the

sphere of international policy is like a candidate for office who has firmly indorsed motherhood and the home.

The nature of that "growing interest in the foreign policy of the United States" which Mr. Hull noted on his return from Florida was a growing sense of bewilderment as to just what the devil those principles mean in concrete situations. This in essence was the question put to him by the group of twenty-four Republican members of the House in the private letter which elicited Mr. Hull's Seventeen Points. But since these twenty-four are Republicans who have generally supported the Administration in foreign policy and who agree with the principles Mr. Hull has expressed in the past, it was no answer to their questions to repeat those same principles.

As this is being written, the puzzled twenty-four are meeting with Mr. Hull, and it may be that in the seclusion of his office he will get down to cases, but I doubt it. The Secretary of State met for two hours in executive session Wednesday with the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, which had similar questions to ask. He told his press conference yesterday that in that session he had gone into every subject, no matter how minor, covering American foreign policy. But the news leaking out of the Foreign Affairs Committee indicates that again he was general rather than specific. When pressed, Mr. Hull seems to have given the Senators in private much the same answer he gives the correspondents in public when concrete questions are asked: we must get on with the war.

Mr. Hull has neither the training nor the capacity for getting down to cases. He is a cautious and cagy Southern politician, elderly in mind as in body, and a man of limited interests. The newspapers picture him as a kind of outspoken old Tennessee mountaineer, but what the correspondents see and hear is a man with a lisp to whom the double-talk of the diplomatic communiqué is second nature. It is only in dealing with reciprocal trade agreements that he seems prepared to deal with the specific, to grapple with facts. On other matters, even within the department, his thinking seems instinctively to seek the comfortable featherbed of generalities.

When he needs to justify a policy, Mr. Hull seems to rely on two intellectual devices. One is the use of a set of moral truisms invoked when they serve his purpose or argument, like those cited in protest against Mexico's expropriation of the oil companies. The other, which he falls back upon when the disparity between his general principles and his concrete policies becomes too evident,

is an appeal to expediency. Before the war the expediency was defended on political grounds; since the war, on military. Thus in Mr. Creel's apologia Mr. Hull's prewar policies on Spain, Japan, etc., are defended on the ground that a stronger position would have been politically inexpedient, while critics of the policies on Vichy, Badoglio, Darlan, etc., are told again that these were dictated by military expediency.

The latter is a difficult argument to answer in war time when the facts are not fully known and political compromise may be justified; one can note only that it is almost always a rightist orientation rather than a popular one which is adopted and defended on those grounds. But the former raises questions which go to the heart of Mr. Hull's recurrent difficulties. To lay the blame for pre-war mistakes of policy on Mr. Hull would be nonsense; here as elsewhere the people themselves must bear major responsibility for the troubles which appeasement brought upon them. Are not leaders, however, under an obligation to risk the politically inexpedient when critical policies are being formed? Leadership consists in more than scenting which is the popular parade to follow. It is here that Mr. Hull is open to criticism. And one of the reasons why he fails to make policy clear, why he clings instead to generalities, is that now as in the past he is bent on evading the risks which are the obligations of leadership. Arthur Krock, defending Mr. Hull today, speaks of his difficulties in "discovering what will be acceptable to Congress." This is only half the task of a Secretary of State. The other half is making up his mind as to what is the right policy and using his influence to make that policy acceptable to Congress.

This is not to say that clear lines of policy are always possible, especially in time of war, or to deny that compromise is inseparable from effective politics, except in certain types of crises. The world military situation, as well as the coming elections, impose their necessities upon the Secretary of State and the State Department. But I think the average man understands this all too well from the comparable, if minor, "diplomatic problems" of his own existence, his adjustment to his family and his job. A little more frankness on the compromises, coupled with a clearer and more concrete picture of ultimate purposes, would go far to end the unrest among the supporters of the Administration's announced aims.

Perhaps my assumptions are too generous. I suspect that most of the compromises defended on the ground of expediency were entered into from policy rather than necessity. Has there ever been an indication, for example, that Mr. Hull found Franco hard to swallow? Or that he lamented the necessity of collaborating with undemocratic forces in Latin America? I also suspect that one reason our foreign policy isn't more concrete on particular matters is that there is no foreign

policy beyond a combination of generalities, a collection of prejudices, and a tendency to drift—and to drift, in the absence of countervailing forces, toward all that represents the old order in Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

### 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

T NOW APPEARS CERTAIN that an organized campaign will be launched to convert the French people to the idea of a fascist dictatorship.—April 4, 1934. . . . It is possible that those in France and elsewhere who have been so much afraid of any resort to force that they have capitulated to threats and yielded to blackmail may find themselves obliged to resort to force in much less favorable conditions. It is possible to precipitate war by being too much afraid of it.—ROBERT DELL, April 18, 1934.

FOUR SAINTS IN THREE ACTS" is a success because all its elements—the dialogue, the music, the pantomime, and the sparkling cellophane décor—go so well with one another while remaining totally irrelevant to life, logic, or common sense. It has been said on good authority that the pleasure of being mad is one which only madmen know, but by being insane in some elusively consistent fashion Miss Stein and her collaborators have opened that pleasure to the general public.—JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, April 4, 1934.

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD has signed its first contract for editorial workers through its Philadelphia chapter. As was expected, the first publisher daring to brave the frowns of his colleagues was J. David Stern, acting for the Philadelphia Record. He has agreed to a closed shop in his editorial rooms, the check-off system, adequate dismissal notices, a minimum-wage scale, a forty-hour five-day week, and an apprentice system.—April 18, 1934.

THE NRA is to be reorganized from top to bottom. Johnson has been carrying a load that would kill ten ordinary men. During negotiations over the threatened automobile strike he slept less than three hours a night for two weeks. Under the plan of reorganization most of his executive duties will be assumed by subordinates, and he will remain—as is proper—in a supervisory capacity.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, April 18, 1934.

POLICE CLUBBING of members of the Ohio Unemployed League in an eviction fight in Columbus on March 31 reveals the chaotic and shortsighted policies still pursued by local and national authorities toward the unemployed.—April 18, 1934.

THE SENATE'S ACCEPTANCE of Senator Nye's proposal for an investigation of the manufacture of munitions in the United States is most gratifying.—April 25, 1934.

THE WOODLAND CLUB invites the membership of couples sharing our ideals re. Nudism. (ADVT.)— April 25, 1934.

# Green Pastures for Fascists

BY SERGIO BAGU

T IS impossible to understand Argentina's turbulent political scene without a knowledge of the country's economic development during the past fifteen years. The wealth of the oligarchy which held power until 1916, and which recaptured it by force in 1930, was founded on agriculture and stock-raising. Exchange of products with European countries, especially with England, created the illusion that Argentina's economy could withstand any upheaval. About fifteen years ago light industry began to gather impetus, and in 1932 it embarked on a dizzying expansion. Though it received no help from an oligarchic regime, this industry, with its diversified types of production, was able to minimize in Argentina the effects of the world depression of 1929.

In 1937 the value of industrial production had become 39.6 per cent of the value of total production; agricultural products amounted to 35.8 per cent of the total and cattle products to 17.9 per cent. Industry was now the country's most important economic activity and was employing a very large number of people. Aided by European capital obtained before the present struggle, it entered on a period of prolonged if sometimes interrupted prosperity. The industrial proletariat multiplied, and the urban middle class increased enormously in both numbers and wealth. So far the landowning oligarchy has benefited by this prosperity, but ultimately it will be destroyed by the resulting economic and social transformation of the country.

#### THE OLIGARCHY IN POWER

The oligarchy which governed until 1916 was progressive and liberal, looking toward France for its ideas and procedures. The oligarchy which recaptured power in 1930 was avaricious and dictatorial; and it admired Mussolini. In 1932 Uriburu's dictatorship—the first after eighty years of constitutional government-gave way to General Justo's Presidency. This regime showed a surface respect for law and order, but was actually a semidictatorship based on fraud and violence. Its corrupt methods created an atmosphere of political immorality, and there were flagrant administrative scandals. Soon the "gilded youth" who had acclaimed Uriburu turned fascist and formed Argentina's first fascist party, the Civic Legion of Argentina. General Justo was supported by the Civic Legion and used it unofficially on numerous occasions to intimidate his democratic adversaries. He persecuted the workers' movement and by Machiavellian tactics managed to effect the disorganization of the country's largest democratic party, the Radical Civic Union.

General Justo paved the road to fascism with two innovations. First, the federal government was completely reorganized; thereafter, like the national economy, it was to operate for the benefit of the big capitalists and to the detriment of small business. Local autonomy was destroyed and a mass bureaucracy created. Second, the growth of militarism was fostered, chiefly through the creation of a Military Lyceum for boys from twelve to eighteen. Upon graduation from the Lyceum, students entered the Army or Navy School. Thus when they finished their training, at the age of twenty-two, they had passed ten formative years segregated from the civilian milieu. This system of education, combined with the privileges enjoyed by the army, created an anti-social military caste that admired Nazism and Fascism. When General Justo's regime came to an end in 1938, La Prensa, a leading newspaper of Buenos Aires, termed his administration the worst the country had ever endured.

#### BRITISH CAPITAL

During this entire period British capital played an unfortunate role. For many years British railway and tramway companies fought a losing war against motor and highway transportation, against Argentine labor, against Argentine and United States capital. During General Justo's Presidency a diplomatic mission headed by Vice-President Julio A. Roca was sent to London to iron out difficulties which the Ottawa empire pacts had created for Argentine cattle raisers. Shortly after the return of the Roca mission two bills were introduced into the Chamber of Deputies. One established a monopoly of national transport that favored English railway interests. The other established a monopoly of transportation in Buenos Aires that operated to the benefit of English, French, Belgian, and Spanish capital invested in street railways and subways. At about this time Lisandro de la Torre, the outstanding personality of the century in Argentine politics, denounced the oligarchy in the Senate for making illegal deals with certain English firms, among which were a number of packing houses. De la Torre's exposures aroused the entire nation. The director of an English packing house in Argentina tried to flee with the proofs of his guilt, but the Senate had him arrested in the halls of Congress. When turmoil in the Senate was at its height, Senator Enzo Bordabehere, while attempting to protect De la Torre from physical attack, was shot to death. Throughout this period of frenzied speculation and political immorality the oligarchy, with the complicity of British capital, was amassing fabulous wealth against the day of its inevitable decline.

Argentine fascism had its inception in this period; it was cradled in the mansions of the wealthy that line Quintana Avenue and in the offices of certain lawyers for English enterprises. Among its earliest theorists and leaders were Clodomiro Zavalía, a lawyer for the railways, and Juan P. Ramos and Alberto Uriburu, lawyers for the Argentine Electric Company, member of an international trust dominated by British capital. The fascists of that time were called "Nationalists," a term which is English rather than Argentinian in origin.

#### TRAJECTORY OF FASCISM

The Civic Legion disappeared, leaving behind it various small fascist organizations, and after a few years the so-called Nationalist movement became completely disrupted. During the Spanish civil war it supported Franco and always applauded Hitler and Mussolini. Its leaders counted on a military uprising to establish fascism in Argentina, but the uprising did not come, and its members gradually dispersed.

Later Hitler's impressive diplomatic victories gave new life to native fascists. They began to deny their connections with the oligarchy and with politicians friendly to English concerns. The "gilded youth" joined with some elements of the middle class and numerous army and navy men to organize fascist groups, secret "revolutionary" cells. Admiring Hitler, they sought to reconcile their political views with their militant Catholicism. They

began to circulate such slogans as "Down with political intrigue," "Down with oligarchic governments," "Down with political parties." They advocated the corporate state with a chief of state and no elections, obligatory Catholicism, rupture of relations with Britain and the United States, a n d unconditional friendship with Hitler Germany and Franco Spain.

The army and navy were flooded with Nazi propaganda, and government officials received numerous personal gifts from Hitler. Certain elements of the Catholic church actively aided

the movement by publishing such fascist newspapers as Sol y Luna, Crisol, Nueva Política, and Nuevo Orden. The Investigating Committee of Anti-Argentine Activities of the Chamber of Deputies disclosed in December, 1942, that Clarinada, an anti-Semitic and anti-Communist review, was published by the Divine Word congregation in Buenos Aires.

Fascism hoped to capitalize on the profound popular resentment against English business concerns in Argentina. The Buenos Aires Nazi dailies, El Pampero and Cabildo, carried on a violent campaign against the city transport monopoly. When war broke out, Nazism thought it had a golden opportunity to capture the masses. With Britain occupied by the conflict, why should not Argentina free itself from its humiliating semi-colonial position? But while at first the masses were anything but pro-British, once the Battle of Britain began, popular sentiment rallied ardently to the support of the Allies. Without relinquishing their antagonism toward British capital, which was impeding the country's normal development, the Argentine people became the most powerful group in Latin America on the side of the Allies.

#### THE COUP OF JUNE 4, 1943

At the close of 1942 the Battle of Stalingrad was the determining factor in Argentine internal politics. Enrique Ruiz Guiñazú, Minister of Foreign Affairs, confidentially told his friends that according to informed strategists in the Argentine army Hitler would take



Stalingrad before the end of the year, occupy Moscow soon afterward, and dictate peace from the Kremlin. The neutrality of the Castillo government was antagonistic toward the United States and benevolent toward Britain (its Minister of the Interior, Culaciatti, served as lawyer for powerful English interests), but at the same time looked toward a German victory. The fall of Stalingrad was expected to vindicate this policy.

But Stalingrad did not fall, and in consequence the oligarchy was completely disoriented, especially its representatives in the army and navy. During the early months of 1943 certain army officers, pro-Nazi until then, decided that it would be expedient to modify the country's foreign policy and to establish more friendly diplomatic relations with the United States. Among these men was General Pedro Pablo Ramírez, then Secretary of War. A Presidential election was to be held in September, 1943. The democratic parties had begun the arduous task of finding a common platform, and there seemed to be a definite possibility of a powerful popular movement that would force President Castillo to hold a fair election. It was clear to the militarists that the time had come for decisive measures.

Their first step was to prevent the masses, excited by the Soviet victories and the invasion of North Africa, from celebrating in the streets. Next they accepted subterranean overtures from the more conservative elements of the Radical Civic Union, hoping thereby to destroy the democratic-unity movement and further the candidacy of General Ramírez. President Castillo, however, who had his own candidate, the landowner Robustiano Patrón Costas, blocked this maneuver and forced the militarists to act immediately.

The coup d'état of June 4 was the result. The army officers who led it lacked n program and did not know what to do with their easy victory. They had a vague notion that the best course would be to imitate Getulio Vargas's corporate state and to adopt a policy of pan-American cooperation, During its first weeks in power the dictatorship courted fascists and anti-fascists alike, and in an attempt to enlist popular support even arrested several members of Castillo's Cabinet. But from the start it persecuted the Communists and the workers' organizations.

Civilian and military Nazi cells close to the government awaited their opportunity to take it over completely. That opportunity occurred at the end of August when Minister of Foreign Affairs Storni made his infamous request of the United States for armaments and machinery and was promptly rebuked by Secretary Hull. Early in October the dictatorship went completely fascist, counting on the support of the army and navy, organized fascist groups, and influential sectors of the Catholic church. In addition, it relied on the good-will of certain elements representing British capital and on the desperate

support of Nazi capital, now fleeing Europe en bloc.

Toward the close of 1943 the dictatorship undertook a program for the political and economic coordination of South America. A customs agreement was arranged with Chile, and immediately afterward a plot was organized to overthrow President Rios. The Paraguayan dictator was attracted by this program, and a plot was hatched with him to obtain power in Bolivia. But in all these schemes one factor was badly calculated—the patience of the United States State Department. When the origins of the plot against Bolivia were revealed, the fascist dictatorship was split. One group, led by Ramírez, wished to return to the earlier policy of imitating Getulio Vargas. Another, led by Perón, urged open defiance of the United States. First Ramírez triumphed and then Perón.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC FAILURE

To complete the picture it must be pointed out that the crisis has seemed to paralyze those who should stand most firmly at their posts, the democratic parties. Not one of them has been able to evolve a plan of action. The Progressive Democratic Party and the Socialist Party have played academic politics when they should have been more realistic and daring than the reactionaries. At first the Communist Party employed sectarian tactics but subsequently launched the idea of uniting all democratic forces; this idea was taken over by the Socialists in 1942. The Radical Civic Union has been in a state of decay for some time; the great party of the middle class, it had only a nebulous program, making a maximum of concessions to conservative ideas. It committed a major error when it failed to utter a single word of condemnation of the Ramírez government.

One radical group under the leadership of Amadeo Sabattini, former governor of Córdoba, supported neutrality during the Castillo regime and permitted dangerous contacts with Nazi elements. The Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Juventud Argentina, a small radical youth movement, has turned frankly to Nazism. Other groups within the radical movement engaged in the most questionable transactions during the critical years of the Justo and Castillo regimes. A similarly vacillating policy was pursued by a number of powerful labor organizations—the General Confederation of Labor, the Railway Union, and Fraternity. All have seemed incapable of taking the slightest defensive action against a reactionary government. Fortunately, the population as a whole is staunchly democratic.

The present dictatorship, like the Castillo government, has been able to achieve its objectives only because it has failed to encounter resistance from democratic political parties and workers' organizations. It has retreated, as did Castillo, every time its actions have aroused a forceful protest. Democracy has lost the first battle in Argentina more through the weakness of democratic organizations than through the strength of fascism.

# Brawl at the Officers' Club

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile

IN ONE month, from January 26 to February 24, Argentina went through three bloodless revolutions, and is now in a state of chaos. The naval officers are disgusted with the army officers, and the latter are divided among themselves. Probably neither General Ramírez nor Colonel Perón but some other officer in the Army Register will profit by the free-for-all unleashed by the cynical government that took power on June 4. The people observe these events as from a distance, knowing that they are all signs of decay and that there will be other acts before the drama is ended.

#### THE BREAK WITH THE AXIS

It has now been established that the break with the Axis was a bloodless revolution engineered by Ramírez against the United Officers Group (Grupo de Oficiales Unificados) led by Perón. In effect Ramírez was the G. O. U.'s prisoner, and just as when he was Minister of War under Castillo, he slyly awaited an opportunity to strike a blow from within. Suddenly it came. The Bolivian revolution was proved to have been instigated by the Argentine army men Perón, Gonzales, and Filipi, and Britain and the United States were annoyed. Both powers were on the verge of breaking off relations with Buenos Aires. Ramírez, a canny Creole, then decided to kill two birds with one stone. On January 26, after a brief struggle with the G.O.U., but with the support of General Gilbert, the Foreign Minister, and of Colonel Ramírez, the Chief of Police, he decreed the break with the Axis. Logically, Perón should have resigned at this point, but the Colonel too was a clever Creole, and he decided to await his moment.

Ramírez and Perón now entered on the second round of their struggle for power. In order to improve his position Perón strengthened his connections with the Young Officers group. He joined forces with Colonel Filomeno Velasco, leader of a group of dissatisfied captains and lieutenants, and with Commander Julio Lagos, an influential and turbulent aviation officer. (Velasco has just been made Chief of Police and Lagos Minister of the Post Office.)

A second revolution was scheduled for February 14. On that night 600 young officers led by Perón, Velasco, and Lagos entered Buenos Aires in cars to kidnap President Ramírez. By calling out a large number of police Colonel Ramírez thwarted the plot. His situation was so hazardous, however, that President Ramírez gave in and resigned. The plan to declare war was frustrated. Perón

had won round two. But Ramírez did not throw in the sponge. He retired to his corner till the next round.

The struggle for supreme power between the two parties was intensified. The contending forces may be divided into the following groups: (1) generals and colonels favoring the Allied cause, headed by General Rawson, who led the coup d'état of June 4, General Anaya, ex-Minister of Education, and several others; (2) officers who are adherents of Ramírez and who are led by General Gilbert, Colonel Ramírez, and Colonel Avalos, chief of the Campo de Mayo troops; (3) the G.O.U. group headed by Colonel Perón, who went recently from a cocktail party at the British embassy to a supper at the German House of Bayer; (4) the Young Officers group led by Colonel Filomeno Velasco, which demands fulfilment of the promises made on June 4: (5) a group of navy officers disgusted with the coup that forced the resignation of Admiral Sueyro, Minister of the Navy, because he was considered "not representative." (Their irritation was increased by the appointment of General Pistarini, famous for his mental limitations, as provisional Minister of the Navy-an army officer made head of the navy-until the post was assumed by Admiral Teisaire.)

In this confused situation Perón had excellent cards to play to further the discontent of the Young Officers. Ramírez's resignation, sent to the president of the Supreme Court, Dr. Repetto, was intercepted by members of the G. O. U., who realized that it would create international difficulties, and on February 24 Ramírez was forced at the point of a gun to "delegate power" to General Farrell on the pretext of illness. From this third revolution Perón again emerged as provisional victor.

#### FARRELL, THE PUPPET

Farrell's designation as President cannot be taken seriously. An old gaucho, excellent at strumming a guitar and singing ranch songs, he is completely lacking in political drive. As an infantry officer he spent some time in Italy and returned an expert on mountain fighting. He is known to be sympathetic to Italian Fascism, but personally he is one of those amiable big men who are as clay in the hands of a powerful manipulator. In this case the power behind the throne is Colonel Perón.

As an admirer of Italian Fascism, Farrell is completely contemptuous of civilians. He believes that Argentina needs a strong man and that it must keep out of the war. He was overheard defending neutrality at the Chilean embassy one day in the following terms: "The war?



Drawing by Quintanilla

Colonel Perón

Don't joke with me. Why should the Argentinians enter it? Travel through any country today and you will find shortages of cars, bread, sugar, butter—because they are at war. Here there are plenty of cars, butter, bread, meat, the best there is. Why should we lose all this? Neutrality is the best business in this war. Ideas? Don't make me laugh, they are all alike. Churchill and Roosevelt will have to learn from Hitler and Mussolini; they are following in their footsteps. They rule by force because that is the only method that works in this era."

That is the position of the new President. As for the G. O. U., which overthrew Ramírez and is led by Perón, its leading principle is opposition to a declaration of war on the Axis. Its members admire Nazism, and if Germany had not been losing the war, they would very possibly have succeeded in breaking off relations with the United Nations and thus creating a bridgehead for fascism in South America. The new elements that compose the Cabinet are rabid fascists, especially the leaders of the so-called "youth movement." The presence of Rear Admiral Scasso and of General von der Becke, Chief of Staff, are definite proof that dyed-in-the-wool Nazis are close to the helm.

#### THE YOUNG OFFICERS

What happened on February 24 was that Perón captured the new revolution unleashed against the ineptitude of the leaders of the June 4 coup (among these leaders had been both Ramírez and Perón himself). The latter's astuteness in making Ramírez the butt of all resentment for the failure to fulfil the leaders' promises has given Perón temporary dominance. But no one can say how long Farrell and Perón will last. The Young Officers, so called because they have not yet enjoyed the pleasures of power, are protesting because the objectives of June 4 still remain unrealized. They have sounded the slogan "Fight or Die," but all they have really done is march through the streets of Buenos Aires. They ask: What has happened to the decree lowering rents? What has happened to the dissolution of the Governing Councils? What has happened to all the bright banners of June 4, which for a while inflamed certain ingenuous sections of the population? These banners, they say, have been ignominiously lowered, and the Military Government is revealed as a heavy, bureaucratic mass that advances sluggishly, producing bruises and wounds instead of friends and fervor.

The Young Officers are determined that Argentina shall rapidly undergo organic reforms of a fascist nature. The protagonists in the coming struggle may, of course, shift, but at the moment any of the following events may be expected: (1) The Young Officers may make a second attempt to bring Velasco or Lagos to power and to overthrow both President Farrell and the G. O. U. (2) Perón may set up a frank and open dictatorship, supported by the G. O. U. (3) Ramírez, who would like a fourth round, and who would be supported by Colonel Avalos, chief of the Campo de Mayo garrison, and by many other army men, may attempt a come-back. (4) The Argentine navy, supported by pro-Allied elements in the army and air force, may overthrow the government and hand over the power to the president of the Supreme Court, who would call an election immedi-

One of these four possibilities will surely come to pass, for the present situation cannot last. With its political parties dissolved, its press censored, its jails jammed with prisoners, and its militarists completely arrogant, Argentina is passing through one of the darkest stages in its history. But there are imponderable, invincible factors that will ultimately destroy the guilty. The people of Argentina will have their revenge.

Their feelings can be indicated by a brief anecdote. Not long ago a group of militarist ministers arrived at a crowded horse show in an open carriage and made the circuit of the track before crowded galleries. The public maintained a discreet silence. A little later the empty carriage went around the same course, before the same galleries, and the public broke out in a deafening ovation.

# Why Stalin Acts That Way

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

HINGS have now come to a pass where foreign observers in Moscow—diplomats and correspondents alike—open their morning Pravda with breathless anxiety, expecting some new shock. Of late they have had a good many. There was the recognition of the Badoglio regime, for instance, just about the last thing anyone would have expected from the Soviet government. Earlier there had been the Cairo peace-scare story, the bewildering Pravda attack on Wendell Willkie, and many other irritating incidents.

Let's get one thing straight. The riddle of Soviet foreign policy, if it is a riddle, does not lie in its basic aims and concepts. These have been repeatedly set forth in Stalin's speeches and in the Soviet press. The question What does Russia want? can be answered in two phrases—territorial integrity and security. Territorial integrity, to the Russians, means the status quo of June, 1941. In other words, Russia will certainly insist upon the annexation of eastern Poland, up to the Curzon line, and of the Baltic states, Bessarabia, and those parts of Finland that were acquired in 1940. Security means territorial guaranties against renewed aggression or foreign intervention, guaranties in the form of a cordon sanitaire in reverse, that is, an outer layer of friendly or partly controlled states along the Soviet boundaries.

No, the riddle is not in the things Russia wants but in the tactics it employs to obtain them. These tactics are, to say the least, disconcerting, and they have created the idea that the Kremlin is deliberately waging a war of nerves against its allies. Washington and London speak of a "needling diplomacy" and do not conceal their bewilderment at being thus treated by an ally.

What is behind this strange policy of constantly badgering one's friends? It is not easy to find a satisfactory answer, but I think the Soviet line of reasoning, reduced to its simplest elements, runs something like this: Our partners, America and Britain, have in many ways the edge on us. Britain has already a world empire and won't let any of it go if it can help it. The United States has reached its natural limits of geographical expansion and controls, in fact, the entire Western Hemisphere. We Russians are newcomers. We didn't have a chance under the czars; we were ostracized and quarantined after the revolution; we have been admitted to good society only in the last two years. And now that we have come at last, at an unheard-of cost in lives and goods, within sight of the things we believe to be rightfully ours, our worthy allies seem to have only one aim-to prevent us from

sharing the dominant position and high standards of life they have enjoyed. Every time we indicate that we want this or that, we get a sermon on the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and a solemn assurance that anything we do on our own initiative is "unilateral" and will not be "recognized." Well, we won't stand for it.

If memoranda, notes of protest, verbal representations, conferences, and other such accepted instruments of diplomacy could obtain results, and quickly, the Russians probably would resort to them. But since experience has taught them that he who demands or expostulates without being able to back up his arguments by force waits a long time, and in the end may achieve nothing, they have developed new diplomatic techniques of their own.

One of the most effective is the jolting technique. Its frequent use springs from the realization that the foreign policy of Washington and London moves in grooves furrowed by centuries of professional diplomacy. The Foreign Office, in particular, has developed a crusted routine. Great respect is felt for the conventional approach. Tradition reigns supreme, nicely balanced with precedents and taboos. Time is no object. Russia, politically a young nation, is exasperated by the cautious, noncommittal approach to burning problems which is so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon diplomacy. It wants things done quickly, issues settled quickly. Having discovered that a ten-line story in Pravda produces a greater effect than ten pouches filled with diplomatic notes, it adopts the principle that what moves in grooves must be jolted out of them.

Another favorite technique of the Russians is mystification. It consists in keeping everybody guessing about their real purpose, and then suddenly flashlighting the obscurity with a startling move. This technique has one certain merit: it keeps the world hanging on the words and deeds of the Kremlin. Countries, like individuals, enjoy being the focus of attention.

Then there is the use of the "Finnish bath," which as all northerners know has a most stimulating effect. The Finnish bath is characterized by sudden shifts from hot to cold. One moment our diplomats are warmed by ardent protestations of friendship from the Kremlin; the next they find themselves under an ice-cold shower. Very healthy, if you are used to it, but if you aren't—.

Perhaps the most disturbing of Russia's habits is that of periodically slapping down its friends. As Pravda's

comment on Wendell Willkie has shown, no friend of the Soviet Union, however prominent, sympathetic, or sincere, is ever safe from suddenly being jumped upon by some official Soviet scribe. The provocation may be trivial or entirely lacking. This sort of thing is almost incomprehensible to the Western mind, which is wont to think in terms of "How to Win Friends and Influence People." The simple truth is that the Soviets are no more eager to make friends than they are afraid to make enemies.

We must also take into account Stalin's peculiar sense of humor, which he shares with several other top-rank Soviet leaders. In a rustic and somewhat boyish fashion the Russians love to play pranks and practical jokes on their dignified allies. With the same sure instinct for hilarious effect that prompts a schoolboy to stick pins in teacher's seat or that makes Abbott crush a cream pie in Costello's face, the Soviet diplomat will pull the chair from under his ally's coat-tails just as they sit down to talk over common interests. Next to the spectacle of Hitler on the run, nothing amuses the Russian public more than the sight of a crumpled stuffed shirt or of a pair of striped pants dangling helplessly in the air.

Our reaction to these capers has not been very helpful to us in the past—or rather it has been a great help to our facetious ally. Usually we wrap ourselves in our wounded dignity and soberly protest that such behavior must "depress every friend of Russia in the two democracies." We get up, dust off our striped trousers, and solemnly assure the guffawing Russians that this latest prank of theirs will have "anything but a wholesome effect upon public opinion in the United States and Great Britain." And when we have fully recovered, we sit down and write an open letter to a good friend in Moscow asking him whether he "cannot explain to some of his associates the importance of not doing these things."

How else can we defend ourselves against such antics? In the first place, obviously, by taking care not to expose ourselves to them. We should be constantly on guard against the Kremlin's odd penchant for surprise moves and practical jokes, never take anything for granted, always look out for the next shock, and by anticipating it lessen its effect. Secondly, we should display more sangfroid, and more pride. Why should we let every Pravda story throw us into a dither? Why quote every hostile editorial in War and the Working Class in full and thus make the editors of that bellicose sheet feel ever more important?

The Russians have a healthy respect for might. They are full of admiration for the technical achievements of the United States. They want to be friends with us. And they want to bargain. Let us be firm in essential matters, generous where concessions are possible, and good-humoredly indifferent to their pranks.

### In the Wind

TYPICAL QUOTE from "Political Christianity for the Republican Party," a booklet sponsored by the Christian Democratic Corporation, Washington, and distributed by The Christocrats, Detroit: "In view of our magnificent past, whatever could have led the misguided Anti-Christs to believe that they could seize control of our government -as they have done through their control of the Democratic Party-and through this illegal control of our government, attempt to make us their dupes? All the Machiavellian conniving and machinations of the Anti-Christs, and their miserable political stooges, cannot delay for even a moment the Republican Party's on-rushing Rendezvous with Destiny-which is to again, for the third time, unmask and strike down the evil forces which have plotted to destroy Democracy and erase Christianity from the hearts and minds of mankind."

HAROLD W. HIRTH of Milwaukee, in an address to the Minnesota Retail Hardware Association, called on the assembled merchants to give preference to discharged soldiers in their post-war hiring, because the soldiers have learned the value of discipline: "They will do what they are told to do and when they are told to do it without question."

THOUGH the Communist press is saying sweet things about big business these days, the big-business press is not interested. The March 18 issue of Business Week admits that employers who deal with Communist-dominated unions "now have the most peaceful labor relations in industry," but in the same article gives its blessing to James G. Thimmes, new head of the California C. I. O. Council, whose chief virtue in its eyes is his long record of opposition to Communist elements.

THE OPA Consumer Advisory Committee includes no housewives.

ON JUNE 13, 1942, an item in this column referred to Dr. Robert Hercod, general secretary of the International Bureau Against Alcoholism, Lausanne, Switzerland, as "Robert Herrod, a Swiss Nazi." Because of the interruption of postal service between the United States and Switzerland by the war, Mr. Hercod did not see the item until recently. The Nation is happy to report, on the authority of the Swiss consul general in New York, that Mr. Hercod's name is spelled with a c and that he is not a Nazi. Our apologies to him.

FESTUNG EUROPA: At Hucorgne, Belgium, patriots seized the station master, whom they knew to be a Gestapo informer, cut off his mustache, and shaved a swastika out of his hair.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Nazis Under Twenty-one

BY KARL O. PAETEL

HEN we contemplate the vast structure of laws and ideological directives by which the youth of the Third Reich have been pressed into a single educational mold, we can easily believe that all German youth, as the Nazis assert, have been made into fanatical National Socialists. But the facts are not quite so simple as that.

Originally, in its "fighting years," the National Socialist Party enlisted boys in its Storm Troops. At present the Storm Troops are little more than a "reserve" of militant party members, and the indoctrination of youth is in the hands of the Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth). Outside of Germany one hears two completely opposing views of the temper of these young people. One is that they are already in open rebellion against the hard work and poor food in the camps, that they have succumbed either to war weariness or to the influence of a powerful underground movement. The other is that they are barbaric young Huns who denounce their parents to the authorities, rape schoolgirls, and kill people with their "marching daggers" just for fun, and who, as soldiers, consider sadism the whole meaning of life. Each of these views generalizes a single aspect of the situation and thus distorts it.

The young people who make up the Deutsches Jungvolk, the Bund Deutscher Mädchen, the Werk, Glaube, und Schönheit group, and finally the Hitlerjugend are not by any means all alike, though their uniforms tend to make them look that way. Having been caught in the Nazi educational system at many different ages, they react in different ways to the tenets of the state and party bureaucracy. Moreover, the group of aggressive National Socialists who composed the Hitlerjugend, the N. S. Studentenbund, and the Storm Troops before Hitler came to power provided only a fraction of the "Führer material" needed for the task of German youth leadership, and it was necessary to recruit leaders from the many other youth groups that flourished before 1933. Obviously the new leaders, who entered the Hitlerjugend after the dissolution of all other groups, brought with them more or less clearly defined sets of beliefs which varied from official Nazi doctrine. It is true that those who tried to do "party work" for groups with other beliefs were soon excluded from the new organizations; for a time they had considerable influence in the Deutsches Jungvolk. There can be no doubt, however, that among the older generation of youth leaders, including teachers and Hitlerjugend functionaries, the militant National Socialists are a minority, albeit a very active minority. The others, though most of them are of course "loyal" to National Socialism, have a somewhat different spiritual attitude owing to earlier connections with religious, proletarian, or youth organizations.

No such conditioning has been experienced by the younger generation, who at the time of Hitler's accession to power were ten to fourteen years old. Their introduction to Nazi education and the new Weltanschauung through membership in the Hitlerjugend was an ecstatic and challenging entry into a new way of life. Having known nothing with which to compare National Socialism, most of them were swept off their feet by the Nazi idea. It is indisputable that a great many of these young people, who have never known any life except the fellowship of camps and marching, have participated in it with an exalted sense of devotion—though there are many bleating opportunists among them-and today ask nothing more than to be Hitler's warriors. It may be assumed that as these age groups are taken into the army they maintain the same attitude.

German young people have always been highly organized. In the time of the Weimar Republic some 4,500,000 boys and girls under twenty-one belonged to organizations affiliated with the National Board of German Youth Associations. Approximately 10 per cent of the total membership belonged to twenty youth groups conducted by Protestant religious denominations; about 20 per cent belonged to ten Catholic groups; the various Socialist political organizations had youth divisions with about 400,000 members, a little less than 10 per cent of the total, not counting the Communist youth groups, which were not affiliated with the National Board. Twelve organizations run by the trade unions included another 10 per cent, and eight large athletic associations 35 per cent. Another 2 per cent were divided among twenty-eight autonomous youth leagues, 12 per cent belonged to the National Civil Youth (a generic term covering such organizations as the Union of Germans in Foreign Countries, the Young Germany League, etc.), and 1 per cent to organizations connected with political parties of the right and center. There were also a number

of political groups not affiliated with the National Board, such as the Wehrbund, the Junior Black-Redand-Gold Banner, the Red Youth Front, the Junior Scharnhorst Society, a few Jewish clubs—and the Hitler Youth

If we allow on the one hand for some duplication caused by overlapping memberships, and on the other for the probability that some organizations existed which were not included in this reckoning, it appears that before Hitler came to power a round 5,000,000 German youth were organized in 120 large and countless small groups.

All that is now fundamentally changed. In an address to the Hitlerjugend in 1934 Hitler stated his purpose clearly: "It is important to bring every member of the new generation under the spell of National Socialism, in order that they may never be spiritually seduced by any of the old generation."

The National Socialist Party rode to power on the shoulders of politically active youth, and it wants to have the unequivocal loyalty of the rising generation. Grammar school, high school, Arbeitsdienst, Landjahr, Storm Troops, and Elite Guards, all these, like the educational work in the army, are merely the systematic completion of the education begun in the Hitlerjugend, whose purpose is to create members for the ruling party.

In 1933, after the "revolution," the Hitlerjugend absorbed all the organizations affiliated with the National Board. The left groups completely disappeared; from the evangelical and Catholic groups the Hitlerjugend got some 3,000,000 members; after the promulgation on December 1, 1933, of a decree requiring all young people to join, without exception, its membership rose to 7,000,000. The Anschluss of Austria added 700,000 and the absorption of the Sudeten Germans another 300,000, bringing the total to 8,000,000. By the outbreak of the war the membership had grown to 11,000,000 in Germany proper, 1,100,000 in Austria, and 550,000 in the Sudetenland. In addition, there are many boys in the army, the Landjahr, and the Arbeitsdienst who are not formally members of the Hitlerjugend. These amount to 4,000,000 in Germany, 400,000 in Austria, and 200,-000 in the Sudetenland.

Thus of the 25,000,000 persons under twenty-one years of age in Greater Germany (22,000,000 in Germany proper, 2,200,000 in Austria, 1,100,000 in the Sudetenland), some 8,000,000 are in the Hitlerjugend, 4,600,000 in the armed forces and the various labor services, and 12,650,000 will become members when they are old enough. There is no schoolboy, no apprentice, no college student in Germany who is not a member of some National Socialist youth organization. There is no young people's religious or athletic group which is not affiliated with—and dependent upon—the Nazi Party's

Youth Division. Education, from the first grade through the graduate seminar, is oriented to the "spirit of National Socialism"—"Lead, Führer; we will follow." There is no other educational purpose or direction in the Third Reich.

It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that the fruits of this educational system are not exactly what was expected. Correspondents are reporting more and more frequently that young German prisoners of war are "fed up" with the National Socialist idea. The manifesto issued by the Munich students last year, for which about twenty of them were executed, was a clear indication that a rebellious, idealistic spirit, a vague, unpolitical yearning for freedom, is beginning to stir in the breasts of German students.

I remember a conversation I had with a young German, a group leader in the Hitlerjugend in his first year at the university, a month before the outbreak of war. With regard to the war which he fully expected to come he said this: "At first it will be impossible to do anything, because everyone will be cooperating. But after a while, when we have lain in the mud and filth long enough, and the fatigue and hardship and danger have destroyed the first illusion, then we can begin to talk with others and show them that they have no interest in Hitler's war."

This attitude, once found only in isolated individuals, has become widespread. Consider this protest, which has been passed from hand to hand in Germany by young soldiers:

I look at my buddy. His uniform, hands, face, speech, thought grow more and more like the earth. I see a young man being transformed into a dumb creature, without name, age, or personality. Sleep, something hot to eat, cigarettes, obedience, waiting—that is his life. Once he scratched some words on the wall with his thumb-nail—"Father, Mother." Was it mere aimless scrawling to kill time? Or was it something more—one last effort to keep his identity from being obliterated?

[Part II of this article, the third of a series on Germany to be published by the Political War Section, will appear next week. In it Mr. Paetel will discuss the factors which may influence German youth to accept democracy and the role youth will play in the reconstruction of Europe.]

#### German Efficiency

JAEREN, Norway, was a prosperous chicken-farming center in 1940. Then the Nazis came. They killed and ate 90 per cent of the chickens and made no provision for replacing them. But the situation has its brighter side. The empty hen-houses are now being used as school buildings by the children of Jaeren, whose former schools are now barracks for Nazi troops.

## Behind the Enemy Line

A FTER several years of war, administrative procedure in every country becomes a fixed routine. It is changed, even in details, only when there is some special reason for a change.

What was the special reason for the decree, issued on February 28, which suddenly, in the fifth year of war, ordered that a photograph must be attached to the identification papers of every German soldier? "The decree provides," said the German News Bureau in making the announcement, "that hereafter soldiers' pay-books will be regarded as identification only if they contain the owner's half-length photograph, without headgear, affixed to the front inside cover. The photograph must be stamped with the designation of the soldier's unit. Below it the bearer must sign his name with his own hand."

This innovation, which requires that some ten million photographs be procured immediately, admits of but one explanation: military identification papers are being misused. A considerable number of soldiers—real or bogus—must have been going around under false names and with someone else's papers. The conditions that led to the decree are indicated in a dispatch printed in the St. Galler Tagblatt on March 11:

The number of German soldiers who do not return to the front after they have been on leave has risen so greatly during recent weeks that the military police have been reinforced. In the big cities there are already regular agencies that provide deserters with clothes, false papers, railway tickets, and so forth. Many are "going underground" in this fashion.

This column mentioned some months ago that civilians were "disappearing" in increasing numbers. For one reason or another—most probably because they have grounds to fear the Gestapo—they leave home one day and never return. What they do and how they eat without ration cards nobody knows. But six months ago it became known abroad that according to official estimates more than a hundred thousand Germans had disappeared. And since the devastating air raids the number is said to have greatly increased. Anyone who wishes to "vanish" starts a rumor that he has been killed by the bombardment; in most cases he is then not listed among persons sought by the police.

German propaganda depended for many months on the new secret weapon by which the English were to be paid back for their bombing of German cities. Not only the newspapers but all the big shots, including Goebbels himself, talked constantly and in the most concrete terms about the new weapon. It was "approaching completion in the factories." It was "undergoing its final tests." "The moment of retaliation was at hand." Even the Allied governments, as we know from two of Winston Churchill's speeches, believed there was some truth in the claims. The German people likewise believed it.

Some weeks ago the topic dropped out of German publicity without leaving a trace. Not a syllable is now uttered about it. But it has not been erased from the minds of the people. The wonder weapon, the Wunderwaffe, has become for them a bitter joke. In popular speech the word has been shortened to Wuwa, and Wuwa is the term currently applied to every announcement that is without foundation in fact—to optimistic attempts at consolation, phantasmagoria, extravagant promises. Radio commentators hand out Wuwa; the newspapers are "ten pfennigs" worth of Wuwa."

German propaganda seeks to divert the people's longing for peace into harmless channels by providing peace in fiction about the past. The most popular German film today is "Reise in die Vergangenheit" ("Journey into the Past"); and it was not mere chance that Carl Fröhlich of the UFA filmed the dusty old novel "Familie Buchholz." Dreams of the past have become a psychological necessity, especially for the depressed middle class. As a result the Weimar era, once deprecatingly called the Systemzeit, has acquired a golden glamour, and many conversations today revolve around the theme, "If in 1933 we had taken a different path—." (The St. Galler Tagblatt of March 11.)

That a German province should be ambitious to have its own "Institute of Racial Problems" is not especially astonishing. No words need be wasted on the founding of such an institute in the North Sea Gau of Weser-Ems. But one may wonder what purpose it serves. On this question District Leader Thiele, in a speech delivered at the official opening on March 2, made some surprising statements. The institute is to devote itself chiefly to the women. For unfortunately the women in this North Sea province seem to have a marked weakness for racially inferior foreigners-under the circumstances this can only mean for the imported workers. "It is to be feared," Herr Thiele said, "that important concepts, such as remaining aloof and guarding their folk purity, are losing their significance for some women." Basing his remarks on "copious experience," he pointed out "the dangers threatening the purity of our blood if the individual German does not realize that contacts with roreigners must be limited." This "most topical question," he said, "will be taken up by the new institute." And he was confident that under its influence women would again adopt the proper attitude. "That dignified reserve which has long been remarked in other parts of Greater Germany will soon be apparent also in our North Sea Gau, which seems at present much too unaware of the necessity for folk purity."

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### One Times One

1 x 1. By E. E. Cummings. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.

NE'S not half two. Its two are halves of one:" Mr. Cummings says. So 1 x 1 is a merging of two things in a "sunlight of oneness," "one thou"; and "beginning a whole verbal adventure," this onederful book is primarily a compliment to friendship.

It is a book of wisdom that knowledge cannot contradict; of mind that is heart because it is alive; of wealth that is nothing but joy. Its axioms are also inventions: "as yes is to if, love is to yes," for instance; and

all ignorance toboggans into know and trudges up to ignorance again:

Ignorance that has become know is to Mr. Cummings a monster; and nothing could say how valuable he is in slaying this "collective pseudobeast" in its "scienti

> fic land of supernod where freedom is compulsory and only man is god

It is useless to search in a book by E. E. Cummings for explanations, reasons, becauses, dead words, or dead ways. His poems, furthermore, are not encumbered with punctuation; you are expected to feel the commas and the periods. The dislocating of letters that are usually conjoined in a syllable or word is not a madness of the printer but impassioned feeling that hazards its life for the sake of emphasis. For E. E. Cummings, the parts of speech are living creatures that alter and grow. Disliking "all dull nouns," he concocts new ones that are phenomena of courage and mobility. Nouns become adjectives; and adverbs, adjectives. His hero and "there's nothing as something as one."

"I am abnormally fond of that precision which creates movement," he says, and we see how a sensibility of crystalline explicitness can achieve without using the word me poem about me kite that is resplendent art:

> o by the by has anybody seen little you-i who stood on a green hill and threw his wish at blue

with a swoop and a dart out flew his wish (it dived like a fish but it climbed like a dream) throbbing like a heart singing like a flame

blue took it my far beyond far and high beyond high bluer took it your but bluest took it our away beyond where what a wonderful thing is the end of a string (murmurs little you-i as the hill becomes nil) and will somebody tell me why people let go

The ambidextrous compactness of the Joyce pun is one of poetry's best weapons and is instinctive with E. E. Cummings, as where he tells how nonentity and "the general menedgerr" "smokéd a robert burns cigerr to the god of things like they err." The word "huge" in this book, and certain lines, for example, you "whose moving is more april than the year," remind one of earlier work by E. E. Cummings. If, however, one's individuality was not a mistake from the first, it should not be a crime to maintain it; and there are here poems that have a fortified expressiveness beyond any earlier best love poem's. Like that painting in the Cummings exhibition at the American-British Art Center entitled Paris Roofs, rue de la Bucherie, Poem XXXIX, containing the line "Swoop (shrill collective myth) into thy grave," is as positive as a zebra and as tender as the new moon.

This is the E. E. Cummings book of masterpieces. It will provoke imitations, but mastery is inimitable-such as we have in "the apples are (yes they're gravensteins)"; in "plato told him:" and in "what if a much of a which of a wind." Indeed, in all the rest; for endeavoring to choose, there is nothing to omit. Nothing? The reader who is so childish as to hope that a book of wonders could be wonderful throughout will encounter obscenity and be disheartened. Obscenity as a protest is better than obscenity as praise, but there isbetween the mechanics of power in a spark of feeling and the mechanics of power in a speck of obscenity—an ocean of difference, and it does not seem sagacious of either to mistake itself for the other. But ignoring indignities-if one may ask admiration consciously to ignore and unconsciously to admire—this writing is an apex of positiveness and of indivisible, undismemberable joy. It is a thing of furious nuclear integrities; it need not argue with hate and fear because it has annihilated them; "everybody never breathed quite so many kinds of yes)." When it appears to ask question-

> i've come to ask you if there isn't a new moon outside your window saying if that's all, just if

-it has the answer to life's riddle. It is reiterating:

death, as men call him, ends what they call men
—but beauty is more now than dying's when

The paintings "have the purities of mushrooms blooming in darkness," says Mr. McBride, throwing light on the poetry's secret of beatitude, for poetry is a flowering and its truth is "a cry of a whole of a soul," not dogma; it is a positiveness that is joy, that we have in birdsongs and should have in ourselves; it is a "cry of alive with a trill like until" and is a poet's secret, "for his joy is more than joy." Defined by this book in what it says of life in general, "such was a poet and shall be and is"

MARMANNE MOORE

#### The Soviet Army

THE RED ARMY, By I. Minz. International Publishers. \$2.
THE RUSSIAN ARMY. By Walter Kerr. Alfred A. Knopf.
\$2.75.

THE GROWTH OF THE RED ARMY. By D. Fedotoff White. Princeton University Press. \$3.75.

PROFESSOR MINZ'S book, which on its first page refers to the Germans as having occupied "a large part of France," can surely be of little service to those for whom it was intended, while for those seriously interested in the history, growth, and organization of the Red Army it is worthless. The falsification of history which the official line involves must necessarily make nonsense of any account of the Red Army. The name of Trotsky appears only once, in the early part of the book, and then merely in connection with his "treachery" at Brest-Litovsk.

These sophistries would not necessarily rob the book of utility if the very great achievements of Stalin and his colleagues were placed in credible perspective. But even when a permissible truth appears, or when some resounding success flows directly from a decision of Stalin's, Professor Minz's report is mean and beggarly. For example: the first Five-Year Plan, by providing the Red Army with an industrial base and an enlarged proletariat, produced far-reaching changes in the Red Army. The opportunity is quite muffed, however. Elsewhere what the professor regards as history is a mere throwing together of frequently mendacious anecdotes, biographical scraps, and tags of propaganda, written down in a paltry style.

Mr. Kerr's book is a very different product. The author, formerly the New York Herald Tribune's correspondent in Russia, gives a simple and quite credible account of the present Red Army and its campaigns. There are no major revelations, and no pretensions, but there is a good deal of useful detail embodied in a lucid general account. What pieces of gossip and backstage news are included are extremely interesting in that they throw light on the larger realities. For the most part they confirm one's estimate that Russia has immense residual strength in spite of the enormous cost of the war. The strongest part of "The Russian Army," however, is the section, three chapters long, on the Battle of Stalingrad. One notes, by the way, that there are no views in Mr. Kerr's book which could imperil Professor Minz's orthodoxy. Yet presumably because he accepts reality as he finds it today and has, so far as his book goes, no political philosophy to consider, Kerr writes cleanly and with force and sympathetic warmth.

The perspectives, as well as the substance and the specific gravity, missing from Professor Minz's weary concoction are fully present in Fedotoff White's superb book. Together with Dr. Earle's two excellent chapters on Russian military doctrine in "Makers of Modern Strategy," it provides the best writing on the Red Army produced in years. Mr. White's book is a non-partisan and prodigiously documented study of the organizational processes of the Red Army. More particularly it is an account of the conflict and adaptation of groups within that army. It is not a history, Mr. White insists; yet there is no other book, I dare say, which throws one-

quarter of the candle power on the military problems of revolution. One may not give to the Kronstadt rebellion such a 'watershed' character as Mr. White does—though by finally driving the Spanish heavy-industry proletarian organizations into violent opposition to the Communist International it strengthened that Spanish anarchism which, according to the official view, cost Spain and the Soviets dearly later on. For Mr. White, who places a little too much reliance on the analytical powers of William Henry Chamberlin, Kronstadt marks the end of one phase and the beginning of another.

Once the white intervention was over, the essential factor in Russian life was the narrow social base of the Communist Party's rule and the resultant cleavage between the peasantry and the city workers and between large sections of those and the party. That Kronstadt as a single event had some consequences for Red Army organization is true. Trotsky, of course, has always been charged with "underestimating the role of the peasantry." Looking at the record as Mr. White sets it down, one sees that the Great Commissar not only opposed the extremist pretense that there was a specifically "proletarian" strategy and tactics-the Russian tactics at Stalingrad were orthodox, Mr. Kerr says-but realized that a military doctrine based on world revolution had little attraction for the Russian peasantry, who would make up the bulk of the army. Stalin, it would seem, held much the same view, and this view, one notes by universal consensus of reports, prevails in Moscow at present.

It is unfair to select for discussion isolated points from so rich and suggestive • book. Yet the temptation is irresistible, for the parts that excited this reviewer were those especially pertinent to well-known problems. Most interesting were the splendid chapters on the Impact of Industrialization and the solid effort entitled Toward the Greatest Army. Covering a part of this ground, a doctrinaire writer like Souvarine arrived at the flat conclusion that Stalin dared not arm the Russian people, and that they certainly would not defend his Russia. The facts have disproved that central Trotskyist idea. The process of building that army and the way the inner conflicts were resolved are brilliantly set down by Mr. White.

Mr. White's book once more brings us up sharply against the great and perhaps tragic either-or of political history as our idealist generation has lived it. To express the dilemma in military terms, we have been confronted with this choice: either the revolutionary democracy of the red militias, with all their inefficiency, or the dictatorially controlled regular army of the present Russian type, together with its colossal power. The antithesis has been oversimplified, of course, but we had always hoped that it was possible to organize an army that would combine efficiency with democracy, just as we had always believed, it seems vainly, that a strong revolutionary party could be built that would have no need of Minzian sophistication. It is on this point that the general reader will find Mr. White so profitable a companion. I constantly found myself illustrating Mr. White's points with my own memories of the evolution of the Spanish republican army during 1936-37. And constantly Mr. White's discussion sets my memories in more logical perspective. The Spanish army experienced similar crises of morale and doctrine,

### Shall empire survive?

WINSTON CHURCHILL: I did not become His Majesty's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

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There was the period of spontaneous heroism, the period of romantic yet pure revolutionism, with its extravagance and confusion; then followed the period of conscription and regularization, with the Communist Party striving for control and achieving it in part. And this was the period of greatest combat efficiency-which was again most notable in the Communist regiments. Was it due to the Popular Front's sacrifice of revolutionary doctrine, or to the perspectives reached by the Communist Party, or to the consequent emergence of an expendable shock corps, necessarily limited in size? The terms are military, but they have their civil meanings. And these, in the near future, every liberal will be forced to reconsider. For those non-specialists who can make their civil translations Mr. White has written a book so solid. so dense with material, that, whatever one's beliefs, one must take account of it. RALPH BATES

#### The Art of Drawing

HISTORY AND TECHNIQUE OF OLD MASTER DRAWINGS. By Charles de Tolnay. 261 Collotypes after Drawings; 120 Plates. H. Bittner and Company. \$20.

IN HIS preface to the present volume Mr. de Tolnay mentions his indebtedness to Joseph Meder's handbook on oldmaster drawings; his acknowledgment is, in a sense, an unnecessary one. There are enormous gaps in the field of arthistoriography filled only by certain standard works, which have remained immobilized in authority although their scope has proportionately grown narrower just as modern psychological and social concepts have expanded. The iconographer of the past should not be minimized for his pioneer research or his presentation of documented information, but he has too often approached his material as though it were some sublime form of philately, ruled by autonomous laws, insulated in the secrets of its own scholarship, and virtually divorced from experience. Mr. de Tolnay, on the other hand, without any sacrifice to scientific thoroughness, has investigated his subject with a profound insight into both its human and its abstract implications, and his contribution is one of vital originality and importance.

Drawing has been defined and evaluated according to the shifting tastes of various epochs. In the sixteenth century it was considered the parent of the three fine arts. The next century saw it related to a Platonic essence and described as of "divine origin." Diderot later referred to drawing as "form" and to color as "life"; Ingres called it the "probity of art"; Sensier, announcing the beginnings of French subjectivism, suggested that in a drawing the audience becomes the artist's confessor, "grasps the man, par le corps et par le cœur, and judges him to the roots of his being." The modern tendency has been to regard drawing as a quick and spontaneous communication in the hand of the artist, as revelatory as an entry in a diary but a fragmentary and informal means of expression.

Mr. de Tolnay has succeeded in objectively systematizing these diverse judgments and in organizing an impressive mass of material from which he presents his own brilliant argument, emphasizing his theories with philosophical and literary parallels that range from Thomas Aquinas to Baudelaire. His survey traces the arte del desegno from the fourteenth century through the nineteenth, analyzes its complex development, and appraises its independent aesthetic achievement. Mr. de Tolnay divides drawing into three categories, which form a basis for the identification of its schools and periods. The first is linear drawing, which is essentially two-dimensional; the paper is treated as a flat surface, plastic interest is neglected for rhythmic line quality, and each object is separated and inclosed within the contour of its own outline. The second is the plastic method, in which the surface of the paper is conceived metaphorically as a space and the objects as plastic quantities; the effects of modeling and of light and shadow are produced by hatchings or crossed lines, while a wash is sometimes used to heighten the illusion of three-dimensionality. The pictorial is the third, a treatment in which the surface is interpreted as an enveloping atmosphere with objects appearing in it often as mere condensations.

These three basic methods—which are also found in the other fine arts—correspond to three fundamental attitudes of man in the face of reality. The world may be regarded as pure objective substance, in which case the artist emphasizes the closed contour, or it may be seen as a struggle between substance and vital forces, in which case he will emphasize the plastic form, or, finally, he may take it as a subjective impression of the interference of forces without substance, in which case he will turn to the pictorial manner.

Mr. de Tolnay goes on to place these methods in their corresponding periods of development, observing that although a general tendency has been complicated and distorted by a local tradition from time to time, none the less the style which has been preferred by the "collective consciousness of humanity" during that interval has remained of primary importance. This is a welcome contradiction of the theory, popular among various contemporary art historians, that an individual genius is responsible for every major change of taste in art. But. Mr. de Tolnay successfully disposes of more than one theory or "established" fact. The complex and fertile aspects of his accomplishment lend themselves more easily to appreciation than they do to summary or quotation.

HISTOPHER LAZARE

#### Inside Europe

THE LION RAMPANT: THE STORY OF HOLLAND'S RESISTANCE TO THE NAZIS. By L. de Jong and Joseph W. F. Stoppelman. Querido. \$3.

THE WHITE BRIGADE. By Robert Goffin. English version by Charles Lam Markmann. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.

THE full story of life under the Nazis on the darkened continent of Europe cannot, of course, be written until after the war, but here are two books that make a good beginning. "The Lion Rampant" is a comprehensive account of how the Germans have been treating Holland, and of the ever-mounting, futile fury of the Hollanders. The book deals with the passive, not the violent, phase of resistance.

A common sense view...



#### By PAUL HAGEN

HAGEN does not plead for a soft peace. He does not whitewash Germany. Hagen attacks Vansittartism and successfully refutes it . . . because he wants a real peace . . . Hagen's book invalidates the question of 'what to do with Germany' which in its formulation presupposes a passive mass to whom we can 'do things'."

-Heinz H. F. Eulau, New Republic 2nd printing, \$2.00

### REVOLUTION COMES OF AGE THE USE OF WAR BY ASHER BRYNES

FOR AMERICANS who look on the periods between wars (including that which will follow this one) as an opportunity to do "business as usual", this brilliant book by a Guggenheim Fellow will be an eye-opener. For the human race has fought for thirteen out of every fourteen years of its recorded history; war, not peace, has been our way of life. What a study of the great wars of the past, and of this one, reveals; why and how war is inevitably an instrument of social change; and how the forces it uses can be channelled for progress, form the theme of an arresting, highly readable book, a major contribution to our understanding of today's cross currents of conflict.

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On the other hand, "The White Brigade" is entirely concerned with underground warfare in Belgium.

In the beginning the Germans meant to treat the Hollanders well, because they were Aryan blood brothers. The Dutch authors of "The Lion Rampant" make the rather surprising statement that existence still was bearable in the first year of Nazi subjugation. The Nazis thought they could convert the Dutch, and their efforts were persistent and often shrewd. They found a marvelous radio propagandist -a Hollander named Blokzijl, who did not merely parrot Nazi slogans but quietly and humorously talked to the "not inconsiderable group of hesitants, of 'possible converts'" in the Netherlands. The Nazis established a Culture Chamber which dispatched poets and paintings to Holland; they rounded up quite a few Dutch artists and musicians in their various guilds. They established special schools to educate Dutch Nazis-who numbered some 100,000-to the point where they could function as burgomasters.

One gets the uneasy impression that the Germans came near, in that first year, to converting the Dutch. The whole effort failed, however, because of German greed and stupidity. The greed was understandable, for conquerors always loot; in this case the plundering was carried on with an ingenuity and an efficiency which were positively awesome. The Germans' stupidity is difficult to comprehend. They infuriated the Dutch in needless ways, such as taking away their bicycles, applying a curfew, decreeing all manner of bureaucratic rules. Another thing that turned Dutch stomachs, praise be, was the Nazi campaign against Netherlands Jews. When the Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David, the Dutch spoke cordially to Jews they did not know, gave them seats in trolley cars, wore yellow flowers in their own lapels. When the Germans began deporting Dutch Jews to Polish slaughter areas, the Netherlands Christian churches made vigorous, if ineffective, protests.

Both the Protestant and Catholic churches were courageous bulwarks against Nazism. The Catholics, for example, refused to administer holy sacraments to anyone who supported the National Socialist idea. Laymen developed their own methods of boycott. Persons who joined the Dutch Nazi movement were cut by their friends and acquaintances. Young men who fought with the German armies in Russia were outcasts when they came home.

Apparently there was not as much violent resistance to the Nazis in Holland as in Belgium. "The White Brigade" tells in semi-fictional form the story of Belgians who systematically committed arson, sabotage, and murder. They built a tightly knit organization, each man well knowing that he probably would face horrible torture and death. The reader is taken along with Buchet, former office worker, who dresses up like a postman and delivers a parcel to a Nazi bigwig in Brussels; the parcel is a time bomb. On another mission, two young "efficiency experts" visit a war factory and leave the manager lying dead in the lavatory. We meet Deckers, a member of the White Brigade who was caught and was stood up before the German firing squad; he listened to the "Ein . . . zwei . . ."—but no drei was spoken. Ten times the Nazis stood him up, but still he wouldn't betray his comrades; on the eleventh occasion the drei was spoken.

In reading these books, one reflects anew on the appalling reservoir of hatred which the German race has built up for itself. One wonders how many years or generations will pass before psychological peace can be restored to the European family of nations.

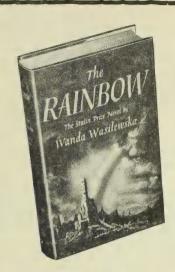
MARCUS DUFFIELD

#### Fiction in Review

REDERIC WAKEMAN'S "Shore Leave" (Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.50) is so far as I know the first novel of this war to concern itself with the effects of the war on our actual combatants. The action of "Shore Leave" takes place in January, 1943, when many of our Pacific fighters were already seasoned veterans, and it reports the emotional state of four navy fliers who have been sent to San Francisco on medical leave. Mr. Wakeman's four pilots are all in varying degree heroes. Although they come from different parts of the Union and from different family backgrounds, they are deeply bound to each other by their passion for flying, by their intimate knowledge of death, and, most of all, by the unbridgeable chasm separating them from the civilian world. They are nearer home than they have been for many months; yet none of them has any real desire for reunion with family or old friends. They share a desperate restlessness: the only way to spend their leave is to settle down to the serious business of drinking and the serious business of non-serious lovemaking. "Shore Leave" is a first report on our newest lost generation; it can be read as the spiritual parallel, from this war, to Ernest Hemingway's version of World War I.

But there is this not unimportant difference—there was no earlier Hemingway to direct the eye of the early Hemingway, whereas Mr. Wakeman follows not only Hemingway himself but all Hemingway's followers. That is, quite without benefit of a new war, the hard-drinking, tough-loving way of life has for years now been crystallizing into the whole view of life of a large section of our fiction—a historical fact that we are bound to take into account in reading Mr. Wakeman's novel. I do not mean that "Shore Leave," because it is familiar, is necessarily inaccurate in its observations; perhaps even in respect of its hangovers, World War II is merely a frightening repetition of World War I, and perhaps the influence of Hemingway persists into the fiction of the present war because Hemingway caught so much of the lasting truth of modern war. But one suspects that Mr. Wakeman could have written this same book, minus only the service stripes, long before Pearl Harbor. We are told he is an advertising-radio man in civilian life, and certainly this is basically the same old advertising-radio novel of psychological disorientation and spiritual unrest with which we have been acquainted for some time; of the relation between the Hemingway view of things and this literaryfringe view of things one has always wondered, indeed, whether it is a case of art imitating life or life imitating art. Of course, as I have said, the fact that Mr. Wakeman studies aftermaths of war which have already been charted does not mean that he is unreliable; it simply reduces the interest of his book as a story and as a first novel of a new war.

"Swing the Big-eyed Rabbit" by John Pleasant McCoy (Dutton, \$2.50) is as beguiling as its title. It is the very simple story of two Southern mountain boys; one of them



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Wanda Wasilewska is now a war correspondent with the Red Army, and is also the leader of the Union of Polish Patriots organized in the U.S.S.R. Over 500,000 copies of *The Rainbow*, her fourth novel, have been sold in Russia.

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### Spring Book Number

The best of the Spring crop of publishers' offerings will be featured in reviews and advertisements in The Nation's Spring Book Number, to appear on April 22.

For this feature, the size of the magazine will be increased to 40 pages. Restrictions on paper consumption forbid further increase in size. We therefore request advertisers to make their space reservations for the Spring Book Number as early as possible, since we may not be able to find room for latecomers.

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longs for education and becomes a student at the mission school, and the other stays at home farming. With nothing to distinguish it that can be conveyed in synopsis, its charm is a matter of its author's decency and fondness for life and affection for people. Especially in a first novel, and a novel about youth, it is unusual for an author to show so much quiet respect for his characters; and Mr. McCoy's prose, too, is absolutely right—quiet, straight, and without a trace of self-consciousness or m single lapse from taste.

"Crazy Weather" by Charles L. McNichols (Macmillan, \$2), also a first novel and also about adolescence, is scarcely less successful than "Swing the Big-eyed Rabbit," but it is a bit less endearing, perhaps because Mr. McNichols has set himself a rather more complicated task than Mr. McCoy. For one thing, there is more physical nature in Mr. McNichols's book-the scene is the Colorado Valley just before and during a hurricane-and for another, Mr. McNichols is telling the story of a white boy's adventure among the Mojave Indians and therefore has to recreate a quite alien way of thinking as well as the way of thinking of a growing boy. But both the young hero of "Crazy Weather" and its Indians are handled with respect; they are also attractive and convincing; and Mr. McNichols has a direct lively style which is better than merely workmanlike. A reader of current novels could do much worse than to spend an evening with "Swing the Big-eyed Rabbit," and anyone who has been caught by the romance of the Indians could practically be guaranteed pleasure from "Crazy Weather."

The more I read short stories the more I come to think that the form is an unrewarding one, except in the hands of the very greatest writers. For instance, if we could measure such things, the talent in the ten stories that make up "The Common Thread" by Michael Seide (Harcourt, Brace, \$2) would surely count for much more in a novel than it does in this collection of short pieces; Mr. Seide has a good literary heart and eye and ear; yet his medium seems to be always stopping him short of what we feel he is capable of knowing and saying. But there is one other element to account for a reservation of praise—the poor-Jewish background of these stories, which seems so inevitably to make pity the dominant emotion. It is true that Mr. Seide's pity embraces all the characters in all his stories, whereas in most Jewish American fiction and in short fiction generally it is the I-person who absorbs the author's sympathies; still, where there is an overcharge of pity, whatever its direction, there is usually a lack of action and drama, and certainly the stories in "The Common Thread" would be the better for more movement in the world and less mood.

Mr. Seide writes wonderful dialogue, and what we can call his basic prose is excellent. But he has a bad habit of parentheses (such a tempting habit!) into which he likes to drop bits of fancy writing, and far too often, even outside the parentheses, he will destroy a first-rate passage by straining for effect. A sentence like the following, of which the fourth to eighth words should have been sternly rejected, is typical both of Mr. Seide's peculiar gift and his pursuing weakness: "An old woman hunched fatly against the freeze shuffled past him with her herring smell, muttering toothlessly that the world was much too small for her."

DIANA TRILLING

#### IN BRIEF

THE SEVEN SLEEPERS AND OTHER POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.50.

Written in the Emersonian transcendental tradition, these poems have as their main theme the search for changeless universal law, the attributes of which emerge in meditations concerning such subjects as eternity, authority, nature, and man. "Consult the shown,/Believe in the unknown." The trouble with most of the 104 poems in this collection is that the ideas are superimposed on the poems. Theme and language therefore lack logical and imaginative interconnection. The metaphors are often forced or so drawn out that they neutralize each other; and series of subordinate clauses and repetitious constructions, earmarks of hasty composition, blunt and obscure the meaning. With a few notable exceptions-April, 1942, or Down World, for instance-Mr. Van Doren is at his best when he writes about details of intimate experience, as in some half-dozen poems in the section called The Double Life. They are charming, affecting, and lucid.

YEARS OF THIS LAND: A GEO-GRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Hermann R. Muelder and David M. Delo. D. Appleton-Century Company, \$2.50.

What were the natural forces that in combination produced the mountains, valleys, plains, waterways, mineral deposits, and forests of the section of the earth that became the United States, and how did they influence the settlement and development of the country by European immigrants? And what in turn have Americans done to the land in their rapid exploitation of its resources? A historian and a geologist, both professors at a Midwestern college, have cooperated in answering these questions, and this notably stimulating little volume is the result. The Committee on American History may disapprove of it because it is short on dates, but alert teachers of the social sciences will seize on it as lively and profitable reading for their students. The maps and illustrations are excellent.

GERMANS IN THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. By Germán Arciniegas. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

This is a good introduction to history as Latin Americans like it: lively, stimu-

lating, very personal, and perhaps a little overweighted for the sake of the argument. The story of the expeditions to the New World financed by the German banking houses of Fugger and Welser makes interesting reading, and the simpler imperialism of the sixteenth century is not uninstructive. Whether it demonstrates, as the author implies, that Spaniards are essentially tougher and more splendid than Germans, and vagabonds more apt to found an empire than bankers, the reader can decide for himself. The intimation of a parallel with twentieth-century Nazi penetration in South America is more questionable; that is the sort of simplification of history which prevents real understanding of either the past or the

#### FILMS

ARDILY, I arch my back and purr deep-throated approval of "The Curse of the Cat People," which I caught by pure chance, one evening, on a reviewer's holiday. Masquerading as a routine case of Grade B horrors-and it does very well at that job-the picture is in fact a brave, sensitive, and admirable little psychological melodrama about a lonely six-year-old girl, her inadequate parents, a pair of recluses in a neighboring house, and the child's dead, insane mother, who becomes the friend and playmate of her imagination. Since you have probably heard about it already from other reviewers, and since it is the sort of picture anyhow which deserves to give one the pleasure of personal discovery, I will not do more than say that dozens of the details are as excellent as the whole intention. Certain confusions in the plot-especially one scene in which the imaginary playmate, by pinning a gift to her gown, momentarily seems to categorize herself as a mere studio wraith-suggests that the people who made the film worked out two versions, one with conventional supernatural trimmings, the other, the far from conventional story they got away with. I was rather pleased than not, incidentally, by the trick, or accident, or both, which kept me and the audience uncertain, clear to the end, whether the ghost was a "real" ghost or the far more real fantasy of the child. In the same way I liked the ambiguous melodrama about the daft old actress and her tortured daughter, in the sinister house; though here I would have liked even better the much purer, quieter realism

which they would have achieved if they had taken their key from the wonderfully chosen house itself. I wish that the makers of the film, and RKO, might be given some special award for the whole conception and performance of the family servant, who is one of the most unpretentiously sympathetic, intelligent, anti-traditional, and individualized Negro characters I have ever seen presented on the screen. And I hope that the producer, Val Lewton, and the rest of his crew may be left more and more to their own devices; they have a lot of taste and talent, and they are carrying films a long way out of Hollywood.

Even so, they have things to learn. This had every right to be a really first-rate movie; but good as it is, it is full of dead streaks—notably the writing, directing, and playing of the parts of the parents and the kindergarten teacher—and there are quite a few failures of imagination and of taste. The people with whom I saw the film—a regular Times Square horror audience—were sharply on to its faults and virtues. When the Ideal Playmate (Simone Simon) first appeared to the imagination of the infant in a dress and a lascivious lighting which made her façade look like

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relief map from What Every Young Husband Should Know, they laughed their heads off. They laughed again, with tender and perceptive spontaneity, when, confronted by snobbery, the little girl caught her shoulders into a bewildered, instinctively pure shrug of distaste. And when the picture ended and it was clear beyond further suspense that anyone who had come to see a story about curses and were-cats should have stayed away, they clearly did not feel sold out; for an hour they had been captivated by the poetry and danger of childhood, and they showed it in their thorough applause.

That is, I grant, a specialized audience, unobstreperous, poor, metropolitan, and deeply experienced. The West Times Square audience is probably, for that matter, the finest movie audience in the country (certainly, over and over, it has proved its infinite superiority to the run of the "art-theater" devoteesnot to mention, on paper which must brave the mails, the quality and conduct of Museum of Modern Art film audiences). As long as such an audience exists, no one in Hollywood has a right to use the stupidity of the public for an alibi; and I suspect that a few more films as decent and human as this one would indicate that there is a very large and widely distributed audience indeed for good films. JAMES AGEE

### RECORDS

HE Budapest Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 132 in Columbia's new set (545; \$5.50) is a superb statement of the work; but its recorded sound, though spacious and clear and bright, is cold and hard in moderate sonorities, brash and harsh as it gets louder, strident in fortissimo, and left my ears aching at the end. Also, poor balance destroys the effect of one of the great moments that I described last week-the moment, in the middle of the second movement, where the melody of the first violin, at a great height and as though at a great distance, conveys a vision of a celestial joy: as recorded, that melody is blanketed by the figuration of the second violin. And some of the breaks between record-sides are so placed in the music as to be unusually disturbing. On the other hand the surfaces of my copy are quieter than surfaces have been in a long time.

Columbia also otters Brahms's

"Schicksalslied" ("Song of Fate"), sung in English, for no good reason, by the Westminster Choir with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Bruno Walter (Set X-223; \$2.50). The music is only for the fanatical Brahmslover that I was once but am no longer the performance seems to have been good; but while the recorded sound of the orchestra is natural and agreeable, that of the chorus is distorted and shricky. What I said about the surfaces of the Beethoven set hold for this one.

For its record classic drawn from its catalogue Columbia has chosen Stravinshy's own performance of his, "Sacre du printemps" with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (set 417; \$4.50). It is a magnificent performance of this powerful work; and the cold, hard clarity of the recorded sound—the best that Columbia has achieved with the New York Philharmonic—happens to be appropriate to the character of the music. The surfaces of the new pressing are not as quiet as those of the original pressing, but are markedly quieter than surfaces have been.

Tchaikovsky, who loved Mozart's music above all other, wrote once in his diary: "Of course, in loving all of Mozart, I shall not begin insisting that each unimportant piece of his music is a chef-d'oeuvre. No! I know, for example, that not one of his sonatas is a great composition. Nevertheless, I love every one of his sonatas because it is his, because his sacred breath was breathed into it." This is the attitude one can feel for a great many works of Mozart that are the uninteresting products of a skilful craftsman trying to earn a living-among them the Divertimento K.563 for violin, viola, and cello that Heifetz, Primrose, and Feuermann recorded for Victor (Set 959; \$4.50). For the most part-except for the charming minuet movement-it goes through the motions of musical activity without anything really happening; but we are aware that these motions-the characteristic turns of phrase and cadences and so on-are the motions of Mozart's mind, even if this mind is not deeply engaged in them; and once in a while we hear something like the passage at the beginning of the development in the first movement (middle of the first record-side) where the modulations are as bold and the effect as powerful as they are at the same point in the great Piano Concerto K.595. There was a Columbia set of an exquisite ensemble performance by the Pasquier Trio; the Victor set gives us a good performance

by three solo virtuosos restraining their usual tendencies to command the stage. In the lively movements Heifetz plays with the simplicity of phrasing that has been evident in previous recorded performances in which he has appeared to be influenced by the impeccable musicianship of Feuermann; but in the slow movements there are the fussy swells and the archnesses of the normal Heifetz style. The recorded sound is excellent, except for a slight tipping of the balance toward the bass, and a few buzzes and rattles; and most of the surfaces are quieter than surfaces have been

Victor also has issued a set (961; \$3.50) of a Sonata for organ on the 94th Psalm by Julius Reubke, a pupil of Liszt, who died in 1858 at the age of twenty-four. It is performed by E. Power Biggs, who contends that "like the poet Gray with his immortal 'Elegy,' Reubke with this one musical creation is assured of a place among the greatest of the romantic composers, and becomes a worthy successor to Bach himself in the developing stream of organ literature." Mr. Biggs exaggerates; and whereas I can value in an inferior work of Mozart the impress of the mind that gave us his great works, I cannot value in this sonata the impress of the mind of Liszt that I don't like even in Liszt's own pretentious works. Again I must wonder at the original decision to record the work when so many greater things were still unrecorded, and even more at the decision now to devote to it the materials, plant, and labor that are insufficient for the great things already in the catalogue. The performance seems good and is well recorded.

On a single disc (11-8566; \$1) Victor has issued the superb Slavonic Dances Nos. 1 and 3 of Dvorák in buoyant and brilliant performances by the St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann that are recorded with richness and spaciousness. On another (11-8568; \$1) are two songs of no great consequence-Duparc's "Chanson triste" and Mattei's "Non è ver"-which are agreeable to listen to as sung by John Charles Thomas. And on still another (11-8567; \$1) is an Etude of Liapunov, a Caucasian dance entitled "Lesghinka," of which Brailovsky plays the brilliant fast parts without brilliance and the quieter middle part in an excessively mannered style.

As for the set of Frederick Stock's orchestral version of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E flat for organ—that requires extended comment, which it will get next time,

B. H. HAGGIN

### Letters to the Editors

#### The Minor Blitz

Dear Sirs: We are having to evolve a technique for the minor blitz which we have now had for several nights. It is a bit like sea-sickness practice in that it doesn't serve for the next time, but after the first part of the voyage you find vourself on deck again, with sea legs, more or less. The difference this time is the terrific noise, most of which, I suppose, we make. We have poppers and squishers-these, going up, sound like bombs coming down, and they provide a certain tenseness before it is finally determined which they are. So far as my neighborhood is concerned, they have all so far been of home manufacture. Another difference is that it is quality and not duration which counts. That is to say, instead of lasting all night, with lulls, these raids are all concentrated into about an hour, and I must say that hour is pretty well filled. The question is whether to get up or not. There is a shelter a few doors off. On the other hand it is bitterly cold, and it is a moot point whether to die of bomb or chill. I usually way in bed in my corner and reflect, as I used to in the last blitz, that while a lot of London may be hit, it is quite astonishing how much isn't.

I think perhaps that this bombing has come at the right moment. The winter is rather a time for hibernation and slowing down in the natural course of things, and the bombing has brought home to us all a fresh realization of what is before us and that it can't be coped with by wishing it were all over. I think that when we entered the fifth year of the war, we slumped a bit. Unconsciously we couldn't avoid thinking of wars in terms of four years and not five. I don't mean that everything was not done that it was possible to do in the winter, but that morally we couldn't go on gasping at the same high pitch for a second front and all that it entails, and that a bit of regular bombing, which we are promised faithfully will grow worse, has set our noses to the grindstone again and made us brace up for a fresh effort. People outside the country must find it difficult to realize the amount of bracing that is necessary. In the sense, I mean, that a violin string has to be tuned to the proper pitch before it can produce its effect. There is a whole orchestra of tuning going on

since the bombing, and when strings snap, they are used again, a little shorter. I thought the Prime Minister's speech as usual met the case. I always like his defiance when he promises us no primrose path.

However that may be, one of the most encouraging things about bombing as it is at present is the description of its effect on London put out by the Germans. According to them, London was a mass of flames, Londoners were fleeing to the country in thousands, and all the services were out of order. That they should feel the need to reproduce, probably, the effect of a raid on Berlin when they can be proved wrong by millions of people seems to me a measure which must recoil on them. I meet people who live in most of the London districts, and while nobody looks on even very slight bombing as a treat, I cannot say that I have either seen or heard of anything in the least comparable with what happened during the first blitz. There may be roads barred-I have not seen any. There may be trains not running-I have not heard of any. Along my route to the office there is one rather conspicuous hit, but apparently nobody was hurt. In short, it seems almost stupid to attempt to contradict anything so fantastic, except that this is a means of showing what the Germans feel it necessary to invent. What may come is quite another thing. So far, however, there is nothing to write home about, except to contrast it with what went before.

The "war-firsts" and the reconstructionists are finding each other difficult just now. Finish the war, says one, and he is manifestly right. If you finish it and have made no preparation for the future, you'll have it coming to you, says the other. And that is true too. Of course you will have the same problems of housing, employment, finding the right niches for people who will come back into civil life by the million. And if it takes four or five years to screw people up to the victory point, it also takes years to let them down again on any fair sort of principle. A lot of work is being done, and since it is in the frigid realm of principle, it takes much thought and time. Ministries are doing a lot of inter-departmental communing to bring the various interests into line. Our country has been pretty well hacked about. The necessity for immense aerodromes, most of them constructed in a hurry, and the necessity for getting our own iron ore, gravel, and cement in this small country has made for a good deal of disfigurement. If you go down the river valleys, you will see immense lakes caused by the many gravel pits, while sides of hills are being cut away for lime. One ceases to have the feeling that countries are inexhaustible, and wonders how this cutting away of England and devastation of its surface is going to work out. I suppose it is not really worse than all that the railways did to the country, which we now take for granted.

London, February 22

#### Note on TVA

Dear Sirs: It may not be sufficiently noted, among other achievements, that the wisest act of TVA was one of omission. The Authority did not name a dam for either of two disappointed applicants for that honor: Senator McKellar and Representative Rankin.

WILLSON WHITMAN

Woodside, L. I., March 18

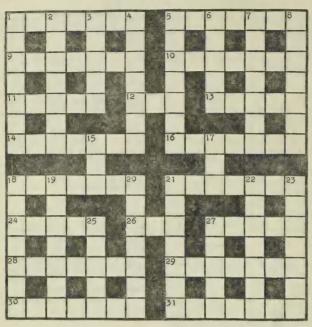
#### How About the Electors?

Dear Sirs: The "compromise" bill just passed by the Senate makes no provision. nor did the measures from which it was compounded, for voting by service men in the November election for electors in the several states, by whom, and not by the voters at large, the President and Vice-President are to be elected. Those electors must be chosen by name-one for each Senator and Representative in each state. Votes for the candidates will not elect those electors; indeed, it is only in recent years that the names of the respective candidates for President and Vice-President have been on the ballots. It is possible for the popular vote for the candidates of one party to exceed that for other candidates who may yet be elected President and Vice-President by a majority vote of the electors.

The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution provides that "the electors shall meet in their respective states now by law on the first Wednesday in December and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President ... and they shall make a distinct list of all persons voted for as

### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 58

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 The broken axle Edward raised on
- One sip is enough to show that it is tasteless
- 9 Common complaint in cold climates 10 Color of an automobile belonging
- 11 Failed to make the grade, so was furious
- 12 A two-legged animal without feathers
- A dashing fellow, but a boy at heart The only branch of modern trade that really interested the old sculp-
- tors 16 The highest seems always superlative
- 18 Game that is about played out 21 He must remember to forget his
- tools 24 A word for the children to get out 26 As ye sew, so shall ye ---27 Herds when broken up often go
- to pot
- Warm a chicken for an unbeliever Italian, I see
- 30 Good wishes from your correspondent
- 31 Traders (anag.)

#### DOWN

- 1 Called for another
- 2 It is in the ant, iguana and antelope
- 3 All dressed up and—weary
  4 You can get home in a day from
  this place in Africa
- 5 Holy smoke

- 6 In what dwarf tree would you find a brush?
- And confidential, perhaps 8 "Win us with honest trifles, to betray us in ----- consequence"
- (Macbeth) 15 Was she immune to measles because she'd Adam?
- This bird can't fly
- 18 Might be in there or therein, but actually is not one or the other
- 19 Wild horse equally at home on the
- prairie or in the air 20 Better halves wear them on their lower halves in Malay
- Leaf from an old book
- Pass between Italy and Austria 23 Mussolini is embraced by a Russian
- and completely subdued
  Where the pilot might "black-out"?
- 27 In India-sounds like it, too!

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 57

ACROSS:-1 SENSE; 4 PLAZA-TORO; 9 OUTSIDE; 10 INTERIM; 11 NAIL; 12 SATAN; 13 PIER; 16 INGENUE; 17 LEATHER; 19 LACONIC; 22 GARAGED; 24 DEBT; 25 MILAN; 26 ANIL; 29 VENI-SON; 30 DIAGRAM; 31 SATURNINE; 32

DOWN:-1 SPOONBILL; 2 NOTHING; 1 EMIT; 4 PRELATE; 5 ABIGAIL; 6 ALTO; 7 OGREISH; W ORMER; 14 INANE; 15 HAIRY; 18 REDDLEMAN; 20 CABINET; 21 CHIANTI; 22 GRANDEE; 23 GENERAL; 24 DIVES; 27 TSAR; 28 SALE.

President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States; the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President. . . . " The certificates shall be opened and votes counted on the sixth day of January. That will be done in the presence of the next Congress, not the present one; it is possible, and not improbable, that in that Congress the Senate may have a Democratic majority, the House a Republican majority.

There is no provision of law now as to the procedure in case of dispute about the validity or insufficiency of one or more certificates such as brought into being the Electoral Commission of 1876-77. In such a débâcle there would be only two weeks in which to resolve the difficulty.

It is more than passing strange that throughout the discussion of the soldier vote the question of votes for electors, and by the electors, has been ignored, even in the article Same Old Fraud in your issue of March 11. Is it not of sufficient importance for consideration?

CHARLES LAMSON GRIFFIN Maplewood, N. J., March 11

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# 1011

LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865 LEADING AMERICA'S

VOLUME 158

SATURDAY APRIL 8, 1944 NEW YORK

NUMBER 15

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

### The Shape of Things

SINCE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS READY TO make room for King Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio under the capacious umbrella of the United Front, there are, apparently, no major differences regarding Italy between America, Britain, and Russia. It is remarkable, therefore, how tangled the situation has been allowed to become. The Mediterranean Advisory Commission has completely failed to function as a clearing house for the views of the governments represented on it. This fact first became evident when Moscow announced its intention of exchanging diplomatic missions with the Badoglio regime. The American and British governments, although on terms of patronizing intimacy with Badoglio, took umbrage at this move and pointedly noted the lack of prior consultation. Eventually Izvestia, the official organ of the Kremlin, explained that the proposed exchange of representatives was merely an attempt to establish direct contact with the de facto Italian government, akin to that enjoyed by the western Allies. But having cleared up this misunderstanding, it went on to protest that Soviet views on the urgent necessity of broadening the Italian government had been ignored. It appears that, on this question also, not only had the Mediterranean Commission proved a broken reed but the normal means of diplomatic communication had broken down. Meanwhile an Italian Communist leader, Palmiero Togliatti, has arrived in Naples direct from Moscow where he spent eighteen years in exile. This one-time secretary of the Comintern has announced a new line including acceptance of the King "as an institution" until after the war and retention of the Badoglio government with a democratic leaven. This ought to please everybody except, perhaps, the Italian democrats.

ALLIED FAILURE TO TAKE CASSINO AND THE stalemate at the Anzio beachhead have caused widespread questioning of both the strategy and tactics employed in Italy. Admittedly the campaign has proved disappointing, but allowance must be made for the effect of changes in over-all strategy made at Teheran necessitating a regrouping of forces. Again, some critics give insufficient weight to the solid gains achieved by the conquest of southern Italy. On the political side, it is true, those gains have been largely dissipated by our persistent

snubbing of the democratic elements. But from the military angle there are two definite advantages to be noted -the tying down of a considerable number of German divisions and the unimpeded use of the great Foggia airfields, from which the whole southern arc of the Nazi fortress from Marseilles to Sofia can be brought under attack. So far the full strategic possibilities of Foggia have not been realized owing to the prolonged period of abnormally bad weather from which the Allied air forces have suffered. But with the coming of spring the striking power of this base is likely to be amply demonstrated. Bad weather has been an even more severe handicap to the Allied ground forces, particularly by depriving them of tactical air support. For instance, the German defenders of Cassino and the Gustav Line depend for their supplies on three railroads leading from northern Italy. If the bottlenecks on these lines could be bombed day after day over a period of weeks the German army in and below Rome would be seriously weakened. Up to now, however, frequent breaks in the weather have always given the Germans time to patch up the lines between raids.

MR. CHURCHILL SUCCESSFULLY SQUELCHED last week's revolt in the House of Commons, but the rebellious spirit remains. Indeed, it has been intensified by the heavy-handed methods used by the Prime Minister, and there will probably be further outbreaks against the authority of the government, especially when the promised social-security bill is introduced to Parliament. There is this to be said for Mr. Churchill: he had always been anxious to postpone all consideration of post-war problems until after victory, for he was aware that any discussion of such controversial matters would inevitably subject a coalition administration to tremendous strains. Unfortunately the problems of peace cannot all be shelved until after victory, Mr. Churchill, in spite of himself, has been forced to produce a program of reconstruction, and the pattern of post-war Britain is now being woven. But while almost everybody in Britain accepts and applauds Mr. Churchill's war leadership, millions, perhaps a majority, regard the most radical measures he can induce the bulk of his Tory followers to accept as quite inadequate. Now the Prime Minister has told them: either you swallow my post-war plans or find another leader. With a most critical period just ahead there could be only one reply to this ultimatum. On a vote of confidence Mr. Churchill obtained a majority amply large enough to demonstrate that, on a showdown, he can still call the Commons to heel. But the incident has created resentments which will probably be reflected in future by-elections. It will also increase the pressure on the left for a termination of the party truce, making it possible to develop and preach distinctive labor policies.

THE OFFICIAL DEADLINE FOR IMMIGRATION into Palestine under the White Paper passed at midnight on March 31, leaving both British and American policy toward the Jewish homeland in a state of complete confusion. Beyond making provision for Jewish immigration to continue until the original quota of 75,000 has been filled, the British government has shown no indication of modifying its policy as laid down in the White Paper. No provision has been made, and no plans appear to be under way, for resettling the hundreds of thousands of Jews who may be freed this year as the United Nations armies march into Axis-dominated Europe. American policy is as obscure as the British. The clarity seemingly achieved by President Roosevelt's forthright statement that "the American government has never given its approval of the "White Paper of 1939" has been largely obliterated by his subsequent support of General Marshall's contention that the issue should not be pressed now for military reasons. While the President unquestionably has great personal sympathy with the plight of the Jewish refugees, his reluctance to take a definite position at this time adds to the general confusion. The President and the State Department appear to have forgotten that both Britain and the United States are committed under the 1925 agreement against excluding anyone from Palestine on grounds of religious belief, and that Britain undertook not to alter the mandate's terms without our consent.

\*

THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN OKLAHOMA'S special Congressional election appears to have been somewhat more significant than its summary treatment in the press would suggest. While the Second Congressional District of Oklahoma has gone Republican only once in the last twenty-five years, the Democratic margin of victory was only 385 in 1942. This year the same Republican candidate lost by a margin of more than 3,500 votes. Of the many by-elections held in recent months, the Oklahoma poll appears to have come closest to being a test of popular sentiment with respect to the Presidential election. All reports indicate that few if any local issues were raised in the campaign. Both the candidates were lawyers, and both were from the same town. The Republican candidate chose to make the New Deal the chief issue, a challenge that was readily accepted by the Democratic candidate. Both parties brought in from outside the district prominent speakers who emphasized national issues. Under the circumstances the Democratic triumph can only be construed as a victory for the principles of the New Deal. While the Republican leaders have chosen to remain silent on the significance of the poll there are strong indications that it may precipitate a complete shift in Republican strategy. Criticism of the Administration's blunders in domestic affairs

may be silenced in favor of an attack on its foreign policy—which is much more vulnerable.

 $\star$ 

A MILLIONAIRES' LOBBY IS QUIETLY BUT successfully peddling to state legislatures a constitutional amendment designed to give upper-bracket taxpayers permanent relief from bearing their due share of national taxes. Already some fifteen states have adopted a resolution asking Congress to summon a convention for the purpose of repealing the Sixteenth Amendment, which gave the federal government power to levy progressive income taxes. In its place the resolution calls for a constitutional provision limiting income and inheritance tax rates to a maximum of 25 per cent save in a national emergency. This resolution was introduced in the New York Assembly in February and was narrowly defeated; now it is before the New Jersey Legislature. Among its advocates one finds the New York Daily Mirror-the limitation would be a godsend to the Hearst family-which declares: "There is no conceivable crisis in time of peace which would require taxing more than 25 per cent of the people's income." This is a choice example of the misleading propaganda being used to foster the new amendment, which is concerned with limiting not the proportion of the national income taken in taxes but the amount taken from any one person's income. If the amendment were passed, a Henry Ford, who on an income of \$1,000,000 must now pay upward of \$800,000, would be charged at most \$250,000. And with the contribution of the Henry Fords limited, it would be necessary to jack up that of the John Does, who would hardly be consoled by a constitutional limitation of the tax on \$1,000 per year to \$250. It is not surprising to find that the Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by Frank Gannett, the millionaire publisher, is the organization trying to slip over this measure while popular attention is fixed on the fighting fronts.

THE NATION VIEWS WITH ALARM THE attack made by Maury Maverick, chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, on lengthy memoranda and what he calls "gobbledegook language." His dictum to his subordinates that "anyone using the words 'activation' or 'implementation' will be shot" constitutes a grave threat to the "experts" who have built up whole vocabularies, not to mention blinding reputations, out of the multisyllabic, abracadabric words that Mr. Maverick condemns. He doesn't like "patterns," "effectuating," "dynamics." He doesn't want to hear any more about "pointing up" programs and "finalizing" contracts that "stem from" district, regional, or Washington "levels." But what would bureaucrats, Supreme Court fanciers, and pedagogues-to mention only a few of the Larger Word Plants Corporation-do without such expressions? Mr. Maverick's irresponsible attack on our precious heritage of clichés must be deplored by everyone who believes in progressive obfuscation. He had better get back on the range or he will find himself in an "area of conflict" where the "social climate" will be too hot even for Texan.

### Protective Concealment

TWO recent incidents make it easy to understand the widespread distrust of the State Department. One involves Governor Dewey's charge that the department had asked the British censor to suppress political news sent to American newspapers by American correspondents in London. The other concerns oil shipments to Spain. Both illustrate the disingenuous, if not downright dishonest, manner in which the State Department is accustomed to deal with the press and the public.

Secretary Hull answered the Dewey charge by saying that he was "100 per cent wrong," and Majority Leader McCormack, on the basis of information obtained from the Secretary, told the House of Representatives that "as between Secretary Hull with his years of experience and his truthfulness, and the inexperienced and keenly ambitious Governor Dewey, the American people will accept the word of Secretary Hull." But Representative McCormack spoke too soon. For that same day the London Bureau of the New York Times, which has always been one of Mr. Hull's champions, reported "repeated instances" of objections from Washington to stories by American correspondents about diplomatic developments passed by the British censors.

"Complaints to the Foreign Office regarding what was held in Washington to be too frank a discussion in the American press of diplomatic news became so numerous at one time," the New York Times reported, "that Cyril Radcliffe, deputy director of the Ministry of Information, asked the Foreign Office to relieve the ministry of responsibility for censoring diplomatic news." When correspondents took this up with the Secretary the next day, they were told (1) that censorship had only been asked for reasons of military security or to protect high officials while traveling, (2) that there was "confusion between the censorship of news in the possession of the press and the avoidance of premature disclosure to the press of confidential information," (3) that there had been only four protests to London on news leaks, but (4) that Ambassador Winant might have taken up others in informal discussions. In the light of these admissions, it is hard to accept Secretary Hull's insistence that his position on censorship is "unequivocal and clear." It is true that diplomacy cannot be carried on in a goldfish bowl, but there would be more respect for the Secretary if he said so frankly instead of making statements that will not bear scrutiny.

We believe that much of the State Department's secrecy is not justifiable but represents the protective measures required in carrying out an undemocratic and unpopular foreign policy. Oil shipments to Spain provide a clear case. On January 28 the department announced that "the loading of Spanish ships with petroleum products for Spain [had] been suspended pending a reconsideration of trade and general relations between Spain and the United States." The statement evoked approval and was regarded as an indication that we were to stop appeasing Franco. It was explained at the time that in any case Franco had not been receiving oil from the United States but only from Venezuela and other Caribbean sources.

But on March 4 the Philadelphia Record revealed that a quarter-million gallons of high-grade lubricating oil had been loaded for Spain at an East Coast port. Censorship wouldn't permit the Record to say it was Philadelphia, perhaps on the theory that German submarines might sink oil shipments for Franco. This brought another flood of unwilling confessions: (1) that the previous statement applied only to bulk shipments in tankers, but that Spain had been getting "packaged" petroleum in barrels, cans, and kegs from the United States before February 1, (2) that the State Department had decided (but curiously enough has not announced it) to apply the February 1 embargo to "packaged goods" as well as bulk shipments, but (3) that this did not apply to export licenses already outstanding at the time. These explanations do not accord too well with the statement of January 28 that oil shipments to Spain had been "suspended." The State Department and Noah Webster do not seem to use words the same way. When the Chief Information Officer of the department was asked how many export licenses were outstanding, he said he didn't think there were any but he wasn't sure. We're not sure either-about that, or anything else the department tells us.

### Drafting 4-F's

IN A dramatic reversal of policy, the House Military Affairs Committee has started work on a bill to draft men discharged from the services, 4-F's, and possibly those in the over-age group for essential civilian work. Heretofore the Military Affairs Committee has steadfastly opposed all suggestions for using compulsion in meeting the civilian man-power problem. It was largely responsible for the setting aside, last fall, of the War Manpower Commission's plan for diverting men from non-essential work into war industry through the establishment of "non-deferrable" categories. But as the pressure for men in the armed services has increased, necessitating the drafting of hundreds of thousands of

essential men in the war industries, the Army and Navy departments have apparently been successful in persuading the House committee of the necessity of at least a modified civilian draft.

Under the plan proposed by Under Secretary Patterson, 4-F's will first be given an opportunity to take jobs in essential industry or agriculture at regular wage rates. Those who refuse to accept the jobs offered them will be inducted into the army and placed in labor battalions at army pay. The essential justice of the proposal can hardly be challenged. It should eliminate the glaring unfairness of the present arrangement, under which young men with minor physical defects are not only freed of the obligation of bearing arms but are permitted to snatch choice jobs in promising lines of post-warendeavor, or, in a few startling instances, to earn huge salaries in such non-essential activities as professional baseball and football.

It should be recognized, however, that the plan is a poor substitute, morally or practically, for national-service legislation such as has been advocated by the President. In testifying before the Military Affairs Committee both Mr. Stimson and Mr. Patterson, speaking for the War Department, made it clear that they preferred a universal man-power draft. While the conscripting of 4-F's for civilian service is fair in that it provides equality of treatment within the eighteen-to-thirty-seven age-group, its unequal treatment of different age-groups and the two sexes is neither just nor logical. It is difficult to see why the obligation to support the war effort should be limited to males between the ages of eighteen and thirty-seven when other adults are under no compulsion whatever.

The omission of women from the proposed conscription plan is particularly illogical. Although millions of women have gone into war industries in the past few years, other millions are making no direct contribution to the war effort. These women constitute the greatest reservoir of potential war workers. There is no need to call on mothers with small children, on young girls or grandmothers; huge numbers of single girls and childless married women are still available. The women's branches of the armed services have found it impossible, however, to fill their requirements by appeals for voluntary enlistments. Many of the jobs in war industry that are being vacated as a result of Selective Service demands could readily be filled by women if there were adequate machinery for drawing them in. After more than two years of experimentation with "voluntary" measures, it is evident that the available sources of labor cannot be fully utilized without some form of conscription. While it is encouraging to find that Congress has at last awakened to the seriousness of the man-power situation, the proposed remedy has all the faults of the hasty improvisation that it is.

## American Labor Pains

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

NE of the first engagements of the coming Presidential campaign has been fought and decided in New York. By a large majority the left wing of the American Labor Party in that state has captured the party organization; the right wing has withdrawn and as we go to press is deciding whether or not to start a party of its own. The issue dividing the two groups was not on the surface a campaign issue at all; both lefts and rights are pledged to fight for the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace. The issue was the control of the party by Communists and near-Communists. The retreating right wing charges that the victory of the left has established such control; the left denies it.

The struggle is an old one, but a new element was injected by the intervention of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee headed by Sidney Hillman. Mr. Hillman's willingness to cooperate with left elements infuriated the right wingers, who were waging a losing battle without this added handicap. They claimed that ever since the Communist Party had been forced off the state ballot, party members had been "colonizing" in the A. L. P.; with the coming dissolution of the Communist Party its members intended to take over the A. L. P., converting it to their own uses. To prevent this the right wing insisted it must control the party machine. Right-wing leaders attacked Hillman's alliance with the left as a repudiation of his own past convictions and his own policy in dealing with similar elements in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Hillman countered with the argument that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee could hardly be expected to rule C. I. O. unions out of the race even if some of them were run by men charged with Communist sympathies. He denied, however, that the election of the left-wing slate would increase the power of the Communists; on the contrary he insisted that the A. L. P. stood a better chance of avoiding out-and-out Communist control by accepting the cooperation of the Political Action Committee and the unions which supported it. He based his campaign on a strong appeal for united labor and progressive action in behalf of the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt's reelection. But unity was not furthered by Mr. Hillman's efforts. The fight was a bitter one; long-standing factional lesions were widened, personal rivalries accentuated. The major split in the ranks of labor was more sharply defined.

The Nation has believed from the beginning that Hillman should have kept the Political Action Committee out of this struggle for power in the American Labor Party. His arguments for intervention were strong in logic but weak in political and human terms. He knew

how deeply rooted were the fear and hatred of communism which animate the right wing. These emotions are too strong to be debated. Hillman and his chief lieutenants wanted to make peace; they did not want victory followed by schism. They understood the political penalties attached to that kind of victory. But their attempts at appeasement were doomed to fail. The right would accept nothing less than total rejection of the Communist-controlled candidates; and this Hillman could not concede without repudiating some of his own C. I. O. unions. The intransigence of the right gave Hillman the appearance of magnanimity, but it robbed him of the satisfaction that unity would have brought. He might better have stayed out of the fight and then, after the primaries, cooperated with the A. L. P. whoever won.

By his intervention he has involved the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, before the major campaign has even opened, in a second-front engagement that should have been avoided. The fight in New York has provided a handy supply of ammunition for reactionaries-from Mr. Dies up-looking for fresh "proof" that communism and the New Deal are synonymous and that the C. I. O., a New Deal creation, is only a branch of the Communist Party. This proposition will be worked for all it is worth, and much more. One cannot wholly dismiss its possible effect in limiting the value of the Political Action Committee as a campaign weapon; neither should one exaggerate the danger. The attempt made by Dies to prove that the committee itself is controlled by Communists is nothing more than a dirty sideswipe at the Roosevelt Administration. It will, I think, be widely recognized as such. And the general disgust with Dies's smearing tactics, spreading now in many hitherto unaffected areas, should help counteract his libelous and lying attack.

I hope it will. Nothing would be more unfortunate than a weakening of the Political Action Committee at the outset of its difficult career. If its role in New York was an error of judgment, the effect of that error should be neutralized as rapidly as possible. To do this is the job of everyone who recognizes the need of building up progressive strength in the coming campaign. It is particularly the job of Mr. Hillman's recent opponents. No one knows better than the former right wing of the A. L. P. how essential it is to have an organization outside the regular party machine devoted to the task of rallying labor and liberal support behind a program of progressive action. The C. I. O. committee is the only available instrument of progressive action organized on a nation-wide basis. It is launching its campaign under heavy handicaps. Whether or not it develops into a good fighting battalion will depend in part on the attitude of certain key people in New York.

It would perhaps be asking too much of Mr. Dubinsky and Mr. Rose and Mr. Alfange to suggest that they offer

their backing to the Political Action Committee outside of New York. It is not asking too much to suggest that they refrain from injuring its chances. To go on talking day after day about the "Hillman-Browder alliance" is to play directly into the hands of Martin Dies and his cohorts throughout the country. The primaries are over, and the right has lost. A great national campaign is opening, a campaign which will decide the control of this

country for the rest of the war and the period of reconstruction. To try to defeat reaction in the coming election is the only legitimate concern of progressive men and women. Communism is not an issue; reaction is the issue. We hope most earnestly that the right-wing leaders in New York will be able to rise above their disappointment and bitterness and steadfastly avoid any act which will strengthen the enemies of the people.

# Reply to the "Saturday Evening Post"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 30

SEEM to have alarmed the editors of the Saturday Evening Post. They shy at a remark made by your correspondent in an article on The Cartel Cancer in

correspondent in an article on The Cartel Cancer in The Nation of February 12. The Saturday Evening Post for April 1 carries an editorial, Soldiers' Doubts Reflect Our Wobbling War Aims, and in it the editors say:

The confused American, who regards himself as a defender of "free enterprise," also finds a considerable propaganda not merely for destroying the military power of Germany but for using destruction of her military power as a pretext for destroying her industrial system as such. At any rate, I. F. Stone, writing on cartels for *The Nation*, hints dire consequences "if we restore the cartel system and a capitalist Reich." [The italics are the Post's.] In other words, we are supposed by a considerable group of Americans to be fighting to destroy in Germany the kind of economic setup we defend in America.

I have little quarrel with the Saturday Evening Post's editorial. It has much to say on the problem of war aims that is sober and sensible. I think most Americans will agree with its general conclusion. "The justice imposed by war," the Post says, "is rough at best, and this war will be no exception. . . . The purpose and spirit of an American army fighting on foreign soil will be most easily maintained if the issues are stated as simply as possible. Hitler and Tojo must be defeated because their success would mean our ruin." But I think most soldiers would agree that a further step would be helpful in maintaining morale. There are men fighting Germany today whose fathers fought Germany in the First World War. I think these men would like some assurance that their sons will not have to fight Germany in a third war.

The Saturday Evening Post's attitude to the future of Germany rests on fallacious assumptions. These call for the most careful examination if we are not to drift into the reestablishment of pretty much the same kind of Germany we have had to fight twice in a generation.

Let us begin with the final sentence of the passage I quoted at the beginning of this letter. "In other words," the Post says, "we are supposed by a considerable group of Americans to be fighting to destroy in Germany the kind of economic setup we defend in America." This may at first glance appear conclusive and crushing, but it is really irrelevant. We may not be fighting to destroy capitalism in Germany, but we are certainly not fighting to maintain it. We are fighting to destroy the German threat to ourselves. And in making the peace we shall be concerned with only one thing—helping to bring to birth a Germany we shall not have to fight again.

I think the editors of the Saturday Evening Post would agree that we encouraged the reestablishment of capitalism in Germany after the last war. I think they would agree that if capitalism had been successful in Germany, the republic would not have fallen and Hitler would not have come to power. I think they would agree that if Hitler had not come to power, there would probably be no war in Europe today. Now the question is: After Hitler is defeated, are we to restore capitalism in Germany and run the risk of letting much the same sequence of events repeat itself? I think this is a reasonable question.

Now let us look at the first sentence of the passage I have quoted from the Saturday Evening Post. It links "free enterprise" in the mind of the reader with the German "industrial system." We are still fortunate enough to have large areas of free enterprise in American capitalism, but "free enterprise" was never even the ideal of German capitalism. There wasn't much free enterprise in Germany before Hitler, and there is a good deal less of it today. This is not because of National Socialism. The Führer no more meant to make the Reich national socialist, in the literal meaning of the term, than Huey Long intended to make every American a king. There is less free enterprise because, with democratic checks removed, the great trusts, combines, and cartels of the Reich have waxed stronger, gobbling up

and strong-arming smaller businesses and independent enterprise. With a few unlucky exceptions like Thyssen, who lost out to shrewder rivals, the magnates who backed Hitler profited enormously by Nazism. Hitler's defeat will not deprive them of their dominant position in Germany's economy. The great capitalists of the Reich helped the Führer to power, benefited by his regime, and share in his guilt. Do the editors of the Saturday Evening Post propose to let them get away with their gains?

I am sure that the editors of the Post feel as hostile to those silent partners of Hitlerism as the rest of us do. But if we unthinkingly identify German monopoly capitalism with "free enterprise" and permit it to operate after Hitler has been defeated, we leave these men with their loot. They are counting on conventional thinking to help them do two things. One is through litigation and dummy corporations in neutral countries to salvage much of the property they stole in occupied Europe. The other is to retain their dominant position in the German economy. They look to our respect for property rights to help them in the first task and to our fear of communism to help them in the second. They have strong potential allies in America and Britain-first, among the corporations which own property in the Reich and, second, among German industry's opposite numbers in international cartel agreements. These cartel partners stand to benefit by the enhanced monopoly power of their old German associates, and may be expected to stand by them. One of the proposals already put forward here by a distinguished corporation lawyer is that American concerns be made "trustees" for the property of their cartel partners in the Reich. This would have an obvious advantage in protecting them from socialization.

This is not merely a moral problem. It is a problem in international security. These big German interests were unable to end unemployment in the Reich without dictatorship and war. There is no reason to believe that they can do better a second time. reace will create difficulties for them; war would offer new profits and a new chance at world dominion. We know what they did to hamstring American production by cartel agreements before this war, and it would be folly to give them a chance to do it again. They are our enemies, as deeply and as permanently as the German military. Shall we leave them in power? Or shall we give the pent-up anger of the Reich's gagged working class a chance to sweep them away? And by nationalizing the great combines, and giving the small business man and farmer a chance at free enterprise in a mixed economic system, establish a Reich that can achieve prosperity without plundering its neighbors? I ask the editors of the Saturday Evening Post which course offers the better chance that our sons will not have to fight Germany again.

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT IS POSITIVELY ASSERTED in Paris, and in the best-informed quarters is believed, that a treaty has been concluded between France and Austria, and—though this less confidently—that Italy is included in this agreement; and that the object of the alliance is the humiliation or diminution of Prussia; Italy's reward to be, of course, Rome; that of France, the left bank of the Rhine; and that of Austria, any of the hundred possibilities which present themselves in Eastern Europe.—April 15, 1869.

THE ACCESSION OF BRITISH AMERICA [Canada] to the United States would mean not only the addition of a vast extent of fertile soil but of several millions of a hardy and industrious population, of the same origin as our own, speaking the same language, and already used to self-government. . . . But to make the annexation a gain to Canadians, their consent to it should be asked, and given; and to make it, as is proposed, a healer of the breach between this country and England, England should make it fairly and voluntarily, and not under compulsion.—April 15, 1869.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOI HAS FINISHED the fifth and last part of his great novel "War and Peace," and it will be published in a few days. This includes the occupation and fire of Moscow and the Vienna Congress.—April 1, 1869.

IT MUST BE ADMITTED that the difficulty of getting at the truth about foreign politics is not trifling. The leading London papers take, in ordinary times, considerable pains to get good information, but then the mere labor of reading all, or half, that the newspapers or travelers say about foreign countries in our day, or reading the diplomatic reports or dispatches, is something from which most people shrink. It would probably be found on examination that ninety-nine men out of a hundred, both in England and America, rely on the telegraph now for all they learn of what is going on abroad.—April 15, 1869.

THE FREE-TRADERS HAVE BEGUN to be very active, and are holding meetings in various parts of the country, and are apparently drawing some of the veterans of the anti-slavery struggle into the agitation. Henry Ward Beecher has presided at a meeting in Brooklyn, and William Lloyd Garrison has spoken at one in Boston; upon which the Tribane suggests that the old abolitionists, having been in favor of "abolishing everything from Christianity down," cannot be expected to have any respect for the tariff—an argument on the "religion" and logic of which it is hardly necessary to dwell.—April 29, 1869.

PERSIAN HEALING OR PINE-TAR SOAP. It cures Pimples, Chapped Hands, Salt Rheum, Frosted Feet, Burns, Bruises, Fresh Cuts, all Diseases of the SCALP and SKIN, and is a good shaving soap. "I have used your Persian Healing Soap in my practice extensively, and it has proved the best healing soap I ever used. It has no equal for washing the heads and skin of children." L. P. Aldrich, M. D. (ADVT.)—April 8, 1869.

# Willkie Against the Gods

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Milwaukee, Wis., March 29

N THE eve of the Wisconsin primaries, which will be decided before this appears in type, few experienced observers here will venture a flat prediction regarding the fate of Wendell L. Willkie. Yet it is clear that his campaign has made an impact, and it is important to understand—whether he wins or loses—the extraordinary experiment he has attempted in the heart of the so-called isolationist Middle West.

The practical politicians would have said, in advance, that for Willkie to stake his hopes on Wisconsin was quixotic, perverse, and a mug's game. The La Follette isolationist tradition lingers, and Philip La Follette's position on General MacArthur's staff is reflected in the pro-MacArthur sentiments of the weekly *Progressive*. Governor Dewey won the Republican delegation four years ago, and his name is entered again, with the powerful support of Secretary of State Fred Zimmerman. The State's population is heavily Germanic in origin. The Chicago *Tribune* circulates widely. The anti-isolationist sentiment is split between Willkie himself and former Governor Stassen of Minnesota, now a naval officer with Admiral Halsey.

In the face of these handicaps and this confusion, Willkie has conducted throughout the state one of the most fantastic Presidential campaigns in American history. He has hit the towns and countryside with the personal zeal of the old-time circuit rider on the glory trail. With terrible earnestness—and the phrase is used advisedly—he has at once attempted the almost irreconcilable tasks of reforming the Republican Party and asking rankand-file voters to intrust him, in spite of all the venomous opposition to him, with the party's leadership.

He has sought to persuade the people, puzzled by intense propaganda calling him a New Deal stooge, that he is a "real Republican" who disagrees with "almost every policy" of the Administration in power, but who has also boldly criticized the bleak G. O. P. record in Congress. And he has never once yielded to the temptation to talk dirty politics against Roosevelt's war leadership. He went out of his way to repudiate publicly the campaign tactics of Harrison Spangler, who had chortled gleefully that the G. O. P. would gain votes from the Administration's Irish and Polish policies.

His deliberate defiance of his enemies, his determination to speak his mind plainly on delicate issues were almost incredible. He chose a strongly German area for a speech asserting the necessity of waging war against Germany until total victory. When baited by a *Tribune* spokesman, he departed from his intended speech to lash out a warning that any Republican candidate indorsed by Colonel McCormick would inevitably go down to defeat. He continued with ruthless insistence to discuss the simple fundamental issues of war and peace. With a moral fervor almost passionate in its intensity he sought to re-create the Republican Party in his own image, as what he considers the only effective instrument of liberal leadership in American democracy.

How has Wisconsin received all this? It is notable that his audiences have been the plain citizenry—decent, sober middle-class farmers and townspeople, who might, indeed, have been more entertained by the circus banalities of the ordinary political speech, but who have listened intently to Willkie's customary extemporaneous discussion of transcendent, if abstract, issues. They went away quietly, and presumably thoughtfully, trying to sense the quality of this strange candidate and weigh the merits of his direct appeal: "Help me, please help me!" His campaign began coldly, his audiences sitting on their hands, but after a few days it began to show signs of popular appeal. At Sheboygan the local party leaders, who had not troubled to conceal their hostility, were shocked by a rousing turnout that was rewarded with one of the most effective speeches of the campaign. At Waukesha a previously indifferent county chairman jumped nimbly for the band-wagon and belatedly begged the privilege of introducing the chairman of the meeting. In Milwaukee, where Dewey four years ago drew fewer than a thousand people, Willkie had four thousand in his audience, and he improved the occasion by skilfully saving a meeting which the chairman had half ruined by platform bungling.

Yet even in Milwaukee the people's confusion betrayed itself. Willkie began an ironical analysis of the familiar complaint that we need a President who will "look after America," as Stalin and Churchill look after Britain and Russia. The audience began to applaud and Willkie had to hurry to make it clear that he didn't agree with this corrupting misstatement of the issues.

The assaults he launched against the New Deal were virtually identical with those made by liberal Democrats and non-partisans, who are sick of official trafficking with Badoglio and disgusted by Administration timidity on the home front. The argument is difficult for a Republican seeking the nomination from people accustomed to a more partisan attack—particularly when the candidate

is much more vivid and savage in assailing tories of his own party.

There was added the personal element—the trouble Willkie has in fighting, in so many ways, for pure principle, while he virtually reads out of the Presidential race all other candidates and allows the people to assume that he really considers himself the indispensable Republican. When Harold Stassen appealed for votes in the peculiar formula dictated by his naval connections, Willkie did not help himself by pretending that the statement was ambiguous. Most of the eminent political correspondents traveling with him respect him greatly, but he did not endear himself by a resentful, ungracious comment about an opposition Senator who had sent him polite personal regards.

Willkie's cause was strengthened when William T. Eviue, editor of the Capital Times and veteran leader of the internationalist wing of the Progressives, indorsed

his candidacy. He presumably could benefit from the broad Wisconsin election laws, which would allow liberal Democrats, Progressives, and independents, lacking statewide contests of their own, to enter the Republican primary.

The fight, however, has been admittedly an uphill struggle. Willkie knows this, and there is something admirable about his dogged faith that if the American people can just be shown the issues, tory obstructionists and nationalists will be overthrown. At this writing he needs, to survive as a strong candidate, a large popular vote and at least a majority of the state's twenty district delegates and four delegates-at-large. If he should get more than that, it would represent a truly impressive popular victory. Some of the experienced local newspapermen think he will score this kind of victory—but those who make this guess happen to be strongly pro-Willkie themselves.

# How to Get a Better Congress

BY PHILIP BLAIR RICE

POR the majority of Americans, the 1944 election promises to be just another heavyweight-title bout. There will be preliminary matches, so to speak, between such lesser fry as Congressional candidates, but only the insiders will know the names of the contestants or trouble to place a bet on them. The spotlight will be reserved for the battle between the Champ and the Contender—or, in case the Champ has gone into retirement, between the two Contenders with the heavy punches.

That the language of Madison Square Garden should be appropriate to a national election is unfortunate. For not one but two of the principal arms of the government are elected, at least theoretically, by the people. No matter how good a President we may choose, he is ineffective unless he has a Congress with which he can work, and he may become overweening unless he can be checked by a Congress that supplies a high type of statesman-like criticism. Recent Congresses have contained some able men and passed measures to avert disaster on the war and home fronts. But the margin has been too close for comfort. The first Lend-Lease Act, and with it very likely the fate of our allies and the whole outcome of the war, depended on one vote in the House of Representatives. The present Congress has disfranchised the greater part of eleven million men and women in uniform. It has refused to vote an adequate tax bill, and it has often yielded to pressure groups bent on inflation. It has also failed to oppose the Administration for the State Department's support of such anti-democratic forces as Badoglio, Giraud, and Franco. These are only a few of the bad omens for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and for the peace and the reconstruction.

Many liberals, if not yet the general public, are realizing belatedly that Congress is an important part of the American system of government, and that greater care must be exercised in its selection. But few practical suggestions have been offered for doing anything about it. One thing seems certain. The effort to improve Congress must be carried out locally, in the Congressional districts themselves. It must start from the "grass roots." Voters must find, well in advance of the primaries and conventions, methods of encouraging better candidates to fight for the nomination, of obtaining information about them, and of mobilizing public opinion.

But how to do this? A group of citizens in central Ohio, a state not noted for distinguished representation in Congress, believe they have found a way. Let us listen to their story.

One hot evening in June, 1942, five men were sitting in the yard of one of them in the Ohio village of Gambier. All these men happened to be nominally Democrats, although none of them voted a straight ticket consistently. So far as the rest of the story goes, they might just as well have been Republicans, or adherents of a minor party. From the war the talk drifted to politics. It developed that none of the men liked the way the Representative of their six-county district in Congress, a

Republican isolationist and reactionary, had voted on national issues.

"Who's running for the Democratic nomination for Congress in this district?" one of the men asked.

Nobody knew.

"Does anybody know the county chairman?"

"I do," said the only one in the group who had ever been active in politics—he was a precinct committeeman. "I was talking to him the other day. He knew that a candidate had filed from Newark and another from Ashland, but he couldn't remember their names and he didn't know anything about them."

"It seems," another remarked, "that our privilege as free citizens of one of the few remaining democracies will consist in the ability to mark an X before the name of either Joe Doakes or Sam Soakes. If we vote for Joe rather than Sam, it will be because we like Joe's name better, or because our precinct committeeman here tells us that Joe is a good fellow, or because we have learned that he belongs to our lodge. The great mass of voters in the other party will choose with similar enlightenment. Another guessing game will take place in November, Out of this process several hundred men will assemble in Washington to form a Congress supposed to be 'representative of the people.'"

"Well," said the precinct committeeman, "there will be a party rally in a couple of weeks at the Old Mill. You can go to that. Along with several dozen other candidates, the aspiring Congressmen will probably give two-minute speeches. And there will be a fish fry and free beer."

"So we'll have two minutes to learn where they stand on military affairs, diplomacy, labor relations, the farm situation, and the post-war world. That'll be a big help."

The men sat thinking for a while. Then one of them said: "It's not so funny. They're asking us to elect them to run the war and maybe make the peace. We ought to know what they stand for. Why let the machine hand-pick them for us? Why not ask them to come here to speak and to answer our questions?"

The suggestion caught on.

"What will we call our meeting?"

"Why not call it the Democratic Forum? The forum idea has been successful on the radio. It's the modern equivalent of the town meeting."

A week later about twenty men and women—farmers, workingmen, professional men, housewives, a grocer, the local station agent—assembled in the Gambier community center to plan the meeting. They constituted themselves a Committee for a Democratic Forum, and elected as co-chairmen a college professor and a bookkeeper.

Both the Democratic candidates accepted the committee's invitation, and announcements of the forthcoming meeting were circulated by small boys to all the houses in Gambier—including those of Republicans as

well as Democrats—and mailed to farmers in the surrounding townships. The small costs were footed by contributions from members of the committee.

"We're tired of voting for candidates we know nothing about," read the announcement in part. "To elect a good Congress is just as important as anything we civilians can do to help the war effort. We need a Congress of which we can be, confident that it will have the courage to impose upon us the sacrifices necessary for an all-out war effort, that it will not go in for appeasement when the war begins to pinch, and that it will win the peace. We also want men with the wisdom to make a better America when the war is over."

The first public meeting of Ohio Democratic Forum No. 1 was held in the auditorium of the Gambier High School on the evening of July 17, 1942. Although the thermometer registered in the nineties, about 125 people were present, in a community which usually casts 300 to 400 votes.

The two Congressional candidates spoke for fifteen minutes each, and afterward, for an hour and a half, the members of the audience addressed questions to the speakers. They asked for their views on the conduct of the war, on inflation, on taxation, on the government's labor and farm policies, on the issue of internationalism vs. isolationism, on post-war reconstruction. If a candidate seemed reluctant to answer, his questioners hammered away at him until they found out whether he was dodging the issue or had genuinely failed to make up his mind because of lack of adequate information.

It was evident that the audience did not expect the candidate to be a superman, or to have all the answers in detail. But they did wish to learn how honest and courageous he was intellectually, what was his general attitude toward the important questions of the day, how much thinking he had done, and how effective a speaker he was likely to be in Congress. At the end of the meeting he was no longer just Joe Doakes to them.

One of the significant results of the first forum was that there was a record Democratic vote in Gambier for an off-year primary, although the vote in the rest of the state, and in the nation, was one of the lightest in history. After the primary, the Democratic voters of Gambier united behind their party's candidate, held another meeting, and worked at the polls to get out the vote on Election Day. The November, 1942, election was, of course, a Republican landslide in Ohio and in the Middle West generally. But the politicians of the district observed that Gambier and the surrounding townships were the only communities in Knox County that gave a majority to the Democratic Congressional candidate. It seemed that democratic methods, with a small d, might help the Democratic-or the Republican-Party! By their use, amateurs in politics had succeeded in getting out the vote, whereas the professionals had failed.

The members of the Democratic Forum believe not only that they have found a way of choosing more intelligently between the candidates that offer themselves, but that the spread of the forum method would in a short time produce better candidates as well. At present, in order to be nominated, an able candidate must by devious ways win the favor of the party machine and of the more sinister influences which sometimes furnish the machine its backing. But the forum gives the candidate a chance to present his case directly to the public. And it enlists in active party politics many citizens who otherwise would keep aloof.

Non-partisan forums have their place. But the central feature of the Democratic Forum is that it is, in a new sense, partisan. Its organizers believe that "party politics" need no longer be a term with a stigma to it. The American system is a party system. Candidates are nominated by their parties and voted for on party ballots. If shame has attached to party politics in the past, this is because the operations of the party system have been subject to secret manipulation; because, in short, our parties have not been democratic. What the forum idea proposes is to bring party politics to the people and democratize the parties themselves.

The Democratic Forum movement has already begun to spread. Inquiries as to how to form similar forums have been received from spots as far from Ohio as Maryland and Texas. In small communities, where the newspapers give even less attention to the Congressional elections than in the cities, and in the South, where the primary is the real election, the forums are especially serviceable.

While the founders of Ohio Democratic Forum No. 1 are pleased at the interest shown in their idea, and glad to affiliate with other forums, they insist on emphasizing certain cautions. The forums must be kept democratic with a small d. If they are controlled by any candidate or group for selfish ends, they will soon alienate the interest of the public. They must be kept independent of the regular party organizations, and their meetings must be open to all, regardless of party. Any registered voter of the party in question must be eligible for voting membership in the forum. The officers must be elected at public meetings. The forum, moreover, should be organized by citizens who do not seek office and who have no other personal ax to grind. Although petitions may be circulated and debated at meetings, the forum as a group should not pass any resolutions on matters of public policy. And it should not officially back any candidate, but should give a hearing to all who present themselves, within the limits of the audience's endurance and the chairman's discretion. For its chief function is the mutual education of the electorate and the candidate.

Many European nations have drifted into dictatorship because of the incompetence of their legislative bodies.

One way to keep this from happening in America, so these citizens of Ohio believe, is to create new mechanisms whereby our representatives can function more effectively both as servants and as leaders of the people. They believe that the time is ripe for some new manifestations of the democratic spirit, and these will require initiative and political inventiveness on the part of citizens everywhere.

#### FIRST PRINCIPLES

Or How to Think About Mortimer Adler's "How to Think About War and Peace"

In five hundred years all wars will cease, And, by elementary logic, we shall then have peace. A is A, B is not non-B,

Time must not be mixed up with Eternity,
Eternity is comforting when you're distressed
About battles in the East and invasion in the West,
When you painfully wonder how the world will fare
When the killing has stopped on land, sea, and air.
Don't worry about cartels or the Culbertson plan,
Or Union with Britain by that Lippmann man,
Don't fret about boundaries and areas and such,
And the claims of the Finns and the Greeks and the
Dutch,

Be calm and be spacious; think in centuries at least, Things'll clear up nicely when you're long deceased. Don't fuss about the present; give your spirit wings, Think quite quietly on quite vast things, Dismiss all transient nonsense about trade and pacts, Forget markets and materials, mere mundane facts, The next ten years may be cruel and strange, A thousand years will be your proper range. Though everything now seems confused and hectic, Settle down with a sedative of pure dialectic. Here all is in order, in a nice neat book That looks down the centuries with a far-flung look. The boys at Cassino will love to hear That in half a millennium things will be all clear. On the Anzio beachhead they will learn with glee That posterity will some day shout "Q. E. D.!" In five hundred years you'll know the score, Or you would, save you won't be around any more! The next ten years are the merest jot, We'll get through those, or we won't, so what? Just think clearly for five hundred years, And everything will come out lovely, dears, Think of first principles; they come quite gratis, And you'll live sub specie aeternitatis. War is not peace, and peace is not war, So go to sleep, children, and please don't snore.

IRWIN EDMAN

# Jack and the Jackpot

#### BY KARL KEYERLEBER

BILL JACK has spent thousands of dollars in recent months in an effort to prove that his Jack and Heintz Company is teetering on the verge of bankruptcy. He speaks almost as often as Wendell Willkie, and while he covers somewhat less ground than Mrs. Roosevelt he makes up in velocity what he may lack in global distance.

Jack, who once paid a secretary \$18,295 for ten weeks' work, is probably the country's best-known champion of incentive pay for factory workers. That may be an understatement. The Cleveland plant, where workers are known as "associates" and extra-curricular employee benefits are on a scale that makes old-line industrialists shudder, has become famous for two things—production and publicity. Since Jack came into contact with the hard facts of war-time government controls there is a question whether the emphasis on the second has not outstripped the undoubted emphasis placed on the first.

When necktieless Bill Jack spoke last month in the Mayflower Hotel in Washington at a dinner to which he had invited all the members of both houses of Congress, he carried to a dizzy peak a campaign that must have made Barnum stir uneasily in his grave. Arguments still go on as to whether the people's representatives equaled or were outnumbered by planted "cheer leaders" at the Washington dinner. The debate is pointless. Sufficient Representatives and Senators attended to make the stunt a success. It drew the nation's attention from a global war to Jack's private war. With his feet planted firmly on the glorious heritage of American free enterprise and his head in the stratosphere of a new industrial philosophy, he has challenged the army and the navy and "the whole damn government," whose price-adjustment procedure he calls dictatorship.

The war began when an army price board which renegotiated the company's contracts last year decided that Jack and Heintz should refund to the government \$1,750,000 which was considered excessive profit on sales of airplane-starter assemblies and automatic pilots to the services in 1942. Since the company already had paid taxes of \$5,250,000, the total amounted to a round \$7,000,000, plus some interest.

Jack reacted swiftly. He stood, like Foch in 1918, and breathed defiance. "My center is giving way, my right is pushed back," he told a trusted associate. "Excellent! I shall attack."

The attack was both frontal and enveloping. Jack, a stocky, dynamic, fiftyish fellow with a penchant for open-

throated sport shirts and exuberant phraseology—both sometimes seem a size too big for the man—carried his case to the people. He began to speak on all the better Chamber of Commerce rostrums east of the Rockies, the guest of men who once looked askance at his revolutionary manufacturing methods. Nearly fifty leading newspapers blossomed out this winter with company advertisements denouncing the renegotiation of war contracts and asking support for the fight against the statute.

Jack launched a stock-selling scheme through which employees pledged future earnings to the company, causing one Clevelander to chortle: "My Gawd, now Jack is renegotiating his associates!" And finally he drew from a secret drawer his master-plan, a turning movement around the Congressional flank, with enfilading elocution.

The starters still rolled out—there is a company song about that—but they no longer kept pace with the stories about the concern and its voluble president. So many roving reporters prowled through the place that both Reader's Digest and General Hershey's Selective Service were weighing the advisability of opening branch offices in the lobby. "We call it the milk run," observed the Jack and Heintz publications man who drives visiting writers from Cleveland through the smoke-filled Cuyahoga Valley to Bedford, home of the main plant.

The stories of the fabulous war-born industrial wonderland which formed the background for Jack's fight on renegotiation both complicated the issues and reduced them to human and tangible terms not often found in what are likely to be referred to as soulless corporations. Jack uprooted his infant Jack and Heintz concern when he encountered labor trouble in California a few years ago, and moved to Cleveland. Somewhere in the process he found a lot of answers. He introduced a new laborrelations philosophy which he termed "industrial humanism," and gave his workers wide freedom on the job while keeping an oddly tight checkrein on their lives. The fact that he brought his experiment to full flower at a time when government orders poured in on his newly organized company may have been a coincidence. At any rate it was opportune, because most of the answers he had found seemed to involve money-gobs of it.

Jack and Heintz was organized late in 1940 with \$100,000 capital in the name of four men. Within a year, while the nation rushed to rearm, it acquired a \$20,000,000 backlog of orders, and last year it did more than \$100,000,000 worth of business. In 1941 the

company divided a \$650,000 Christmas bonus, and new watches ticked on 800 associated wrists. From an original 30, the associates have multiplied to a present strength of 7,600. They are housed in a \$3,500,000 plant—or rather six plants—built and equipped by the government even to office and cafeteria furniture. Out of the federal till has come \$11,670,000 in cash for working capital.

The associates work hard—twelve hours a day and seven days a week—but they live. Here is a factory without a time clock, operated somewhat on the lines of a combined camp meeting, football rally, and circus. Every new associate receives a free pair of expensive shoes. "A man can't do good work when his feet hurt." If a worker feels "bushed" he may knock off from work and take a steam bath, followed by a rubdown by the company's masseur. He gets a life-insurance policy without cost. Free meals are served under the direction of a famed chef, and coffee and bouillon are available all the time.

If in spite of these aids to morale the long hours get an associate down he is sent with his family to Florida or Maine, depending on the season, for a vacation at company expense. Jack and Heintz bought Florida apartments and leased a honeymoon island in the Gulf of Mexico and the famed Breakers Hotel at Cedar Point on Lake Erie. A former gambling club which had been bought by Bill Jack's brother was turned into a bowling alley and recreation club. When some of the boys in the front office had trouble meeting their income-tax payments one year, the company slipped \$10,000 into their pay envelopes. Each Christmas everybody hits the Jackpot for another bonus. There have been no strikes, almost no absenteeism.

The experiment in human relations and the high "take-home" pay brought Jack and Heintz a waiting list of 15,000 applicants for jobs at a time when the Cleveland man-power situation was getting very tight. It was not Utopia on an eighty-four-hour week, as it sometimes was pictured by awed writers. But it paid off in high production per man. Over the plant flies an army-navy "E" pennant.

In it rules a martinet in mufti who sometimes makes his workmen wonder about that new-fangled factory democracy. They call the boss Bill when he stops at their benches, but if they are not true to their wives or don't park their cars in the neat pattern laid out for them they draw public reprimands. "Either a man plays the game fair or he won't be an associate long," is a Jack dictum which brought some sotto voce responses that the removal of an associate from the pay roll would take no longer t an the firing of an employee by some less enlightened industrialist.

Through a microphone on his desk Jack toils tirelessly to build up his associates' morale. He boasts that he works not twelve but twenty hours each day, and at any time, day or night, his voice may boom over the loud speaker to announce that a new production goal has been passed or that Bill Smith has a birthday or Lottie Snafu a baby. He writes homely parodies to entertain his peers. One, inspired by Elbert Hubbard's "A Message to Garcia," he called "A Message to Mr. Guggenheim." It had a moral, Most of them do.

Every Saturday night there is a banquet at a Cleveland hotel, and here Jack keeps in training for his formal speaking engagements. Associates, accustomed to attending boxing shows or hockey games after Jack has assured the promoter, "Sure, there'll be 1,500 of us there," and to donating to worthy causes whenever he pledges their support, always show up for the company banquets. After a number had been held, it was noted that those who had stopped at the bar for a bracer sometimes fell asleep in the middle of the

head man's speech. This difficulty was solved by limiting all associates to a single drink until after the banquet. A company representative supervises the distribution. "And this guy talks about government dictatorship," commented a thirsty associate.

For his twenty-hour day and his genius Jack paid himself \$150,000 in 1942. There seems little



doubt that by many standards he was worth it, although Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson pointed out that the year's return was six times his investment in the company less than two years before. Somebody else observed that Jack had more than once announced publicly that no company officer was making more than \$25,000 a year. According to Patterson, Ralph M. Heintz, the silent half of the company's name, also received \$150,000 and two of Jack's sons drew a total of \$216,500.

At this point the Jack and Heintz case gets very complicated. There is a widespread impression that the honeymoon island, free vitamin pills and rubdowns, and other employee benefits have been attacked by the government. According to Jack himself, none was disallowed as a business expense, though some of them could be challenged as scarcely allocable to the price of airplane starters.

The Price Adjustment Board was interested in lower prices. Jack claimed that his unusual employee methods resulted in high production, and the board apparently took him at his word. But it entered the two top salaries,

plus bonuses, at \$75,000 each and made other revisions at the executive level, charging the difference to company profit instead of to costs. The company wanted to put aside a fund of \$1,750,000 for post-war purposes. Since the renegotiation statute contained no provision for post-war reserves, this also was credited to profit.

There remained one of the biggest questions in the whole proceeding: how much profit to allow the company on business supported by \$15,000,000 of the tax-payers' capital. This has been a hotly disputed point. The original Jack and Heintz investment was \$100,000, and more money was "plowed back" later for capital. Jack also asserts that he borrowed a million dollars from a Cleveland bank when the company was organized. Whatever the total, it is only a fraction of the government investment.

Jack demanded at least 5 per cent of the total volume as the company's profit. What he got is not clear. In its newspaper advertising the company presented a "balance sheet" showing that taxes and renegotiation left a net loss of \$2,826 for 1942. Working from the same figures, the War Department, according to Patterson, found a profit of \$1,361,000 after taxes and renegotiation.

Jack claims high production per man, which hardly can be challenged since all the associates have been working eighty-four hours a week. He also claims high production per dollar through incentive and management efficiency. This has been less easy to prove. Fortune attempted to reach some conclusions by comparing costs. It cited a price of \$1,870 for automatic pilots built by Jack and Heintz as against \$2,200 for those built by the Sperry Corporation. On starters, however, Fortune said the Jahco JH-3 cost the army \$320, while the Bendix Eclipse Series 43, which the magazine's researchers said was comparable, cost only \$194.

Jack says they are not comparable and repudiates the figures. "Ours cost \$262.50," he told me. "That is the smallest production starter we make. It has twice the power and is lighter—an important factor—than the Bendix Series 43. The Army Air Service Command made a study of their starter against ours and took the Series 43 off the Flying Fortress and other planes and put ours on." One thing the controversy has proved beyond dispute is that figures can be made to say anything. Whether Jack is merely cashing in on war-time gravy may be a question that will have to wait until it is learned whether he can offer similar employee inducements in peace time and still undersell competitors.

Meanwhile he continues his trial-by-denunciation of the Price Adjustment Board. Jack told the Congressmen who were his guests that he had no quarrel with them, only with the board. This is about as logical as for a condemned man to say he has no quarrel with the judge but only with the bailiff who leads him to his cell. Jack's quatrel is with Congress, which passed the price-adjustment statute and retained it in the latest revenue act despite some of the most severe pressure ever brought to bear on a legislative body. A Congress in the main sympathetic to business was not convinced that the price boards were putting anybody out of business.

### In the Wind

THE OFFICES at 1775 Broadway, New York, formerly occupied by the Military Committee for the Liberation of Austria, sponsor of the abortive plan for a Hapsburg Legion in the United States army, are now occupied by the Austrian Institute. Founders of the institute are Hans Rott and Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, supporters of the Archduke Otto. They are trying to get the State Department to make the institute its official adviser on Austria.

FIRE-INSURANCE COMPANIES still stipulate that their contracts do not cover fires caused by invasion.

AMENITIES OF COMPETITION: The March 27 issue of *Time* devoted a column and a picture to publicizing the appointment of a British Major General, J. F. C. Fuller, as a military commentator by its rival, *Newsweek*. The picture was a pre-war shot of Fuller chatting with "Lord Haw-Haw," the British traitor who broadcasts from Berlin; the text recalled both Fuller's reputation as an expert in mechanized warfare and his former candidacy for Parliament on the British Fascist ticket.

HEADLINE OF THE WEEK, from the New York Times: "Will Hays Stresses Freedom of Screen."

SCIENTIFIC EXACTITUDE, from a speech by Walter S. Landis, vice-president of the American Cyanamid Company, reported in *Chemical and Engineering News:* "The socialistic movement is founded upon a completely false doctrine. ... It goes under many names, Socialism, Communism, Labor, New Deal, Fascism, Nazism, and a host of lesser-known designations. It is a very potent force in America today."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The last theological school in Norway has been closed.... Tobacco is \$5 an ounce in Germany... The official Nazi press advises Dutch mothers not to worry about the total lack of soap; soap, it says, is not necessary anyhow. The official Nazi press also makes this report on scabies in the Netherlands: "Before the war a doctor had hardly one case a year, but now it may happen that he has ten week. The spread of the disease is attributed to the fact that the population comes into contact with less hygienic persons from other countries." . . Posters have appeared in public places throughout Holland advising the people to get their axes ready and to select I azis for execution on "Ax Day," the day of liberation.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Nazis Under Twenty-one

BY KARL O. PAETEL

H

PROBABLY no current question is discussed in such purely emotional terms as that of the future of German youth. Sentimental disregard of the record, on the one hand, and uncritical, all-inclusive hatred, on the other, make realistic analysis difficult.

We can get some idea of what will happen to German youth after the collapse of the Nazi regime only if we take the trouble to differentiate its contradictory tendencies and trace them to their origins; only thus can we find the answer to the question of how the progressive cooperative elements among them, so small today, can be expanded and finally reintegrated into the life of the new Europe.

Since the war broke out, the whole program of the Hitler Youth has been devoted to "war fitness," and attendance at "war-fitness camps" is compulsory for the older members. Since early in 1943 the camps have taken all boys in the last two years of high school provided they are fifteen and a half years old. The regular camp period is three weeks, but boys of seventeen, if they wish, may go for four weeks and join the army immediately afterward.

According to the Nazi press, 362 boys and girls in the Seventh District of Berlin were taken into the National Socialist Party in the middle of 1943; 162 of them were already in the army. Assuming that about half the total number were girls, it appears that all the seventeen-year-old boys in the district had volunteered (a boy of seventeen may join the army either as a private or as a long-term officer candidate). Lately more and more sixteen-year-olds have been appearing at the front,

and it is reported that fifteen-year-olds are now permitted to volunteer.

Many schoolboys are drafted into the Luftwaffe or the navy as "helpers." They live in barracks or on ships, under the supervision of a Hitlerjugend leader who acts as foreman. Those who want to join the Waffen-S.S. may notify the Labor Service at the age of sixteen and a half, and with its permission may transfer

to the S.S. after half a year, or even three months. Time spent in the Black Shirts is credited to their Labor Service records.

On May 5, 1942, a decree issued jointly by the president of the National Socialist Teachers' League and the Man-Power Commissioner authorized the employment of boys and girls as helpers in a variety of occupations. Some 250,000 members of the Hitlerjugend have since joined fire brigades; more than a million members of the Bund Deutscher Mädchen are in the Sanitation. Health, and Household Help Service; the Deutsches Jungvolk has long been assigning its members to salvage and farm service; the Hitlerjugend and the Jungmadel likewise enlist their members in the scrap-metal service, the Winter Relief, the Wounded Relief, the herb-collection service, and such other jobs as helping in railroad stations and caring for workers' children. At the beginning of this year plans were under way for the organization of a courier service using boys ten to thirteen years old and of "flying squadrons" of sixteen-year-olds to help the police and the Waffen-S.S., with full police powers. Many boys and girls thirteen to fifteen years old work in war industries. With iron consistency the Nazi Party has organized the life of German youth for its own purposes. The individual lives of these young people are being swallowed up in the common life of the organizations to which they belong.

It is not surprising, then, to hear reports that the great Hitlerjugend recruiting drives—for the Waffen-S.S., for example—are beginning to meet some resistance, that the Hitlerjugend leader of Hamburg has been attacked more than once by groups of boys, that severe punish-

ments have been imposed for avoidance of membership in the Hitlerjugend, and that the authority of the juvenile courts has been greatly broadened; or to find the press publishing letters from the front like this one:

I think of home. I remember a night in the mountains with the Hitlerjugend. We were happy and full of hope as we sat around the fire



and sang songs, songs of freedom and glory, of faith and victory. We all believed in a better future.

The children whose laughter echoed through the mountains that night have grown up. Now we know what duty requires of us. We know what it means to die. We have no time for campfires in the mountains.

We would like to know whether those fires that meant so much to us still burn at home. Do they still burn in people's hearts, or did they light up the darkness only for a moment and then die, and with them faith and hope?

But not all German boys would feel like writing such letter. Between the veterans of the last war, from whom come the leaders of the present, and the Nazi-educated youngsters who have grown up in the shadow of the hooked cross are the all but forgotten youth who grew up in the post-war years. This in-between generation, which in the early thirties lived through the clash of



ideologies and the chaos of political violence, was then in large part under the illusion that it could restore order and "harmony" by join-

ing youth movements and the semi-military formations of the Nazis. Some joined the party under pressure of circumstances; some were careerists without strong political convictions of any kind.

Even among the veterans of the last war, skepticism is growing. They "do their part," but without the fanaticism of the younger Nazis. They take orders, but carry them out with less enthusiasm than their younger brothers. This development was recognized at the third convention of Hitlerjugend leaders at Weimar in 1938, when they were divided into a well-paid Führercorps and an unpaid Führerschaft. The Hitlerjugend, whose 8,000,000 members take orders from 30,000 higher and middle leaders and 500,000 lower leaders, is thus divided horizontally.

This stratification undoubtedly has a social character. Official statistics show that 70 per cent of the 500,000 subalterns come from the lowest income groups, and that positions of real influence at all levels are reserved for Black Shirts, regular party teachers, and old party officials. Thus virtually all the pre-Hitler youth leaders are barred from top positions in the hierarchy. (Baldur von Schirach, the head man, once wrote in the official youth magazine, "Autonomous youth are a form of Bolshevism.") But the lower ranks of the leaders include a relatively high proportion of men in whom the influence of the old organizations persists. Today, since they

are debarred not only from administrative but also from social and political influence, more and more of them are reverting to their former beliefs. The result of stratification has been a growing disillusionment.

In this connection it is important to note the effects of the system on the youngest boys, those who have not yet entered the army. These children, to whom National Socialism means only the daily "service" they perform, the death of relatives, and the possibility of being ausgebombt, whose little spare time is largely taken up with lectures on the need for endurance, and who lack the crusading élan that marked the earlier years of the Hitlerjugend—these children are beginning to be "difficult." They are growing indifferent to their tasks and to the war. Every adolescent child is full of burning questions. The pre-Hitler youth organizations afforded opportunities for open discussion, but today all such questions are officially dismissed as "individualistic."

Thus both among the youth leaders and among the children there is latent opposition to the regime. And as the militant generation between them is reduced by death in battle, the mounting psychological strain on the older and younger generations will become increasingly a source of danger to the government. The broadened authority of the juvenile courts is aimed partly at real criminality but mostly at the passive resistance of the young "war casualties." On the day after Hitler's downfall these boys and girls will become the nucleus of the new Germany.

What may we expect of them?

It is useless to draw up a detailed program of "reeducation" for them now. Concrete situations will require different procedures at different times and places. But the general approach must be an appeal to responsibility. To impose foreign teachers on the children would only arouse opposition. Obviously, textbooks and courses must be changed, but we must not overestimate the immediate effects of such changes. To get the boys and girls to participate willingly in the program, emphasis should be placed on the building of youth groups in the various cities, districts, and provinces-and such groups should be built from the bottom up. Men who are young in spirit and who speak the language of German youth should gather boys and girls around them to work cooperatively on the pressing problems that will face them, and thus indirectly lead them to an acceptance of democratic values.

The process could be helped along by ideological discussions, in which the leader would emphasize the progressive aspects of the German tradition, the common destiny of Europe, etc. When the psychological ground has thus been democratically prepared, when the youth are capable of accepting a new type of formal education, it will be possible to work out a broad program that they will follow. The program will thus be a native growth

for which they themselves will have been fully responsible. Only thus can they be united in devotion to their new tasks; only thus can the grip of National Socialism be broken; only thus can all elements, political, religious, and occupational, be united in the building of a new order.

[The first part of this article, the third of a series on the future of Germany, appeared last week.]

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A NOTHER Catholic priest, a Dr. Alfons Wachsmann of Griefswald, has been executed in Germany. The Pomeranian local papers printed the announcement in the middle of March. They added that the priest had been condemned to death for his "disintegrating influence on German military strength"—by which is to be understood a defeatist or anti-Nazi influence on members of the armed forces.

The news reminds us that the peculiar war between the Catholic church and the Nazi regime-on neither side open war but rather a guerrilla struggle-is still going on. Another incident in this war is brought to our notice by a furious outburst in the Dutch Nazi newspaper Volk en Vaderland. At the beginning of the year Lieutenant General Seyffardt, a Dutch Nazi, founder of the Dutch Legion, which sent a battalion to fight on the Russian front, was murdered. The assassin was caught, sentenced to death by a German military court, and executed. Soon afterward a solemn mass for him was celebrated in a Catholic church in Amsterdam, with the expressed approval of the bishop. The organist even conceived the idea of playing, after the mass, the song of mourning for fellow-soldiers, "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden," which is as much a favorite in Holland as in Germany. "When we realize," the Dutch Nazi paper commented, "that no music can be played in church that has not been approved by the clergy, it becomes clear that the whole performance was meant as an extraordinary demonstration." But the paper phrased its real grievance as follows: "Catholic law in Holland is thus shown to have two faces. A National Socialist, even one who has been assassinated, cannot be buried in consecrated ground, but the assassin of a National Socialist is worthy of a requiem mass."

Among the surprising turns in this hesitating, half-hearted guerrilla war is the fact that the chaplain, the pastor, and the organist of the Amsterdam church, after being arrested and held for four days in a German prison, on the fifth day were set free—to the indignation of their Nazi compatriots. "German patience and tolerance in this case," grumbled the Volk en Vaderland. "will certainly surprise thousands of people in this country."

For a long time it has been very difficult in Germany to get a pair of shoes or a watch repaired. And now the screw is to be given another turn. In an industrial district in the west artisans and shops were forbidden on March 3 to undertake any more repairs for people. A "Central Office for Repairs" is to be set up. Anyone who wants repairs done must make a written application to the Central Office, which "will distribute orders among the artisans and shops after thoroughly investigating the urgency of the requested repairs."

Once German professors had a good name. Professor von Leers, author of an article in the *Angriff* of Berlin for February 23, is a new type—as a representative of learning or of the nobility. Excerpts from his article are given below:

The people of Berlin call the terror raiders "swine." The term is too mild, for the pig is a useful animal. Terror raiders are *Pestschweine* (pestilential swine), a nauseous plague of the world. They no longer have anything in common with humanity. Our people ask, ever more gravely and frequently, whether we should adhere to international law in our treatment of these beasts of hell. . . .

It is wrong to call these beasts *Lufthunnen* (Huns of the air). Compared with the Anglo-Saxon *Pestschweine*, the Huns were decent, respectable people. What must we do now? Work, work, and again work for the hour of vengeance. . . .

Let them make their invasion! None of them will leave Europe alive. Our people are waiting to spring at their throats. We have reached the point to which these hirelings of the Jews wanted to drive us. Now we feel toward the beasts nothing but merciless hatred. Let nobody in the next thousand years talk of a blood relationship between us and them.

Somewhat delayed, information has now reached here that even persons ill with tuberculosis have been put to work in German factories. Regulations for their employment were published in the September 8, 1943, issue of the *Reichs-Gesundheitsblatt*, organ of the Ministry of Health. The notice said in part:

A sufferer from active tuberculosis who, it has been determined by clinical examination, does not cough very much and ejects only a small quantity of phlegm presents little danger of infection under normal working conditions if he observes a strict discipline. . . . Practically speaking, he presents no danger at all as long as he is employed in work which the medical authorities consider suitable, avoids close contact with his fellowworkers, and is segregated from juveniles.

It has accordingly been decreed that all physicians and clinics treating tubercular patients "must inform the Labor Offices which of their patients are able to work." In tuberculosis sanitariums representatives of the Labor Offices will discuss the future employment of patients with the physicians and give the required orders.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Epic of Brazil

REBELLION IN THE BACKLANDS (OS SERTOES). By Euclides da Cunha. Translated by Samuel Putnam. University of Chicago Press. \$5.

S SERTOES" is one of those astonishing, original works which appear from time to time, like a volcano in a quiet plain, to remind us that man is not merely unpredictable but creative. There is nothing like it in Brazilian literature, or in any other. Out of a local struggle between the troops of the young republic and a group of frontier outlaws led by a religious fanatic, Euclides da Cunha evolves major document, not merely in the historical sense, but in philosophical and sociological terms as well.

Beginning with the desert land itself and the problems its imposes on man, he scrutinizes the kinds of men who come there, and what the environment makes of them. Proceeding with a noble disregard of the reader's ease, he comes in due course to the character of Antonio Conselheiro, the primitive mystic who not merely leads but symbolizes the forces of superstition and lawlessness in this isolated society. The revolt at Canudos and the difficulty with which it was put down greatly shocked the people of coastal Brazil. With a scientist's laborious passion the author demonstrates not only how it all happened but that it was inevitable and, indeed, of significance.

No book has had a deeper influence on the formation of the Brazilian mind. Here the Brazilians saw what their country was really like. They saw the shocking disparity between the Europeanized seaboard and the primitive life of the interior. But it also became clear to them that the men of the backlands, because they were at home in that terrible environment, were, paradoxically, superior to the government troops. By emphasizing that there is not one right way of doing things-and that European-but different ways for different people in different situations, Euclides da Cunha indicates the whole problem of the self-realization of nation. In this lies the historical importance of the book, and for this reason it deserves a place in American literature in the larger sense, since we are all struggling with that problem. Even for the writers of Brazil, "Os Sertoes" became a symbol, like Walt Whitman or the Gettysburg Address, of their freedom from classical patterns, and of their responsibility to explore the Brazilian scene.

Whether, aside from its importance in Brazilian culture, this book is a masterpiece in the literary sense is something one has no right to judge from a translation and a smattering of Portuguese. There is no denying that it suffers from the defects of its qualities: in being bold and uncompromising it is often uncouth and unwieldy; in being exact it becomes pedantic; it is, at least in translation, somewhat pompous, and it is never winning in style. The casual reader will do well to proceed wilfully, skipping the first ninety pages to begin, in the section on Man, with the famous description of the sertanejo, proceeding from there to the

story of the account of the military action at Canudos. This is all good reading. Moreover, taking the narrative before the theory serves to isolate the author's more serious defect, the inconsistency of his thought on social and particularly racial problems. In the chapters entitled An Irritating Parenthesis and A Strong Race he states baldly that "an intermingling of races highly diverse is, in the majority of cases, prejudicial"-but he then goes on to show how interesting, able, and in fact dynamic the new breed of the backlands is. Since he cannot manage to adjust the exaggerated nineteenth-century theories of racial superiority and racial purity to the actualities of the rebellion at Canudos, the theory and its contradiction stand side by side, a fascinating historical text for the sociologist. In fact, those ideas are oldfashioned and outworn, and it is encouraging to realize the extent to which we have been freed from them-in the scientific, if not in the political, sphere—by the anthropologists of our time. Euclides da Cunha's difficulty is mainly his inability to see that culture is a cumulative historical product, not a function of race, and that the superstition, the retarded society, and the primitive conditions of the backlands were the result not of mixed blood but of isolation and poverty. It is also encouraging that modern Brazilian sociologists have focused on the facts rather than the fallacies in "Os Sertoes," which has had an appreciable influence on their own dynamic attitude toward race and nationalism. Perhaps this is, in turn, a vindication of the literary force of the narrative.

Two things about this edition seem to me impediments to the simple pleasure of reading—the footnotes and the introduction, or rather the first half of the introduction, which for ten pages quotes eulogies of the book. There is always something repugnant about superlatives; certainly they should be selected and interpreted-or at least confined to the blurb. The footnotes seem faintly insulting. Clarifying footnotes are quite unavoidable in a translation of this kind, but any reader resents being pulled up on every page with an order to "See page 130." The author could have made a reference to page 130 himself if he had wanted to; if he was content to trust the interest of the reader, why should the editor thrust himself in? The book is in some ways difficult, but not so difficult as that. On the other hand, the glossaries, with the scientific and linguistic research they imply, the maps, the excellent indexes, and Mr. Putnam's biographical sketch of Euclides da Cunha are important aids to the scholar. It is unfortunate that his essay on the book and its author-his estimate of their significance after the long period of intimacy-should have been printed elsewhere (Science and Society, fall, 1943) rather than as a suitable introduction to this edition.

These are minor indignations, however; no one will deny that a difficult task has been performed with a good deal of spirit and success. There is no literary problem more trying, and in fact impossible, than translation, and to translate from the Portuguese is much more difficult than from the French, for instance, if only because it has been so little

done. The two languages have not rubbed against each other enough; there is not yet any facility in dealing with that alien grammatical structure, or recognized English equivalents for Brazilian phrases. Perhaps for this reason the translator shows a tendency to disregard the connotations of English words: a common Portuguese word is translated by a rare or archaic English word because it is equivalent in dictionary meaning, although the English sentence has then quite a different feeling from the Portuguese, and the reader is pulled up by its curious stiffness. Any reader of the English version will be impressed, however, by the number of words for things and places, for plants and animals, and even for men which we have never needed at all in English, and which cannot be translated. Vocabulary shows pretty clearly where a people are ignorant, and the very fact of this translation assures that in time the sertanejo, like the gaucho, will be part of our speech-though not even the Department of State can predict how we shall pronounce it!

In short, whether we believe that it is a great classic of the Americas or merely a historical oddity, "Revolt in the Backlands" marks an important day in American affairs. You can find out fifty times as much about Brazil from this book as from the handbooks written by touring journalists. Perhaps it is even more important that now for the first time the North American has the opportunity to share in a significant experience of Brazilian literature and history, and to judge for himself. ELIZABETH WILDER

#### The Thinking of a Nation

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN THOUGHT. By Merle Curti. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

T A time like the present, when the contradictions and A naive slackness of American institutions are painfully apparent, it is a sobering thing to read Mr. Curti's book. Throughout our national life we have been largely content, as a hustling nation born under a lucky star, to leave major issues unresolved and hanging optimistically in loose couplets: the rights of property and the rights of man; political equality and economic inequality; majority rule and minority rights; free competition and monopoly; thrift and commercially fostered conspicuous consumption; freedom of the press and news dissemination as private business enterprise. Always there has been the pragmatic assumption that there is no need to cross ideological bridges until we come to them. In our continental isolation this philosophy of casualness seemed to work. But the peculiar quality about the present is that choices among alternatives are peremptorily demanded.

The thing Mr. Curti's book does is to remind one in this exigent hour of how ragged and indecisive our cultural past has been, how casually developed "the American way," and how continuous are the crudities of yesterday with present modes of thought and action. In our confident American time-orientation toward the future we slough off history and look patronizingly at the rawness of the closing third of the nineteenth century, forgetting that men in power today were acquiring the pattern of their living and thinking in that

## SECURITY OF EXISTENCE

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A book entitled "The Growth of American Thought" invites comparison with Parrington's "Main Currents" and F. O. Matthiessen's recent "American Renaissance." Each of these three books involves a different way of handling our intellectual past. Mr. Matthiessen concentrates vertically on narrow band in time and on five writers-Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, and Whitman-seeking to discover their conception of the function and nature of literature in American life as revealed at the level of formal literary output. Parrington worked with depth but more broadly in both time and coverage of political and other issues. Mr. Curti starts less selectively, at the folk level where thought is social attitudes, and moves up into the areas where American thought becomes "intellectual" and crystallized as "literature." His is a social history of three centuries of American thought which "does not purport to provide an exact analysis of the 'interiors' of the ideas and systems." Its emphasis is horizontal over time, rather than vertical. He weaves a prodigious wealth of apt detail into these compact and always fascinating pages.

A book of this sort suffers somewhat from the occupational disease of the new social historians: at the level of folk knowledge and folk attitudes everything becomes fascinating, and the temptation to over-inclusiveness overbears an analyst. The foreground becomes at times a fascinating jungle which is rendered orderly only by the bunching of the text in a series of swift stereopticon views identified by their headings. Together with more formidable things, Mr. Curti accordingly covers the Common Man in Sickness, the Indian in American Thought, the extra-sensory perception of J. B. Rhine, and the attitudes of Father Divine's followers. A summary of the new religion of the coterie around President Hutchins of the University of Chicago jostles the table of contents of a year of the American Magazine and the struggle of books on sex for acceptance among those sold by Sears, Roebuck. One hankers for sustained appraisals and the frank taking of sides that prompted a Parrington to blaze away with judgments such as "When a Yankee was driven by brutal fact to admit that he was his brother's keeper, he usually took care to get a few honest pennies out of his brother's board and lodging."

I, for one, would have preferred more selective concentration around main tendencies and broad hypotheses. A case may be made, for instance, for the point that, particularly since the Civil War, our institutional world has been growing more complex for the American citizen at a faster rate than all our agencies of "thought," operating as they do within the constraints of power groups, have been able to render that world understandable and controllable by him. This might mean that we American citizens confront our world today with a net increment of illiteracy as regards our institutional affairs. It is important to try to view the uneven growth of American thought against such possible hypothe-

ses. We need to point boldly to the delayed adolescence of our thinking about democracy, and, on the other hand, to the superb though socially thwarted growth of research in the physical sciences, of which the TNEC monograph on "Economic Power and Political Pressures" says: "To a great extent industry's political formidability can be traced to its dominant position in scientific research." Mr. Curti's book is admirable and timely—so good that it is perhaps captious to add that it provides only indirectly an answer to the anxious question: Where stands American thought as a weapon for the people of democracy?

#### Tennessee Valley Responsibility

TVA: DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH. By David E. Lilienthal. Harper and Brothers, \$2.50.

JEFFERSON and the Federalist writers were long without literary successors, but crowded bookshelves attest the ability of Mr. Roosevelt and his government—Wallace and Welles, Ickes and Biddle, New Deal and war-agency administrators—to explain in print. Far and away the best book by an administrator has now been written by the man with a job that is unique and may prove first in long-range importance; and interior evidence confirms the publishing rumor that David E. Lilienthal literally wrote "TVA: Democracy on the March." That Mr. Lilienthal can write is no surprise to those who know the simple, direct, conversational style in which, for ten years, he has explained TVA to the people of the valley.

Others have described the magnitude of TVA achievement, although none more effectively than Mr. Lilienthal when he says that "thirty-five Boulder or ten Grand Coulee dams could have been built with the total materials required for completion of this valley's dams," or that the concrete poured by TVA would have built more than seven dams the size of the great Dnieprostroy. For the real significance of TVA is in collective size and strength. Not the biggest in themselves, the dams, high and low, big and little, work together; and effective working together, of dams and people, is the good news of this book.

For beautiful coordination on paper has been tested by emergency. The story of TVA reaches a climax with the war, and this is the first book to tell of the transformation of the quiet valley towns into busy centers of war industry. It is the first to tell how, when the floods of 1942 foamed down to threaten war industries that have come to rival in importance those of Pittsburgh, "orders went out from the TVA office of central control to every tributary dam. The message came flashing to the operator in the control room at Hiwassee Dam, deep in the mountains of North Carolina: 'Hold back all the water of the Hiwassee River. Keep it out of the Tennessee.' The operator pressed a button. Steel gates closed. The water of the tributary was held. To Cherokee Dam on the Holston went the message: 'Keep back the flow of the Holston.' To Chickamauga Dam just above the danger spot at Chattanooga: 'Release water to make room for the waters from above'. . . . The Tennessee was kept in hand. There was no destruction, no panic, no interruption of work.

Most of the water, instead of wrecking the valley, actually produced a benefit in power."

Such sure, integrated action would not be news if TVA floodgates and turbines were operated as the Pontine marshes were drained, for fascism can command. Also power can corrupt, and Mr. Lilienthal notes that even TVA, "if it were politically managed, could become a curse to this valley." The Authority moves in no authoritarian spirit, but in terms of responsibility and accountability, explaining each step and asking, not grudging consent, but popular understanding and support. The dams are multi-purpose, built for flood control and navigation, for better land use and for power. But TVA operates to further the common purpose of the people of the valley. In return the people are working with TVA management, and in a region of feudal enmittes well described as the Balkans of this continent, they are working together.

As head of TVA Mr. Lilienthal well knows the effort necessary to smooth out differences between the Authority's own experts, between federal, state, and local agencies, and between labor and business interests. But as a Jeffersonian thinker he rightly sees as most important the functioning of community groups which bring together a half-dozen or a few score farmers to demonstrate better methods of farming and living. Jefferson's unit of government was not state or nation, district or county, but the ward—a radius no wider than a schoolboy's legs could trudge. Today our nearest approach to the Jeffersonian plan is in the grass-roots "area demonstrations" in the valley.

Mr. Lilienthal notes that TVA's self-effacement in fostering local action has lost the Authority some credit to which it was entitled; and it may be true that had this book boasted of TVA's war-time achievements—aluminum for so many planes, so much smokeless powder and dehydrated foods—it might mean more to those who ask only to win the war on a physical level. But Mr. Lilienthal has chosen to write a more important book, about hard human problems. He stresses method, means as well as end; he says truly that "the physical job will be done. If not democratically, it will be done in an anti-democratic way. It will be done perhaps by a small group of huge private corporations, controlling the country's resources; or by a tight clique of politicians; or by some other group or alliance of groups that is ready to take this responsibility."

And now that even the Saturday Evening Post approves TVA's war-time efficiency, wouldn't it seem time to end the fight against it? Instead, the battle goes on. Immediately before publication of this book Mr. Lilienthal as chairman of the TVA directors signed a warning that under the Mc-Kellar amendments pending, and since passed by the Senate, "TVA, as it has been constituted, would cease to exist."

Congress may so act. Such is the McKellar hold on jobs in Tennessee that a carpenter going to work on a county school had to carry, along with his union card, a thumb-marked letter to prove his support of the Senator. It was too much to expect that McKellar would tolerate TVA's war-time employment of some 40,000 workers hired by examination, not patronage. The House may be wiser; Mr. Lilienthal notes that "it is now 'good politics' for political leaders themselves, in the Tennessee Valley, to urge that politics be kept out of TVA." But House leaders include

Martin Dies, who sat up nights listening to seditious Crusaders in his efforts to get something on TVA, and John Rankin, who complains that Pickwick Dam wasn't named in his honor.

Congress in its present mood could, conceivably, override a veto to wreck TVA. But Mr. Lilienthal's book produces such calm confidence in human progress as to suggest that even so the work of the Authority would go on. If the people are so betrayed by their representatives, then surely they will rise and deal with those representatives as they deserve; else democracy in this country is already defeated and dead.

WILLSON WHITMAN

#### History and Fact

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE. By Sir John A. R. Marriott. Oxford University Press. \$2.75.

If STANDING among historians went by seniority, as in the committees of our Senate, Sir John Marriott would rank very high, for he is a veritable Nestor among the nurslings of Clio (this is a bit of Oxonian dialect). But he is considerably older than his years. He is as old as Polonius. He is so consistent in conventionality that he might deserve the ancient phrase: "Funny without being vulgar."

Unfortunately, history is not fun. It deals with facts. And Sir John handles his facts with lofty indifference to sequence or accuracy. My list of corrigenda would form a substantial addendum. He was bombed out of his library. We condole but cannot condone. Surely Macaulay's school-



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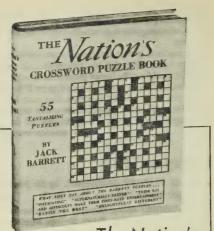
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boy must have left legitimate heirs in the city of York; and it would have been wise to consult them.

The jacket and the introduction to the American edition promise us a comparative study of political institutions in the two countries. This would have been of capital interest. In actual fact, this is practically limited to half a page which tells us that the old French Parlements did not correspond to the English Parliament. This contribution to knowledge is not cheap at \$2.75.

The following, however, might be well worth the full price: "M. Blum probably interpreted aright the sentiment of most Frenchmen in basing his foreign policy upon firm alliance with England. But alliance with England meant non-intervention in Spain. . . . England, moreover, had no wish to become involved in the French commitments to the Little Entente, still less to the Franco-Soviet alliance. France, anxious to retain English friendship, might have been willing to cut herself free from her eastern commitments, but only in exchange for a firm military alliance with England. Hence a vicious circle in French diplomacy." The circle in British diplomacy was not very virtuous either.

England had won her "masterly game": France had no choice but to follow English leadership. The quality of that leadership comes out pretty clearly in Sir John's summary. I can hardly imagine the French placing themselves under such "trusteeship" again.

ALBERT GUERARD

#### Cartoons Old and New

CARTOON CAVALCADE. Edited by Thomas Craven. Simon and Schuster, \$3.95.

If THE comic may be defined in part as the recognition of the grotesque clash between personal desire and social restraint, then the change in the American humorous cartoon during the past half-century may be said to be in the degree of awareness of our inhibitions. That increasing awareness, so richly illustrated in Mr. Craven's anthology, is graphically reflected in the change from impersonal to personal comic symbols. The exuberance of the old cartoon has yielded to the nervousness belonging to that uneasy stage when sophistication has moved in on the mind but has not yet succeeded in establishing a modus vivendi with the finicky emotions.

Think of the early comic strips: Opper's Happy Hooligan, Alphonse and Gaston, Getting Square with Maud; or the Katzenjammers, Foxy Grandpa, Nervy Nat, Mutt and Jeff. The characters are comic types—brats, hobos, rustics, or immigrants—whose freedom from conventions was both ridiculed and envied, and about whom just enough was known to assure a feeling of good-humored superiority. These types were human only in their actions, which were exaggerated by every possible means—gesture, facial expression, explosive movement, and economy of line. Most significant of all, they exhibited the violent operation of a comic justice, which meted out rewards and punishments according to laws that were a travesty of social laws, as well as an ironic comment on their futility.

The old cartoons delineate the last great period of tremendous physical activity. The required comic release, therefore, had to be as active, direct, and generic as the external forces which drowned out individual characterization by keeping personal emotion submerged. Emotion was expelled by physical activity. It is no mere accident that the comic symbol which, more than any other, expressed the superabundant energy and impersonal vigor of the times was the swift kick.

In the early twenties the comic balloon burst. The practical joke became a symptom of weak-minded boorishness. The modern version of the old kick-in-the-pants symbol would be the timid, dreary nonentity—only idiots and superannuated fools are given the stature of an adult in modern cartoons—who wants to kick but can't, because it's undignified and because he is not convinced of the sufficiency of his reasons or of the sureness of his aim. He has qualms. "You wait here," says the timid man in Thurber's cartoon to the woman seated expectantly in the hotel lobby, "and I'll bring the etchings down."

The founding of the New Yorker in 1925 may be taken as the formal debut of the new cartoon. It was designed for the needs of a special audience, members of the literate middle class. Theirs is the historically classic position of insecurity, for their personal insecurity derives from their financial security. The financially insecure are far more likely to expend their energies in accommodating themselves to their environment; the financially secure spend their energies on themselves, making the chasm between the ego and the environment—as between boredom and amusement—ever more and more consciously wide. They can afford to laugh at themselves, and they must. Nothing is more ridiculous than ignorance of one's inhibitions. Consequently, from the depths of their sensitive insecurity, like a diable au corps, rises the nervous laugh, exposing the subterfuges of selfdeception and self-depreciation. Having laughed itself away, the flattered ego relaxes, released from all immediate necessity for action.

The new cartoon, unlike the old, depends largely on psychological situation and relies much more heavily on verbal humor. Only the best of them—those by Arno, Thurber, Price, and Wortman in particular—are more than illustrations of wisecracks. The old physical humor, verbal as well as graphic, has been socially ostracized; it is as dead as a doornail. Even the radio, where most dead humor is publicly buried, has found it necessary to personalize the old jokes by laughing at them because they are not funny. As for the comic strip, with the usual anachronistic exceptions it has been animated away. The current adventure and narrative strips are not comic. Popular humor in general, in the sense that the old comic strips had a universal appeal and the New Yorker cartoons have not, no longer exists.

Look at the pictures in this book and let Mr. Craven's text go. It's slick and sloppy. For the purposes of this book, at any rate, he is against "highbrow" culture, and against modern artists, who, he says, are futile and must always "adjust" themselves. He is in favor of cartoonists. "The only adjustment they had to make was to pay more taxes as their incomes mounted to the higher brackets." When they—the lucky cartoonists—hear the word artist, "they make as if to burp, seeing how a noble and joyous profession has been degraded by the highbrows." Make as if there were no Craven commentary.

H. P. LAZARUS

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#### FILMS

HERE is no reason, after all, why a movie musical should not be as good as any other sort of movie. "Cover Girl" is the first since "Top Hat" which even suggests the possibilities. There is nothing in it that approaches the dance in the jigsawed pavilion in the rain in the old Astaire-Rogers film. Much of "Cover Girl," for that matter, is not as fresh as it may seem; but its second-handedness and its occasional failures cannot obliterate the pleasure of seeing the work of a production company which obviously knows, cares about, and enjoys what it is doing.

The story, of itself, is conventional enough: a Brooklyn nightclub dancer (Rita Hayworth) leaves her boss (Gene Kelly), who loves her, for Broadway and for smoother, richer men (Otto Kruger, Lee Bowman), and ultimately thinks better of it; in period flashbacks her grandmother (Miss Hayworth again) describes a similar trajectory. But scene by scene-with some skids-this story is written with intelligence as well as wit and is acted sincerely and with a deft evocation of background, trade, character, and various true-to-life impli-

sible in a Hollywood script. As a result, most of the Kelly-Hayworth-Bowman triangulations carry an interest and an emotional weight which are rare enough in straight dramatic films, to say nothing of musicals. In general, the songs and dances, besides being quite good as numbers, intensify the characterizations: Kelly, in fact, does his best acting in the course of singing two versions of "Put Me to the Test"; his nightclub and the observant charm of the best of the show are put exactly in their idealized-realistic key by the eight-girl chorus which-with a finely exhilarating bang -starts the picture. Most of the costumes are the most shrewdly pretty I have seen for a long time; many of the sets and colors are as good as those in "Heaven Can Wait." The color still goes manic occasionally-one moment the flesh of the chorus-girls is almost as happy-looking as if Renoir had been technical adviser, the next it looks as if the girls had just skipped out of a blood-bath. But there are some appreciative shades of brick, pavement, and blind glass in the night streets which for the first time, so far as I know, begin to colonize the proper potential universe of color in films. In a show so surprisingly full of

cations which are not verbally permis-

achievement the failures set one's teeth all the more on edge. The period flashbacks slacken the picture and, within themselves, clash two periods forty years apart. The one big production number is just about like any average thing of its kind. Some of the Brooklyn sets are too cute and air-conditioned to support the relatively genuine characterizations or to help achieve the moods which are tried for. Some of the tunes and incidental music are pseudonacreous, routine Jerome Kern; some of the lyrics are Roget's-Thesauric, routine Ira Gershwin. Several of the dances. after establishing uncommonly good emotion, plan, and focus, lose everything in a mere dashing around. Even Kelly's most ambitious dance-a doubleexposed duet with his conscience, down a late-night street-in spite of some hair-raising moments, wavers between convincing and pumped-up despair. It is further vitiated by lush orchestration, after a very exciting start on bare-boned piano to which, I suggest, only the driest sort of drumming should have been

There are plenty of other letdowns. Yet "Cover Girl" would be worth seeing if only for Rita Hayworth at her prettiest (at certain other moments she

looks as if she were daring you to stick your head in her mouth) or, still more important, Gene Kelly. Kelly is limited and is capable of failure, as he occasionally proves here. But I can think of no one in Hollywood, just now, who is more satisfying or more hopeful to watch for singing, dancing, or straight acting. JAMES AGEE

#### DRAMA

LIZABETH BOWEN'S use of plot in "The House in Paris"—I am speaking of the book-resembles that of E. M. Forster. She employs melodramatic, often arbitrary, events-which are inorganic to the main intention of the book and therefore basically irrelevant. The method has a double advantage: the superficial interest is heightened, yet the unlikelihood of any given event is incapable of destroying the central authenticity of the story. The plot, so to speak, is only the shining track along which the burden of the piece moves forward.

It is easy to see how adapters in search of play might, at first thought, see in the plot of "The House in Paris" dramatic and even sensational material suited to the uses of the stage. But the perceptive adapter would also see; on second or third thought, that since the plot is functional rather than organic, a three-act précis of that plot would have very little to do with the essential content of Miss Bowen's book-which is made up of atmosphere, background, characterization, and clashes of will on a level just below the surface of full consciousness or crude expression.

Messrs. Green and Feilbert, who made the adaptation which just ended a brief run on Broadway, didn't get as far as the second thought. They devised a three-act synopsis of the plot which, as a likeness of the book, reminded me of those silhouettes cut while you wait

out of very black paper.

Bad casting in two crucial parts accounted for further distortion and reduction. The child Leopold-"He had a nervous manner. . . . She saw a darkeyed, very slight little boy who looked either French or Jewish"-was played by a blond cherub. Michael Ingram, cast in the part of Max Ebhart, the child's father, is dark and slim, but the intense smoldering quality of the Max of the book was missing. "Intellect, feeling, force were written all over him; he did in fact cut ice." His impersonator did not cut ice, and gave

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the impression not of frustrated strength but of disappointed weakness.

Ludmilla Pitoeff made her first American appearance as the ambitious Mme Fischer. Miss Pitoeff is a highly trained actress, she looked the part, and it seems to me that she did as well with it as the play allowed. But whereas in the book Mme Fischer's passion for domination operates in a subtle, complicated fashion, in the play the character was oversimplified and her machinations vulgarized.

Speaking of the physical appearance of actors in relation to the parts they play, that of Oscar Karlweis as Jacobowsky is so beautifully right that I find myself wondering where the accidental element of appearance ends and the deliberate art of acting, and even of make-up, begins. One has the feeling that Mr. Karlweis has never played any other part, that his adventure with the colonel is merely the most recent of a long series of tragi-comic adventures as the eternal refugee. He has no more edges than a rolling stone. He looks and acts as if he had been "trained down" by a lifetime of such adventures and as if it was this experience that had produced the unaggressive voice and manner, the patient sufferance of fools, the wry wit, and the economy and suppleness of movement that make his performance so fine. Yet in the quite different part of the prince in "Rosalinda" he was just as convincing.

Broadway producers had better have a conference, I think, on the kind of lingo to be spoken in plays peopled by inhabitants of Europe. In "Thank You, Svoboda" everyone presumably spoke Czech; yet Svoboda went on in a lingo devoid of articles that sounded like the broken English of an immigrant. The rest of the cast spoke ordinary English. "Jacobowsky and the Colonel" is set in France. The two principals are Poles. Jacobowsky speaks perfectly good English, which is the equivalent of perfectly good French. The Colonel, though he isn't as bright as Jacobowsky and has led a more sheltered life, might also be presumed to speak perfectly good French and, therefore, in this play, perfectly good English. In any case he would hardly speak the way he does. His language might correspond to the broken French of an uncultivated Pole, but hardly to that of a member of an aristocracy which, unless I am mistaken, learns French as a matter of course. Annabella, who is supposed to be a



Frenchwoman in a play set in France, also speaks with a thick accent; and surely it isn't because she can't learn to speak the lines of a play in passable English. I suspect that the accent was encouraged. I suspect it because it would be of a piece with the decision to cast her in the part in the first place. Only the fact that she is a "name" can explain that, for she has no other qualifications. Her pretty innocuous face can perhaps be manipulated in the minute-by-minute technique of the movies. But a catchy name and a pretty face are not sufficient equipment for a stage actress.

MARGARET MARSHALL

#### MUSIC

THE late Frederick Stock was a conductor with the ability to get the Chicago Symphony to play as beautifully as you can hear it play in the recent Victor recordings of its performances. As a musician he achieved good results with comparatively modern works; but his recorded performances of older music-Mozart's G minor Symphony, Schubert's C majorshowed him to be without the feeling for plastic and rhythmic continuity, proportion, and coherence, and for subtle rhythmic elasticity, that this music requires, and that would have prevented the awkward discontinuities in pace, the rigidities alternating with tasteless rubatos. In the new Victor set (958; \$2.50) of the performance of his orchestral version of Bach's great Prelude and Fugue in E flat for organ, then, you can hear the beautiful sound of the Chicago Symphony, recorded with superb richness and spaciousness, though with some lack of clarity because of the reverberant hall; you can hear the Prelude suddenly begin to gallop at measure 71 when the beats are broken up into rapid figuration, and slow down awkwardly when this figuration ends; you can hear the awkward changes of pace for the second and third sections of the triple fugue; and

The set also presents an example of Stock's work as an editor and transcriber of music. The first example that I encountered, many years ago, was his revision of Schumann's Third Symphony. Composers miscalculate in orchestrating; and even the most scrupulous conductor must correct such miscalculations. A great deal has been said about Schumann's inept use of the orchestra—his dulling of what should

have been brilliant sonorities, his obscuring of important themes, by poor combinations and faulty balances of instruments. And Stock quoted Theodore Thomas's comment after a performance of the Third Symphony-"Such fine, noble themes, good workmanship, and yet such abominably poor orchestration" -as the impetus for his revision of the work. But actually Stock changed not only the orchestration but the themes and workmanship, adding new counterpoint which, he said, "[grew] out of the material which Schumann originated," inserting "a measure here and there in order to give greater clarity to Schumann's thought," writing a new coda, bringing the chief theme of the first movement in for the conclusion of the last movement, altering rhythms, displacing accents, and in sum doing the sort of thing Rimsky-Korsakov did with Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov." And the result proved Schumann, like Mussorgsky, to have been the better composer of his own music.

Bach certainly requires no help from Stock with the themes and workmanship of his Prelude and Fugue; but he gets it nevertheless in Stock's transcription of the work for orchestra. In the very first measure of the Prelude there is the first of the many alterations that Stock makes in Bach's rhythms; later Stock tacks on little introductions to the theme that is first stated in measure 32, adds lines of counterpoint, fills out thin contrapuntal textures with chords-all this to make Bach's work conform to his own taste. And you can get an idea of what that taste is from one detail of Stock's scoring: the theme stated in measure 32 of the Prelude is punctuated in the original by a single short pedalnote; and the orchestral equivalent would be a single bowed or plucked note of the string basses; but what Stock puts there is a broken chord of the harp-from which you also can get an idea of what the rest of the scoring

Recently a Chicago reader gave me a description of the orchestration of Schubert's great C major Quintet that Stock completed just before his death. "Not only did he pass the main themes of the movements around among different sections of the orchestra, now violins, now cellos, now woodwinds, now even brasses, until they were enfeebled, dissipated, and deprived of all distinguishing voice . . . but when the finale was eventually reached, it exploded into bursts of percussion, tympani, brasses, bells, and general racket similar to the

endings Stock gave to his Bach transcriptions . . ."

The original scores of Schumann's symphony, Bach's fugue, and Schubert's quintet are still available to performers and public; but just as Rimsky-Korsakov contrived to make his revision of Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" the only version that we are able to hear to this very day, so the only published score of Griffes's "Pleasure-Dome of Kubla Khan" is one issued in 1929 that incorporates changes in the orchestration made by Stock. Like Rimsky, Stock prefaces his revision with explanatory statements that turn out to be as false as Rimsky's. He performed "Kubla Khan" in January 1920, he says; and meeting Griffes the following autumn at the Pittsfield Chamber Music Festival, he suggested that the orchestration could be improved. "This he readily admitted, and we arranged to meet again in order to go over the score together. The results of this very careful scrutiny are faithfully embodied in this revised version." But Edward T. Maisel, in his biography of Griffes, points out that Griffes was dead in the autumn of 1920, and the conference must have occurred in the autumn of 1919; that Griffes continued to revise the work until he delivered it to Monteux for rehearsals for the first performance in Boston on November 28, 1919, and must have incorporated in it any changes suggested by Stock that he had found acceptable; and that Griffes expressed to a colleague his satisfaction with the sound of the work in Boston: "He told me that during the rehearsals he had never had to change one note. It was produced exactly as he had written it." Mr. Maisel might have gone further. It was not until after the Boston performances, not until a letter written late in December 1919, that Griffes for the first time mentioned Stock's name in connection with "Kubla Khan": "At present Stock has the score and parts, and I believe he intends to produce it sometime this month." This, then, even by Stock's own testimony, was when he first saw the score. But by this time Griffes had collapsed; and there was no time after that when Stock could have told him what he had found that could be improved. In other words, there was no conference and agreement with Griffes on the changes which Stock published nine years later; and Stock's action was like that of Rimsky-Korsakov who made after Mussorgsky's death the changes that Mussorgsky had rejected when alive. B. H. HAGGIN

# Forget Politics—Open the Doors of Palestine!

The long shadow of death has reached out to touch the last scenes of Jewish survival. The Germans have occupied Hungary and also, it seems, Rumania and Bulgaria. Close to 2,000,000 Jews had escaped to comparative safety in these countries. They could have reached permanent safety if they had been admitted on time into territories under United Nations' control.

#### Politics vs. Human Lives

But ruthless indifference, and even hostility on the part of some governments of the United Nations, stood in the way of mercy and humanity. Palestine, closest, most practical haven, which could be reached directly from the Balkans by railroad or bus, was shut in the faces of those Jews who escaped. Many who managed to reach the shores of the Promised Land were driven back to die upon the high seas; others were sent to living death on the Island of Mauritius.

This inhuman policy is sanctioned law in Palestine, due to the White Paper. Six hundred thousand Jews of that country, who have direct and blood relatives in occupied Europe, are powerless to do anything for their kin. If news of the real facts were to reach the British people, they would abhor the tactics of their Colonial Office.

#### Lest It Be Too Late!

The American Government, with the creation of the War Refugee Board, opened a bridgehead of a new front against massacre. It must hold this bridgehead, and enlarge it by swift action.

But this complex problem of rescuing the Jewish people of Europe cannot and should not be the exclusive task of one Government alone. Other governments must cooperate as some are already doing.

We hope that victorious Russia, which already has done so much in saving almost a million Jews.

evacuating them deep into her territory, will pursue her same policy of mercy and will also take it upon herself to give a like official warning to the Germans and her satellites.

We hope that representations are already being made—or will be made soon—to the Turkish Government to let all Jews who escape from the Balkans pass through its territory on the way to Palestine, or to any other territory under United Nations' control.

#### The Doors of Palestine Must Be Opened

The most urgent task, however, is to use the good offices of the American Government in order to impress the British Government to immediately declare the doors of Palestine open to as many escaping Jews as may reach her shores.

This has to be done in complete independence of the political issues involved. The demand of this Committee has nothing to do with post-war Palestine. It has nothing to do with Zionist demand of a Jewish Commonwealth. It is an outcry to help people in their deepest agony and direst danger of their lives. If such danger were to strike any people close to the United States, let us say in South America, we would certainly demand that these people be admitted, at least temporarily, into this country. But the only large-scale channel of escape for the Jews of Europe is through Turkey to Palestine. This channel should not be locked.

To ask admission for these Jews in order to save their lives is not politics. To keep the doors of Palestine locked is politics—vicious politics. The hour is very late, and the night very dark indeed, for the remnants of the Jewish people of Europe. Great Britain, which has given the world the Magna Charta, the blueprint of liberty, can no longer block the way of rescue for the people who

on Jews, gave the world the Bible.

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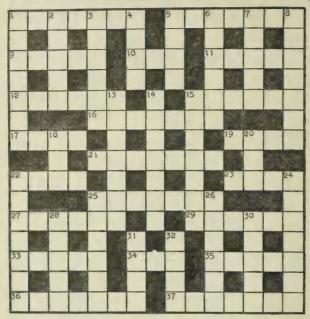
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## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 59

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

Just like a man! (hyphen, 3 and 4) A much-married gentleman (1033-975 B.C.)
9 Not Mr. White's first name
10 Affords one an opening

- 11 Medicine balls, but not for the physical culturist 12 Not every question deserves one
- 15 Is it the ozone in it that makes it so bracing? (two words, 3 and 3) 16 Peculiar speech: &c., perhaps on the
- automatic telephone 17 They never stop growing, these
- organs 19 Land of white elephants
- 21 "Turning, for them who pass, the common dust
- Of ---- opportunity to gold" (Wordsworth) 22 May be something you did not know
- previously
- Drawback?

- 25 Tennis term, not the fisherman's lament (two words, 3 and 4)
  27 Cabaret singer paid in kind?
  29 Stone jug with bad contents
  33 6+6+500. That's clear
  34 Accompaniment of a cry for a color
  35 Part of Italy in which the air raid precautions are muddled
- Artists' models
- 37 Menial who should not be menial

#### DOWN

- 1 Half a mind to put some money on, but that would be wrong
- Titles are gained by a variety of means

- 3 Ride on (anag.)
- 4 Sort of food to appeal to poachers?
- 5 Puss makes her meal 6 Small lap—with a pet on it, of
- COURSE This singer was a peach in her day
- 8 Is it the alcohol in it that makes a patent medicine so popular? A noisy workman
- An epithet for imitation, but mostly
- profuse
  The bivalve for all cops
- 18 Out of drawing
- A Gilbert and Sullivan Princess They feel quite at home in their
- beds The better his business, the more he
- looks down in the mouth Fancy putting one in a haystack!
- You can follow the flight of this
- Not a domestic cat
- An ape is out of a cuttle-fish Just so!
- 32 Observes either way

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 58

ACROSS:-1 EXALTED; 5 INSIPID; 9 CA-TARRH; 10 CARMINE; 11 RAGED; 12 MAN; 13 BLADE; 14 DRAPERY; 16 EVEREST; 18 NUMBERS; 21 PLUMBER; 24 ISSUE; 26 RIP; 27 SHERD; 28 HEATHEN; 29 RO-MANIC; 30 REGARDS; 31 STARRED.

DOWN:—1 ENCORED; 2 ANTIGUA; 3 TIRED; 4 DAHOMEY; 5 INCENSE: 4 SHRUB; 7 PRIVATE; 8 DEEPEST; 15 EVE; 17 EMU; 18 NEITHER; 19 MUSTANG: 20 SARONGS; 21 PAPYRUS; 22 BRENNER; 23 REDUCED; 25 ETHER; 27 SIMLA.

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# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

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NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 15, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

## The Shape of Things

THE RED ARMY'S PASSAGE OF THE PRUT. which brought it on indisputably foreign soil for the first time, was accompanied by signs of improved Allied cooperation in regard to the Balkans. In the military sphere, the attacks by long-range American bombers on Budapest and Bucharest gave timely support to the Russian advance by striking at bottlenecks in the German supply lines. But it was a stroke of political warfare that gave the best evidence of new coordination among the Soviets, America, and Britain. As the Russian troops crossed the Rumanian frontier, Foreign Commissar Molotov received the foreign press and gave out the text of a broadcast statement declaring that the sole purpose of the invasion was to pursue the enemy. It added that Russia had no territorial ambitions and no intention of "altering the existing social structure of Rumania." This statement had previously been submitted to Washington and London and won the hearty approval of Mr. Hull and Mr. Churchill. It gives the lie direct to much anti-Soviet propaganda, and it should serve to strengthen the anti-fascist forces in the Balkans. which, as Bogdan Raditsa points out on another page, are seeking Russian leadership, but not domination, both now and in the post-war period. Whether Russia's declaration will immediately influence the policy of the Rumanian government is more doubtful. The Rumanians, like the Finns and the Hungarians, would like to get out of the war, but they cannot make peace with Russia without fighting Germany. With the Nazis well intrenched in their country and determined to hold on to it as long as possible, there is no way of untying this Gordian knot. It must be cut by the desperate measure of changing sides in the midst of the battle and treating the Russians as liberators instead of invaders.

>

ALTHOUGH REPORTS FROM THE INDIAN front are difficult to interpret, the immediate outlook appears gloomy. The Japanese have already succeeded in blocking the supply route to the important city of Imphal and are threatening to cut the Assam railway, the main communications link not only for General Stilwell's troops in North Burma but for American and Chinese forces in China itself. While the British appear confident that Imphal can be held, the complacent tone of General

Sir Claude Auchinleck's communiqué and statements remind us unpleasantly of similar communiqués issued at the time of the Burma disaster in 1942. The Allied armies are much stronger than they were two years ago and have much better air support, but the Japanese remain masters of jungle warfare. And it would be unwise to assume their inability to solve the supply problem. Luckily, the Japanese drive can hardly be regarded as of major strategic importance. It has become apparent in recent months that the United Nations are not depending on the reconquest of Burma to open a main supply line to China. That task is to be accomplished by sea power in a drive directly across the Pacific to the China coast. Such a drive, for which preparations are being made in the daily bombing of Truk and other Caroline objectives, would not only make the job of supplying China infinitely easier but also cut off the Japanese forces now operating in Burma and India.

\*

THE SOVIET CHARGE THAT CHINESE TROOPS violated the border of Outer Mongolia in seeking to head off the normal seasonal migration of the nomadic Kazakhs has been denied in Chungking. But the Chinese version of the border clash between Chinese and Outer Mongolian troops differs only with respect to the location of the incident and the direction in which the Kazakhs were supposed to be traveling. The significance of the affair has little to do with the Kazakhs or, for that matter, with the Outer Mongolians. For the fact that such an incident could occur is a clear indication of growing friction between China and the Soviet Union over the vast border region that lies between them. The present difficulties started about the time of Stalingrad, when the Sinkiang governor, for reasons never adequately explained, suddenly switched his political orientation from Moscow to Chungking. Although the region was nominally under Chinese sovereignty, its economic alignment, for obvious geographic reasons, had long been with Russia, and it had been militarily and politically independent. About a year ago, following the governor's sudden shift, Chungking began to send troops into Sinkiang. The Russians countered not only by withdrawing their rather large delegation but by removing the sma'l factories and other installations they had set up in the country, leaving Sinkiang in a rather desperate economic plight. This action was resented in Chungking, and relations between China and Russia have been tense ever since. Fortunately, other forces are operating to bring about better feeling between the two countries. The recent Soviet-Japanese agreement denying Tokyo use of oil from Sakhalin for the duration of the war will undoubtedly hasten the day of China's liberation, and should help to strengthen the bonds of the United Nations in the Far East.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT BY ITS decision in the Texas primary case has outlawed for the third time in seventeen years devices used in that state to bar Negroes from the Democratic primaries, A 1927 decision forbade such exclusion by statute; a 1932 decision held it equally unconstitutional to bar Negroes by action of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party. In 1935, however, the court upheld exclusion by decision of the Democratic state convention. This decision has now been reversed, the court ruling through Justice Reed that "constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied." Of the 1935 court, only two members remain, Chief Justice Stone and Justice Roberts. The Chief Justice joined in the reversal. Justice Roberts was the lone dissenter. He objected that to reverse a decision only nine years old was to breed confusion in the law. It is ironical to recall that it was Justice Roberts's reversal on minimum-wage legislation in 1937-a reversal that took place in little more than nine months—which helped to defeat the President's court plan. Justice Roberts says this new reversal will create "fresh doubt . . . as to the stability of our institutions." Justice Roberts has himself to blame if some elements in the South read this as a reference to their favorite institution, "white supremacy."

\*

THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE SOUTH Carolina House of Representatives reaffirming "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South" and demanding that "the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone" does not meet with the approval of all white South Carolinians. Twenty prominent professional and business people of the state, none of whom could be called radical, have issued a "Statement on the Race Problem in South Carolina," expressing a diametrically opposite point of view. The daily press, which gave such wide circulation to the House resolution, has generally ignored this statement. It lists seven specific ways in which Negroes are discriminated against, and makes a number of specific recommendations for improvement. For example: "Provision should be made for Negroes to serve on juries. Negroes should be allowed representation on boards which have to do with administering affairs that involve Negro citizens and their property; Negro policemen should be provided in Negro residential districts. We should enlarge our educational efforts for the Negro. . . ." On the question of Negro suffrage the statement is less explicit. It sees "no immediate solution." However, it goes on, "We do not believe that disfranchisement of all Negroes in South Carolina can endure indefinitely." The type of thought represented by the statement is not so rare in the South as is generally believed. One of the signers, in a private letter to a Negro newspaper editor on the House resolution, said: "You may be sure that there are a large number of white people in the state who suffer from acts of this nature fully as much as Negroes suffer. Indeed, their humiliation is greater, because it is white people who have thus held up the state to scorn."

THE DECISION OF THE FORMER RIGHT WING of the American Labor Party in New York to form a new party in the state seems to us unrealistic and unfortunate. The only raison d'etre of such a party is its opposition to the left which won control of the A. L. P. in the recent primaries. Other issues do not exist since both factions were committed to a win-the-war program, support of the New Deal, and the reelection of Roosevelt and Wallace. The platform of the new party will consist of one plank: the A. L. P. is now run by Communists; Hillman is a Communist tool; therefore we must fight the A. L. P. The chief effect of such action will be to injure the C. I. O. Political Action Committee of which Hillman is chairman. The right wing knows as well as the left that almost the only hope of stimulating vigorous labor opposition to the reactionary swing in the country lies in the successful development of this committee on a national scale. Certainly there is no other independent organization of similar character in the field. For the right wingers to risk weakening it in order to build a back-fire against their left opponents in New York seems to us an irresponsible political act. Divisions in the labor and progressive movements are numerous enough without creating parties to foster and magnify them.

DR. GINA LOMBROSO FERRERO, WHO JUST died in Switzerland, was a living refutation of some of her own most ardent beliefs. She wrote books and many articles to prove that women were essentially non-intellectual and found happiness in domestic life rather than outside activities. But she was herself an intellectual if ever one breathed, and her close and happy home life never interfered with a distinguished career in several other directions. She had doctor's degrees in medicine and philosophy; she studied economics; she wrote numerous sociological studies and children's books. She lectured and traveled, and in recent years she directed a small publishing house which put out the writings of Italian anti-Fascist exiles. Her home in Geneva was filled with political refugees from every Axis-controlled country. Everything conspired to turn this philosophical antifeminist into a practical feminist. She was a daughter of the famous Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, and wife of Guglielmo Ferrero, the historian, and she worked closely with both men, sharing their intellectual life as well as developing her own. She was a woman who was driven into broad fields of human activity not by ambition or conviction but by her own generous impulses. Her energy and curiosity and a warm interest in life survived even the difficulties of exile and a succession of personal sorrows.

# Lessons of Wisconsin

NE does not have to be a Willkie partisan to admire the spirit of his fight for the Republican nomination or to feel profoundly depressed by the overwhelming defeat he has suffered. His foray into Wisconsin—the Bible Belt of isolationism—was a daring enterprise in which he neither gave nor asked for quarter. Single-handed he assailed his foes on both flanks: on the left the Administration, and particularly its foreign policy; on the right the masses of his fellow-Republicans who believe they can scull to victory with muffled oars.

Mr. Willkie's attacks on the President were often biting, but for the most part they remained on a high level. He refused to exploit issues like rationing or Selective Service in order to catch votes. Again and again he emphasized his belief that the Republicans would not win next November, or deserve to win, unless they developed a forthright and forward-looking program based on international cooperation. In regard to domestic policy he condemned the tendency of his party to hark back to the good old twenties and talked in terms of economic progressivism. In this field, however, his policies still lacked definition, and he tended to confine himself to soothing generalizations on such knotty problems as post-war employment, labor relations, and social security. But at least he always talked about real issues, treating his audiences as intelligent and earnest citizens who were seeking enlightenment and not cheap oratory or circus tricks.

It was magnificent, but apparently it was not politics. Mr. Willkie's meetings were large and often enthusiastic, but whatever converts he made, he convinced the professionals that he was not their man; and when the polling places opened, the machine went to work. That it had semething solid to work on cannot be denied. The old Wisconsin spirit of isolationism, which led its Congressional delegation to vote unanimously against every measure of aid to Britain before Pearl Harbor, every step toward preparedness, is obviously very far from dead. Dewey and MacArthur, who by the nature of their following may be fairly identified in this contest as nationalist, together received far more votes than the internationalists Willkie and Stassen.

Governor Dewey's cagy policy appears to be paying big dividends. He has won the majority of the Wisconsin delegates not only without committing himself to anything but even after publicly disavowing their use of his name. The nature of his support in the Midwest will not prevent his sponsors from using the internationalist appeal in the East. He himself remains on the record as a non-candidate, under no obligations to take a stand on dangerous issues. But the machine he built up in 1940, and has assiduously nursed since, is hard at work playing up his vote-getting prowess and spreading the news that the Governor's corness does not mean that he would prove unresponsive to a draft. In fact, his supporters are now talking of his choice at Chicago by acclamation.

The new situation, however, offers some opportunities for deals and maneuvers. Governor Bricker's friendly statement on Willkie's withdrawal suggests a hope of cashing in on resentment against Dewey and luring some Willkieites into his camp. Stassen's followers will also seek to pick up enough Willkie delegates to give their man at least a nuisance value. And General MacArthur's showing in Wisconsin was sufficiently impressive to encourage his champions to go ahead with plans to organize the extreme nationalist vote.

What are the lessons of Wisconsin for the Administration? I. F. Stone, in this week's Washington letter, reports a marked degree of pessimism among New Dealers and notes a tendency to accept Willkie's overthrow as proof of a reactionary mood in the country, to which the Administration itself must conform. Our own reading of the lessons suggests a different conclusion. It is that an unclear and undemocratic foreign policy undermines faith in the internationalism for which Mr. Roosevelt has hitherto stood and plays into the hands of the isolationists. As Mr. Willkie said at Omaha, the Administration "is promoting confusion, cynicism, and distrust among us" by not admitting the people to its confidence in regard to the political conduct of the war.

We hope, therefore, that the President will not act on the assumption that, with Mr. Willkie eliminated, the unattached progressive and internationalist vote is in the bag and proceed to concentrate on appeasing the reactionaries. In this game he can never compete with the Republicans. His hope of victory, rather, lies in a return to that vigor and clarity, in regard to both domestic and foreign policy, which marked his earlier years of office.

# Civil Service Snoopers

IN ITS issues of July 17 and July 24, 1943, The Nation published two articles entitled Washington Gestapo, by an anonymous government official. Those articles told of the unfair methods used in investigations of government employees. When Representative Celler of New York called the articles to the attention of Harry B. Mitchell, president of the Civil Service Commission, Mitchell denied that such methods were used by his

agency. "The whole tone of the *Nation* articles is false, and the basis is false," Mitchell assured Mr. Celler. Six months later the charges made in *The Nation* found support in an article by Henry F. Pringle, Snooping on The Potomac, in the *Saturday Evening Post* for January 15. Now *PM* has published a series of fully documented Civil Service Commission cases by our Washington editor, I. F. Stone. The facts disclosed in them make it impossible for Mitchell or anyone else to deny that the procedure used in determining the loyalty and fitness of federal employees is grossly unfair.

At the time we published the Washington Gestapo articles, the only evidence available was the little that could be elicited in confidence from frightened employees and angry executives. No independent and formal inquiries into charges brought against government employees had been made by responsible agencies. This is no longer the case. Mr. Stone has made public the contents of two reports turned in on February 1 last by a three-man investigating board at the Foreign Economic Administration. This board was set up after the Civil Service Commission had ordered the discharge of two government employees, a man and his wife, both persons of reputation in the academic world. These people had gone to Washington, after Pearl Harbor, at some personal sacrifice, on the request of a government agency and had been doing excellent work for eighteen months when their dismissal was demanded. Suspicion seems to have been aroused because the wife is the cousin of a writer for the New Masses, but the Civil Service Commission found no basis for charging them with subversion. They were, however, branded as grossly immoral on the word of a malicious neighbor actuated by anti-Negro and anti-Jewish prejudice. This was the conclusion of the FEA investigating board, and its findings forced the commission to reverse itself.

But in addition to its report on the case of Professor and Mrs. X, the FEA board drew up a separate report for submission to the Civil Service Commission. This report pointed out that under the present investigatory procedure, accused employees have none of the elementary safeguards traditional in Anglo-American law. They may not be represented by counsel or confront and crossexamine their accusers. They do not have the right to know just who their accusers are or to know exactly what the charge is. They may not see a transcript of the testimony against them. They are not given a bill of particulars. They are examined in star chamber on what the FEA investigating board called "a cat-and-mouse basis." They learn only by indirection what is held against them and never know whether a question is prompted by previous information or is merely a trap. The accusing witnesses are not sworn; they are not subject to perjury charges if they lie or to suit for slander if they circulate false and damaging gossip.

The FEA board recommended that accused employees be allowed to cross-examine witnesses against them, to have a bill of particulars before trial, to have counsel present during trial, and to argue their case in advance of final decision. Unfortunately Leo T. Crowley, head of the FEA, has refused to allow this report to be submitted to the Civil Service Commission for consideration, and he and some of his subordinates have done their best to suppress it. The commission itself, while admitting that a declaration of disloyalty or unfitness may be fully as damaging to an employee's reputation as a criminal conviction, falls back on an excuse common to the secret police of dictatorships. The commission says in effect that the protection of the government is the first consideration, that people would not give information against employees unless safeguarded by anonymity, and that the burden of proof is on the employee. The situation is made worse by the fact that so many of the commission's investigators seem to be political illiterates, the kind of people who often regard the New Deal as "communistic." Not a few of them exhibit anti-Negro and anti-Semitic prejudices. When people of this kind are given a free hand to collect the garbage of gossip and to examine employees in star chambers, no one need be surprised by the result. We think the time has come for a formal investigation by Congress of these Gestapo-like procedures.

# Washington Blues

BY I. F. STONE

FEW New Dealers have thought for some time that Mr. Roosevelt ought not to run for a fourth term. Their number has been increased by the defeat of Mr. Willkie in Wisconsin. The earlier argument against the fourth term was that Mr. Roosevelt even if reelected, would probably have a Republican and certainly a more hostile Congress to contend with, and that he would be unable in those circumstances to solve the problems of demobilization.

It was argued that with Mr. Roosevelt in the White House, the ordinary voter would feel that the New Deal was in power, though virtually all key positions are already held by conservatives and the President is to a large extent their prisoner. Unemployment would be blamed on the New Deal, the reactionary trend intensified, and a liberal comeback long postponed. "The right is running the show," said one New Dealer back in uniform on a furlough from his post abroad. "Let them bear the responsibility."

This view assumes that there will be severe unemployment after the war, at least for some time—an assumption I share, since I see no evidence of any steps, private

or public, that can insure anything like full employment. Others, who agree, are nevertheless all the more strongly for a fourth term, on the ground that Mr. Roosevelt's presence in the White House may provide some check in what may be a dangerously reactionary period. But those of the President's advisers who are thinking primarily in terms of international rather than domestic problems want Mr. Roosevelt reelected no matter what situation is likely to confront him at home. The more optimistic of these believe that Mr. Willkie's withdrawal increases Mr. Roosevelt's chances. Previously they had regarded Mr. Willkie as the one Republican who might take progressive votes away from the President on domestic issues while winning the support of conservatives who would accept Mr. Roosevelt rather than risk any relapse into isolationism.

What worries the President's political advisers now is not so much what happened in Wisconsin as its effect in New York. Had Mr. Willkie made a strong showing, he and Governor Dewey might have killed each other off in the convention. Mr. Willkie's withdrawal now seems to have assured the Dewey nomination, and with that New York appears to be more than doubtful territory. The nomination of New York's governor plus the ugly sectarian quarrel in New York's American Labor Party makes many people here fear that Governor Dewey can carry New York against Mr. Roosevelt. If he can, a fourth term is unlikely. Talk in Congressional Democratic circles of a Byrd-Farley ticket reflects this feeling, and the open desertions from the not too crowded fourthterm band-wagon are evidence of how strong doubt has become. It is unlikely that Mr. Roosevelt will risk the great prestige he might possess and the influence he might exert as an undefeated elder statesman if he thinks his chance of winning is slight.

But few people here have the temerity to count Mr. Roosevelt out already. Many things may happen. The course of events in Europe, the opening of a second front, and the measure of its military success, will all have their effect. The American people may be much less warweary when they are actually fighting on a major scale than they are when millions of men are being drafted for little visible purpose. Mr. Roosevelt is no quitter. He has shown his fighting heart and buoyant courage under circumstances that would break most men. At home he has provided the leadership in, and given his name to, one of the great periods of American history. He is, from every indication, determined to do what he can to bring a more stable international order into being. He must have personal commitments to and from Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek that would be endangered by his defeat. He must be far more strongly aware than most of us of the threat to a permanent peace settlement were the four-power coalition to break up. Part of his strength lies in that very wiliness for which we assorted idealists, liberals, and leftists are most apt to criticize

him. The President may do things we shall find hard to justify in the next few months.

I admire and honor Mr. Willkie. It was a pleasure to hear and read the words of a man who said what he thought and proved that he was prepared to bear the consequences. But the consequences were serious. It was a pleasure that was also a luxury. Mr. Willkie demonstrated again that politics is no place for a man who chooses to speak plainly. It is only in times of extraordinary, imminent, and visible danger that he may hope to achieve leadership. I think the career of Mr. Churchill, a more conservative but no less outspoken personality, illustrates the same point; he was passed over for the mediocre and the equivocating until his country's great moment of peril, and in such a conjuncture Mr. Willkie may some day be called upon.

It is easy to oversimplify the results of the Wisconsin primaries. Wisconsin cannot be equated with the Midwest; many factors make it the worst possible place for n representative test of the general attitude toward foreign policy. The strong vote polled by former Governor Stassen of neighboring and equally Midwestern Minnesota, where both Stassen and Senator Ball are strongly pledged to international cooperation, indicates that Mr. Willkie's defeat was not simply an isolationist victory. But Mr. Willkie's failure, at this writing, to win even one pledged delegate indicates (1) on domestic issues, that even in Wisconsin, the home of progressive Republicanism, the liberal Republican and independent voters to whom Mr. Willkie thought he could appeal don't amount to very much; and (2) on foreign policy, that the active internationalist minority is far weaker than the active isolationist minority, while the inert mass in between doesn't feel deeply about the question-even so eloquent, attractive, and sincere a man as Mr. Willkie was unable sufficiently to move them. The result is not likely to lead Mr. Roosevelt to heed Mr. Willkie's advice and be more outspoken and clear in his foreign policy.

## There Stands De Gaulle

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE diplomatic war between the President of the United States and the President of the French Committee of National Liberation has reached a new stage of crisis. Mr. Roosevelt has casually, even contemptuously, dismissed the claims of the committee to be accepted as the provisional government of France. General de Gaulle has asserted that claim in a series of vigorous speeches and administrative acts and has assured his fellow-countrymen that France "does not need to listen to what is said outside her frontiers regarding the manner in which she will establish liberty at home." The issue between the French and the American leaders is clearly joined,

and not even the latest elucidation of American policy by Mr. Hull reached the underlying sources of conflict.

President Roosevelt's peculiarly virulent opposition to De Gaulle, which can only be compared to his bitter stubbornness on the Spanish issue, is one of those politicopsychological conditions that cannot be simply explained. But in anlayzing its twisted roots one factor must always be remembered—the influence and strategic position of Admiral Leahy. Champion and friend of Pétain, our last ambassador at Vichy is now the President's Chief of Staff. Leahy's job at Vichy was to try to induce the French puppet government, or certain elements in it, to favor the Allied cause. It was under Leahy that Murphy assumed the task of subverting Vichy officers and agents in North Africa. To the Admiral and his mission, indeed to American policy as a whole, the resistance of De Gaulle was more than a rebuke; it was a threat. Fighting France could not be an ally as long as American plans depended upon the connivance of Vichy. When De Gaulle slowly forced his way into the situation, he had to defend his precarious political beachheads in North Africa against the combined opposition of French fascists and British and American "liberators." (The British played a halfreluctant but useful role in this campaign.) De Gaulle won position after position, and he did it by demonstrating in every way open to him the solid backing of the whole resistance movement in France.

To this strategy American diplomacy has had no effective answer. Moreover, the United States could not openly oppose the will of the forces of resistance. In the hour of invasion they will be on our side; they stand for all we claim to be fighting for. The vigor with which they have rallied to De Gaulle; the rapid evolution of the Committee of Liberation from an uneasy union between two hostile factions to a full-fledged government representing all political tendencies; the rise and active participation in policy-making of the Consultative Assembly, peopled in large part with delegates from the various political groups inside France—all these factors have given De Gaulle a prestige and solid authority which is testified to by every correspondent in North Africa.

And De Gaulle himself has on the whole measured up to the demands of leadership. He has been firm in his dealings with his allies, flexible in his expanding relationship with the representatives of the people. He has steadfastly asserted what his followers want established beyond all doubt—the sovereign power of France. One has only to read De Gaulle's remarkable speech of March 18, a large part of which is reproduced in this issue, to get a sense of the assurance of the man and his grasp of the problems involved in France's rebirth as a nation. Many discussions of this speech have been published. Some have given the impression that De Gaulle was engaged in fighting his allies or demanding his rights in an angry or defiant mood. No such tone emerges from the text itself. De Gaulle recognizes and

regrets the reluctance of the Allies to accept the Committee as the provisional government of France, but he proceeds calmly with his plans for carrying on the functions of government. He goes farther and suggests a closer relationship among the nations of Western Europe and offers to help lay the foundations for such a regional union. Nowhere does he argue or remonstrate. Perhaps his calm assurance is one of the qualities Mr. Roosevelt resents.

The President can no longer argue that De Gaulle stands alone, that he is a dictator, that Giraud is an equal factor, that military necessity dictates a different choice. Every argument has fallen away except one. The President still clings to the old formula of "self-determination." Like "neutrality" and "non-intervention" toward Republican Spain, our policy of "self-determination" for liberated France is a cover for a particularly nasty technique of enforcing our will. It is designed to play into the hands of every agent of reaction from the old Marshal to the unknown Darlan who may arise after the invasion to be "chosen" by Eisenhower as one of the authorities with whom the Allies will deal. How do we know, asks the President, what the people of France really want? Nobody from his office has been there for a long time and a lot has happened lately. The French people themselves, after they are freed and after the prisoners of war and deported workers come home, must decide on their government. Meanwhile the process of liberation may uncover new groups or new leaders who may deserve our support. General Eisenhower will have to decide with whom he can best deal; it is primarily a military matter rather than a political one. The assertion by Mr. Hull that the De Gaulle committee, while "of course not the government of France," will be encouraged to "exercise leadership to establish law and order under supervision of the Allied Commander-in-Chief" does not rule out the possibility that other elements may be similarly encouraged. Only recognition of the Committee of Liberation as the provisional government, which Hull explicitly refuses, would dissipate the uncertainty that breeds suspicion and demoralizing rumors.

Indeed, political speculations recently reached a point in Algiers which forced the State Department to deny openly that the United States intended to deal with the Vichy regime or with other collaborationist elements once the invasion begins. But even after this denial it was pointed out, and not only by interested Frenchmen, that the United States has other possible alternatives to De Gaulle hardly less detestable than Laval or Pétain.

There is, for example, the interesting case of Noguès. This able general fled from North Africa with American help and thus escaped the fate of Peyrouton, Boisson, and Bergeret, fellow-fascists who have been imprisoned by order of the Committee of Liberation. Noguès went to Portugal, and with him or before him went all the gold of the Bank of France in Morocco. He has gath-

ered round him there a number of like-minded Frenchmen who were similarly able to duck out of North Africa or out of France. More than one observer on the spot has brought home disquieting stories of continued American relations with this astute and ambitious officer. And why should we not discuss plans and possibilities with Noguès? He is one of the men with whom we came to terms as soon as possible after our landing. He followed Darlan into the Allied camp and after Darlan's assassination helped select Giraud. He is one of our own collaborationists.

Might not Noguès, who has a considerable following in the upper officer ranks of the French army, be found useful when the Allied forces reach France? It is even whispered that he has been tentatively chosen as Premier in a new government which would include George Bonnet as Foreign Minister, Bergeret (presumably released from prison) as Minister of War, Lemaigre-Dubreuil as Finance Minister, and would find places for such other admirable non-Vichyites as De Monzie and Leroy-Ladurie. This government of appeasers, fascists, and financial corroborationists may be no more than the nightmare of an embittered Gaullist. It may, on the other hand, represent one of the possible plans that lie in the minds of some of the President's advisers. Certainly these persons are no more unsavory than those chosen when we moved into North Africa and Italy, and if we did not find the behavior of De Gaulle to our liking after we land in France, they might well be adopted as new Darlans and Girauds. The refusal to recognize the Committee of Liberation makes sense only if our policymakers are in fact holding the door open for such deals in case expediency should make them seem desirable.

Friends of the President, persons who know that he represents the best remaining hope of a decent international policy, must feel doubly distressed that he should persist in an attitude so fatal to the influence and democratic standing of America in Europe. But even in a campaign year no good end can be served by pretending that a line of action is good when it is clearly dangerous. The only sensible course for progressive supporters of the Administration to take is to urge the President to free himself from the obsessions that have controlled his policy toward De Gaulle, to get rid of reactionary advisers like Leahy, and to accept the logic of his best and most generous announced aims.

Mr. Stettinius is in London "exploring" the political problems which confront the Allied powers. Britain is said to feel strongly that recognition of De Gaulle should not be delayed any longer. Perhaps Mr. Eden can convince our representative that the trailing remnants of America's Vichy policy must be abandoned before the Allied armies attempt to land on French soil. Not all the subverted traitors in France could compensate us in arms or influence for the hatred of the French underground and the enmity of its acknowledged leaders.

# Russia in the Balkans

#### BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE Russian armies are hurtling across the River Prut, ready to strike at the heart of Rumania. It seems probable, therefore, that it is the Russians—aided by the various national armies of liberation—who will bring about the collapse of German military strength in the Balkans, and not England and America, allthough the Western Allies are giving substantial assistance to the Partisans in Yugoslavia. Moreover, the great people's movements emerging from the chaos of Balkan politics have derived inspiration and courage from Russia's example and will reinforce Russia's influence on the peace.

Resistance to fascism in the northern Balkan states has been less articulate than among the Greeks and South Slavs. When Rumania fell to the Nazis, the king and his military clique submitted to all Hitler's demands and abandoned the wise foreign policy which had been formulated by Nicholas Titulescu. (Eduard Benes and Titulescu were the only statesmen in the Little Entente who understood that friendship with Russia could be of enduring value to Southeastern Europe.) No vigorous popular movement has developed in Rumania, although an underground certainly exists there and large numbers of Rumanians have joined Marshal Tito's Partisans.

The amount of resistance in Hungary is something of a mystery. Count Karolyi broadcast from London an appeal to Hungarians to join Tito's armies, and lately many have done so. The deep abyss between the ruling class and the masses of the people in both Hungary and Rumania has unquestionably heightened the significance of Russia for the masses. For them the Soviet government is the embodiment of the people's will, and when the present rulers of Hungary and Rumania go down, as they inevitably must, Russia's influence on the new political structure to be built will be profound.

The Bulgarians, like other Balkan peoples, have been frustrated by a foreign king, a military caste, and an aggressive bureaucracy, but they have made their will known. Strongly pro-Russian, they have organized an active resistance movement and outlined a concrete program of political action. Although Bulgaria is in the Axis camp, it maintains diplomatic relations with Russia; the Soviet legation is still in Sofia. It is possible that the government allows this incongruous situation to continue as a concession to the Bulgarian people and in the interest of domestic peace.

The main stream of Balkan energy flows of course from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Army of Liberation has become a powerful instrument for the coordination of Balkan resistance and the unification of Balkan aspirations. Its growth is proof of the revolutionary character of this war, for it expresses not only the people's resistance to German domination, but their repudiation of the policy pursued by the Yugoslav government between the two wars.

An understanding of the political and military forces at work in Yugoslavia and throughout the Balkans will be furthered by a brief review of some recent political happenings in this storm center of the European continent

Up to the end of 1940 Yugoslavia had not recognized the Soviet government, and only the constant pressure of democratic elements upon Prince Paul induced him finally to send an envoy to the Kremlin. Behind this intransigent anti-Soviet policy were the late King Alexander, Nicholas Pachich, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, and his successors, part of the Serbian Orthodox church, the Foreign Office, and the army officers, all of whom despised the Soviet system as much as they had respected the Czarist regime. For twenty-three years after the Revolution the old Czarist Ambassador, Baron Strandmann, remained in Belgrade as Russia's accredited representative. He was actually on the diplomatic list until 1940.

Strandmann was for years the most influential personality in Belgrade society and diplomatic circles. He lived in the old Russian legation, across the street from the royal palace, just as in former days when Russia considered itself the guardian of Serbian interests. He disposed of 30,000,000 dinars a year (approximately \$600,000), provided partly by a special item in the Yugoslav budget and partly by the secret funds of the Foreign Office. This enormous sum of money was spent primarily for the dissemination of anti-Soviet propaganda in Yugoslavia and abroad.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution the Czarist General Wrangel established two military-cadet schools in Yugoslavia, where young White Russian exiles were instilled with rabidly anti-Soviet doctrines. The banners of General Wrangel's army waved ostentatiously in the center of Belgrade. These same White Russians have a strong grip on the puppet Belgrade government, and after the collapse of Yugoslavia an effective German fifth column, quite ready to cooperate with the Gestapo, was recruited from among them.

During the First World War, Frano Supilo, a Croa-

tian politician, visited St. Petersburg, the capital of Czarist Russia. The Russian Foreign Office, he learned, had no dossier on the Croats and Slovenes and no interest in the formation of a "Yugoslavia." It was concerned only with the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians, who could form a bulwark against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When Supilo told Sazanov, Russia's Foreign Minister, of the growing feeling for a great Yugoslavia, Sazanov was reluctant to accept the idea. He had already signed the London pact, which militated against the vital interests of Croats and Slovenes and temporarily paralyzed the efforts of the South Slavs to achieve a united nation.

In 1924 the popular Croatian democratic leader Stefan Radich visited Moscow, the capital of Soviet Russia. He found a vastly changed attitude at the Foreign Ministry from the one Supilo had described. When Radich returned, he told his people—and his words have become a slogan—"With Russia we are something; without Russia nothing." Soon afterward Radich was arrested, and later killed, by the men who were preparing King Alexander's dictatorship under the influence of White Russian émigrés and other reactionaries.

Official relations between the Yugoslav government in exile and Soviet Russia have always been strained. The former has consistently followed the old pre-war line and has built up Mihailovich to lead the struggle against Russia. In 1942 Molotov proposed a friendship pact to the Yugoslav government in exile, but Foreign Minister Ninchich turned the offer down, actuated either by his belief in Hitler's victory or by his fear of Bolshevism.

After the Moscow and Teheran conferences it was clear that the Big Three recognized Tito's army as the real fighting force in Yugoslavia. Churchill virtually abandoned the Yugoslav government in exile. Bewildered and apprehensive, Prime Minister Purich turned to Russia. He offered a pact of friendship. He even thought of transferring the government from Cairo to Moscow. But any hope of obtaining support for King Peter's Cabinet from that quarter was blasted. The Soviet government reminded Dr. Purich that the question of a Soviet-Yugoslav pact had been raised during the spring of 1942: "The Yugoslav government, then located in London, did not give the pact the same importance that it seems to attach to it now." Dr. Purich's proposal was flatly rejected.

The Yugoslav people have been and are unalterably opposed to the policy of their government. They regard an alliance with Russia as a logical necessity for the Slavs in the Balkans, not as a mere expedient. The interest of the Soviet government in a united Slav nation was made clear to them by Radich, His words have been confirmed by the subsequent activities of the All-Slav committees in Moscow.

Recently the Yugoslav Ambassador to Russia, Stanoye Simioh, severed his connections with the Purich government. Mr. Simich is an extremely capable young Serbian diplomat, an ardent anti-fascist, and a consistent supporter of the concept of Yugoslavia. He explained in a letter to Marshal Tito that his resignation was prompted by the refusal of the government in exile to organize "Yugoslav army units to fight on the Soviet-German front against the common enemy." A Yugoslav unit has now been equipped in Russia. It will fight under the flag of Marshal Tito and under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mesich, who deserted from the army sent by the puppet Pavelich to aid the Germans on the eastern front.

The restoration of the Russian Orthodox church has done much to overcome distrust of Soviet Russia's attitude toward religion. The Partisans have deep respect for their bearded priests. There is, indeed, a saying in Yugoslavia today that "a beard is worth a brigade." Tito's Minister of the Interior is a Serbian Orthodox priest. Other church dignitaries have not only refused to condemn the Partisans but have joined their fighting forces.

Since the Yugoslav people found their leader in Marshal Tito, his army has become a rallying-point for all the democratic forces of the Balkans. On March 26 the Free Italian radio, Milano Libertà, announced that the general staff of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the British, American, and Russian military missions, and representatives of the Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian liberation armies had held an important conference at Tito's headquarters. The aim of the meeting was to coordinate all liberation movements and their armies in the Balkans under Marshal Tito. The Greek resistance, under the inspiration of the left wing of the E. A. M.—E. L. A. S. group, has recently formed a provisional governing committee modeled after Marshal Tito's committee.

The old Balkans, with their oppressive ruling classes, their semi-legitimate monarchies, their unscrupulous politicians and ambitious generals, and their diplomats who permitted their countries to be used as tools by the great powers, are dying. All these elements became puppets of the Germans when their countries were invaded. Now they have accepted German occupation without a murmur, because it is their only bulwark against advancing Soviet armies and Soviet influence. But that bulwark is doomed. And the people, led by new leaders with a new understanding of the popular spirit, will make their will felt.

Dr. Benes said some days ago that Stalin was "definitely opposed to the imposition of communism upon the Balkan countries." The Balkan problem does not demand such a solution. The Balkan masses have seen how fragile was the structure of a world made up of small ultranationalistic states. They realize that their security lies in union, plus the friendly support of Soviet Russia. The Balkan peoples have come to understand that the dam which Europe built against Russia was an essential cause of their own collapse, as well as of the collapse of all pre-war Europe; they know that Europe cannot live in peace if that dam is rebuilt.

American economic support will be greatly needed

throughout the region, and in making political decisions the Balkans will lean heavily upon the Allies. Thus a full understanding among Great Britain, the United States, and Russia—before the Balkans have been liberated—is of the utmost importance, not only for the Balkan peoples but for the general settlement of Europe when peace has come. After Italy, the Balkans will be the test of what the United Nations consider their mission in this war.

# G. I. in India—II

THE lot of American soldiers in India who are stationed in or near large cities is quite different from that of men stuck away in remote valleys and jungle outposts. When it was reported that a Senatorial party touring India had spent an evening in Duration Den, the luxuriously appointed American Red Cross club in New Delhi, listening to the griping of the soldiers there, the news provoked derisive comments in this monsoon-washed valley. Men who had spent a year or more waiting for a ten-day furlough in Delhi or Calcutta—"sweating it out" they call it here—wondered "what the devil the 'hotel' soldiers had to complain about."

The life of "hotel" soldiers, most of whom live in barracks or tents, in India is not an extended lark, but neither is it especially difficult. My first six weeks in India were spent at a desert camp some fifteen miles from a fairly large city, and despite occasional sand-storms, heat which often hovered around 110, and swarms of evilly persistent flies, life was bearable. The city did not come up to an American's notions of cleanliness, but it offered a modern motion-picture theater, several good restaurants, and a variety of rather interesting shops.

An Indian-operated bus line ran between the camp and the city, and most of us went in three or four times a week. Indians are fatalists, or at least drive as if they were. One afternoon a friend and I hitched a ride on a bus carrying Indian laborers. It was ancient in a way no American jalopy, however rickety, ever is. The cab, in which we rode, was held together by old pieces of rope and a few casually placed nails, and all the gauges on the dashboard read zero. But it went down the road at an astonishing speed, passing camel caravans and other buses. Twice in passing it careened off the road on to the sand and almost turned over before it careened back again. After the second time the driver, apparently feeling that he owed us an explanation, smiled pleasantly and said, "Steering wheel loose, no brakes." I found

myself silently remonstrating, "It's all right for you. As a Hindu you believe you'll be reincarnated. But what about us?"

People in Blank, which is as far as the censor will permit one to go in naming the city, were generally friendly. We had some misgivings at first, because "Quit India" was scrawled across almost every wall we saw. But this did not appear to be directed at us. They did not throw flowers into the streets when we rode by, but they were hospitable.

American influence was conspicuous in the shopping district. Goodyear and Kodak signs were frequent, and stocks of American goods, though they were pathetically small, were displayed proudly. In a crooked, unpaved lane I came across a furniture shop full of Grand Rapids "modern." When we went into shops which had American goods, the proprietor would point to them and say, "Theekhai," which, roughly spelled, is Hindustani for O.K. One grocery store had American canned goods, but the prices were fabulous—\$2.10 for a 19-cent can of Libby's fruit juice, 90 cents for a 10-cent can of Heinz soup, \$5 for a crock of cheese.

We had been told that our money would go three times as far in India as it did in the states, but we soon realized that we had been grossly misinformed. At least for American soldiers, nothing in Blank was cheap. This was partly because war shortages had boosted the price of articles we wanted, and partly because Indians believe all Americans have more money than they know what to do with. Beggars and vendors all over India invariably approach us with, "You rajah, me poor man." When I tell a shopkeeper that a price is more than I can afford, he is likely to smile condescendingly, as if to say, "What a quaint sense of humor you Americans have."

Bookshops were almost as plentiful as curio shops, but they had a curious collection of English books. In the city's largest bookstore I found a second-hand copy of a

Warwick Deeping novel, a brochure on animal husbandry, one on Basic English, the "Bhagavadgita," and Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People." To Americans eager to learn all they could about the country this was disappointing. Several pamphlets by Indians introducing India to American troops were for sale, but they were largely devoted to the glories of India's past and were written almost exclusively in superlatives. Considerable literary traffic went on outside the shops. A newspaper hawker who came out to camp each day brought with him such selections as "The Escapades of Erotic Edna," "My Sins—Private Life of a College Girl," "True Confessions of an Indian Girl," and "The Hidden Side of Sexual Science."

The Anglo-Indian newspapers were our best source of information on contemporary Indian life. They had only four pages, but they contained a respectable amount of news and illuminating editorials. Once one ran a long editorial on Louis Fischer's articles in *The Nation* about the Cripps mission, and the next day reprinted from *The Nation* a piece by a Charles Williams on Harlem and the War. It gave me a strange feeling.

The favorite American hangouts in Blank were three "in-bounds" restaurants run by Chinese. There we could eat duck with ginger, chicken with pineapple, crab meat and melon soup, steak that was good though it did not remind us of home, and ice cream that did. Prices were lower than in other restaurants I have been in here, and one could dine very well for less than two dollars. The quantities of food we consumed surprised and amused the Chinese waiters. Another gathering place was the Manhattan Soda Fountain, where we could buy hamburgers on toasted English muffins and amazing banana splits, play "Star Dust" or "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" on a dilapidated music box, and become thoroughly homesick.

I had long social conversations with the shopkeepers, who occasionally offered tea even when it was plain that I was not going to buy anything. Many of them spoke apologetically of India's backwardness. One of them said in a way that showed he had said it many times before, "We are a hundred years behind, a hundred years behind." We had been told not to discuss politics in India, and Indians rarely introduced the subject, but one curio dealer spent the better part of an hour talking about India's sectional differences. He was a Hindu and he said, "Moslems are all right but hard in the head." Nehru, he thought, was a great man, and Gandhi he called the "uncrowned king of India." It struck me that Gandhi might see some irony in this description.

[This is the third of a series of intermittent letters from a veteran contributor to The Nation, now a corporal in the army.]

## 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SWISS REFERENDUM appears to be having a "boom" in this country just now. In the legislatures of New York and New Jersey as well as Massachusetts bills are pending looking toward its incorporation in the state constitutions.—April 5, 1894.

THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT received further impetus last week in the passage by the Iowa legislature of a bill giving women the right to vote at municipal or school elections. . . The movement has also made more headway in Massachusetts this year than ever before. . . . A bill which had passed the House by a large Republican majority was . . . defeated in the Senate through the Boston Journal and Henry Cabot Lodge, now the recognized machine manager of his party.—April 12, 1894.

ONE OF THE MOST extraordinary phenomena in the literary history of Germany is the hostility which is still manifested toward Heine, almost forty years after his death—an enmity based in about equal proportions on chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and the wrath naturally felt by Philistines toward men of genius. . . . The project of erecting a monument to Heine in his native city of Düsseldorf, a few years ago, met with so much opposition that it was dropped. Soon thereafter the committee took up Mainz as a suitable place, but nothing definite has been done as yet.—April 19, 1894.

THERE COULD HARDLY be a better illustration of the audacity, we were going to say depravity, of Senator Lodge's demagogy, than the phrase, "when not in contravention of any existing treaty," in his resolution in favor of putting discriminating duties on British products. . . . Lodge knows perfectly well that we are bound by the treaties of 1794 and of 1815 not to impose on British goods any duties which we do not impose on those of other nations. . . . The contributions of Massachusetts and Harvard College to federal politics during the past two years in the persons of Lodge and Quincy really seem like a freak of nature, and we respectfully call the attention of the Board of Overseers to the phenomenon.—April 26, 1894.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN Bragg and Naftel in Alabama, in a private room, in which Bragg was killed and Naftel dangerously wounded, arose out of Naftel's saying that Bragg at a meeting had not acted like a gentleman, by, in some manner, obstructing his view. It is unfortunate that Bragg should have thought it necessary to kill Naftel for this statement. But the criminal code of gentlemen at the South is one of appalling severity.—April 26, 1894.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Le Gallienne, Richard, "English Poems." . . Wilde, Oscar, "Salome."—April 5, 1894. . . . Ibsen, Henrick, "Brand." Translated in the original meters —April 12, 1894. . . . France, Anatole, "La Fille de Clémentine." . . . Hope, Anthony, "The Prisoner of Zenda." . . . . Murray, J. A. H., "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles." Last part of Vol. III.—April 19, 1894.

# A Pan of Bones

#### BY LUCILLE B. MILNER

N NEW YEAR'S EVE, 1939, Elmer Rogers, his wife, and his four-year-old son were brutally murdered in their home near Fort Towson, Oklahoma, Another son, eight years old, saved himself and his baby brother. The Rogerses were killed with a shotgun and mutilated with an ax; then the house was set afire, burning all three of them.

It was a hideous crime—the most revolting in the state's history—and the entire community was aroused. Soon several white prisoners from a nearby prison camp were arrested. This brought much unfavorable publicity about the Oklahoma state-prison system, and Warden Jesse Dunn\* of the state penitentiary, put on the spot, went to Fort Towson to make an investigation. The Governor asked Vernon Cheatwood to report on the matter to him. Cheatwood had been the Governor's special in extension of the seven years and had had a good deal of experience in obtaining confessions. Early in January the convicts who had been arrested for the crime were released, and a young Negro, W. D. Lyons, was arrested in Hugo, charged with the murders.

On the night of January 11 Lyons was visiting his mother-in-law and left her home to get some illegal whiskey hidden in the woods. On his way back he met Ennis Aikens. They saw several cars of police officers drive up to the house, and Lyons asked Aikens to go ask his wife "what the trouble was down there." When Lyons started for the house he was met by two men, Reasor Cain and Oscar Bearden, the former a special officer of the Frisco railroad. With drawn revolvers they seized him, bound his arms behind his back with his belt, and started to take him to the jail.

About three blocks from the jail Cain broke off a piece of one-inch board lying on the street and Bearden struck Lyons on the head with it. He also kicked Lyons and told him they were going to burn and kill him by degrees unless he confessed to the Rogers murders. When they reached the jail, Leonard Holmes, the jailor, greeted Lyons by striking him in the mouth with the jail keys.

Bearden told Holmes to "get some more officers and we'll drag him through 'colored town' and let the rest of the niggers learn a lesson." But Holmes could find no more officers at that time, and so they took Lyons to the top floor of the jail. There Deputy Sheriff Floyd Brown knocked him to the floor and kicked him in the stomach and ribs. Then they threw him into a cell. But not for

 On August 10, 1941, Warden Dunn was killed in a prison break by four long-term prisoners who held him as hostage and murdered him when his rescue was about to be effected. long. After about five minutes, Lyons was taken downstairs to a small room adjoining the sheriff's office where were gathered the sheriff, two deputy sheriffs, the state ballistics expert, two highway patrolmen, and the Governor's special investigator, Vernon Cheatwood.

One of the officers made Lyons stand against a wall with his arms stretched above his head while another kicked the skin off his shins. Cheatwood kicked him in the stomach and blacked his eye. The sheriff called a halt in order to question Lyons for about thirty minutes, and then the beatings were resumed until the sheriff again stopped them and had Lyons taken to his cell.

One evening a week or so later, about dusk, Deputy Sheriff Brown and two highway patrolmen took Lyons from his cell to the office of the county prosecutor, a room about fourteen by sixteen. During the course of Lyons's examination from ten to twelve men were in this room. Lyons was handcuffed and placed in a chair; Vernon Cheatwood sat directly in front of him, less than a foot away, with a blackjack in his hand, his "nigger beater" he called it. During the questioning Cheatwood struck Lyons on the knees, hands, arms, and legs with the blackjack. "Every time he hit me with it," Lyons says, "something in it would rattle like buckshot." Every now and then Reasor Cain would strike Lyons with his fist, and "when he got tired the highway patrolmen would take it a while . . . and they beat me that way all night, yelling questions. . . . They would say, 'You killed those people, didn't you, you god-damned son-of-a-bitch; you're going to tell before we turn you loose!'" Now and then a highway patrolman would take Lyons from the chair and bend him across a table while Cheatwood would beat him on the back of the head with the blackjack. The father of Mrs. Rogers, E. O. Colclasure,\* and her sister-in-law, Mrs. Vernon Co'clasure, testified that Cheatwood boasted to them of what he had done.

At about 2:30 in the morning an officer brought in a pan of bones and placed it on Lyons's lap. "They said they was the bones of Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Rogers, and the baby," Lyons testified. (No attempt was made by the prosecution to explain how these bones were produced twenty-two days after the Rogerses were murdered.) "I never seen bones of a dead person before; I never seen dead people before, and I was afraid of those bones on my lap. Mr. Cheatwood would lay the bones in my hands—teeth bones and body bones—and make me hold

\* Since the trial Mr. Colclasure has been active in local interracial affairs and at present is chairman of the Fort Towson branch of the Autional Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

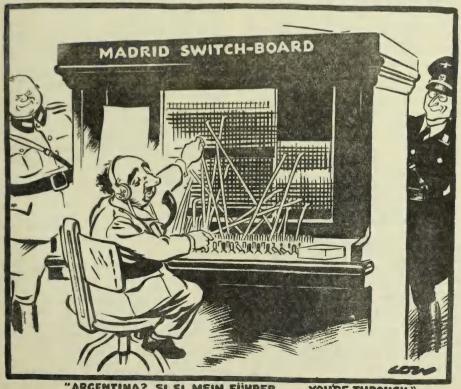
them and look at them . . . he wouldn't let me turn my head away . . . and beat me on the legs and knees." Finally Lyons gave in and answered their questions. Even then he denied killing the Rogerses but later said yes: "I was forced to . . . I was beat with a blackjack and tortured all night, and I was afraid I would get some more torture."

This over, Lyons was lifted from the chair and led downstairs and over to the sheriff's office to wait while the officers ate their breakfast before taking him to the scene of the crime. There Lyons was again threatened with death. A fire was built and he was told that he would be burned unless he confessed that he had hidden the ax which was shown to him. For four hours this went on. At 8:30 Lyons, with one eye closed, his lip broken, and his nose bleeding, was taken back to jail. In the middle of the afternoon Cheatwood brought Lyons a paper to sign. When he asked what the paper was, he was told "never mind," and in utter desperation he signed. Later he was driven to the jail at Antlers.

At sundown Lyons was taken from the jail at Antlers and driven to the penitentiary at McAlester. On the way Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston continued to threaten him.

"We ought to hang and bury him right here," the sheriff told his companions, explaining that they could tell the court Lyons had tried to escape. Lyons was taken at once to the Warden's office. "Is this the nigger who did the shooting?" Warden Dunn asked, and Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston replied that Lyons had "already admitted same in the confession in the jail house," When Warden Dunn questioned Lyons about the murders, Lyons said he knew nothing about them, and the deputy sheriff, with an "I'll make him talk," started beating Lyons. This continued for almost two hours. Lyons had been without sleep since Sunday-this was Tuesday. He had been without food the entire day and without water since early afternoon. He "couldn't stand no more"; so he answered their questions as he was instructed to answer them. A stenographer was called to take down the "confession," which Warden Dunn and Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston dictated in a low tone to the stenographer while Lyons nodded his head in assent. The "confession" signed, Lyons was placed in the death cell in the basement of the jail, about fifteen feet from the electric chair. There he spent the night.

While he was confined at the penitentiary awaiting



"ARGENTINA? SI, SI, MEIN FÜHRER.....YOU'RE THROUGH

preliminary hearing, Lyons was threatened and beaten until he agreed to take the stand and admit his "guilt." The preliminary hearing was held at Hugo. Up to this time Lyons had had no lawyer. At the hearing two local attorneys appointed by the court to defend him refused to act and were excused, and the hearing proceeded without counsel for the defendant.

With the exception of the alleged confession, the only evidence against him produced by the state was testimony that Lyons was carrying a twelve-gauge shotgun wrapped in a newspaper in the colored section of Fort Towson on the day of the murder, that he had bought six No. 4 shells from the local store on the day of the murder, and that the Rogerses were killed with No. 4 shot from a twelve-gauge shotgun. Lyons admitted that he had borrowed a twelve-gauge shotgun on that day to go hunting with, that he had bought some shells, and that he carried the gun wrapped in a newspaper because he did not have a hunting license.

Lyons was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. The prosecution's entire case depended on the alleged confession made in the warden's office at McAlester, admitted over the objection of Lyons's counsel, which was provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The first "confession" was excluded from evidence, the court ruling that "the defendant might have been frightened into making [it] . . . by long hours of questioning and by placing bones of the purported bodies of the deceased persons in his lap during the questioning." The court admittedly was under the impression that several days had elapsed between the two confessions but did not withdraw the second confession from consideration by the jury when it was revealed that both confessions were made on the same day with virtually no rest for the prisoner in between.

An appeal to the Criminal Court of Appeals, taken in behalf of Lyons by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union as amicus curiae, on the ground that he had been denied due process of law guaranteed by the Constitution, resulted in a unanimous decision upholding the conviction. The United States Supreme Court has granted certiorari, and arguments will be heard during the last week of April.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that use of a confession obtained by force and violence is a violation of the Constitution. "The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness chair," the court declared only recently in reversing a conviction obtained in a similar case in Mississippi. A long line of court decisions has firmly established the principle that any confession made after one confession has been obtained by force and violence is likewise inadmissible unless the state can prove beyond a reasonable doubt that all the

influences which forced the accused to confess previously had been completely removed. The Supreme Court has not yet passed on this point, but in a case which came before it recently (Canty v. Alabama, 309 U. S. 629) it granted the prisoner's petition for certiorari and reversed the conviction without even permitting the state to argue as to the merits. In that instance the prisoner was tortured in a police station at Montgomery, Alabama, then carried miles away to Kilby Prison, where, allegedly without force and in the presence of persons who were allegedly not at the earlier scene, the prisoner made a confession.

### In the Wind

AN ESSAY CONTEST in Columbus, Ohio, on the general subject "What to Do with Adolf Hitler," was won by a sixteen-year-old Negro girl. Her idea, as reported by a religious magazine, is to put the Führer into a black skin and make him spend the rest of his life in America.

CATHOLICS in the diocese of Connecticut are forbidden to have anything to do with Russian War Relief.

THE OFFICES in *The Nation's* new quarters are marked with the letters of the alphabet. On moving day it was discovered that there was no office marked *M* between those marked *L* and *N*. *M* is the thirteenth letter.

ARMY ORDNANCE, headed by General L. H. Campbell, recently prepared a brochure asking for suggestions and distributed it to ordnance officers in the field and to production engineers. Fifty-six per cent of all the ideas submitted were found feasible.

ROBERT P. GERHOLZ, president of the National Association of Home Builders, was recently quoted in the Daily Journal of Commerce, Portland, Oregon, as saying that public housing is the builders' number-one fight after the war and the Federal Public Housing Authority their number-one opponent. "It's up to the private builder to see that the FPHA does not get a single appropriation with which to finance housing in the post-war period," he said. . . "Public housing . . makes for class segregation." This is news to West Coast shipyard workers living in public-housing developments.

FESTUNG EUROPA: When a Norwegian street car is crowded these days, the conductor cheers up the passengers by calling, "Withdraw according to plan to the rear of the car!" . . . . Since the Nazis have deprived non-Nazi pastors in Norway of the right to perform marriages, 98 per cent of the marriages have been civil ceremonies, followed by a "church blessing" administered by a non-Nazi pastor.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received during March goes to James Loeb, Jr., for the story of the Dewey campaign slogan devised by the Union for Democratic Action, "Dewey or Don't He?" in the issue of March 11.]

### The New France

#### BY CHARLES DE GAULLE

[The following address was delivered by General de Gaulle on March 18 before the Consultative Assembly in Algiers. We believe that it expresses more clearly than any previous statement the attitude of the Committee of National Liberation toward the post-war problems of France.—THE EDITOR.]

ENTLEMEN, whatever may be the date or speed Tof the liberation, the urgent problems which the government will then have to solve will be farreaching and difficult, as the Assembly knows full well. The most important of these problems concern the pursuit of the war, side by side with the Allies; French participation in the elaboration and application of the European armistice conventions; the maintenance of public order and the establishment of a purged administration; the working of justice; the supply of currency and the payment of salaries; a labor policy and the organization of production; foreign exchange and communications; public health; the reestablishment of individual and union rights; freedom of the press and the regulation of information; the return of our prisoners and deported workers; the movements of refugees; and lastly material preparations for the great national consultation from which will emerge the Constituent National Assembly which will build the Fourth Republic. . . .

Although it is impossible to know exactly how the French people will be feeling and thinking, since this will depend on the many trials which they must still experience before they can breathe the air of freedom, we have judged that the preparation of general solutions should be vigorously undertaken despite the lack of means of investigation. Such constructive work is absolutely necessary and urgent, and your final decisions in these matters will be of the highest importance. Without wishing to influence the definite arrangements, which must be adopted as soon as possible, I should inform you what the government considers necessary, so that the conception of these arrangements today and their application tomorrow may fulfil the conditions.

First, nothing can be done without order. Order is an imperious necessity for any accomplishment in the situation in which our country will be placed by the battles on its soil, the enemy's retreat, the many kinds of destruction suffered, the collapse of the present system of oppression. Consequently, and I say so with emphasis, there can be no other public authority than that which

proceeds from the responsible central power. Any attempt to maintain in part or in camouflaged form the Vichy organization or any artificially created authority outside the present government would be intolerable and to be condemned in advance. As soon as local authorities are designated by the French Committee of National Liberation, citizens will be duty bound to conform strictly to the instructions of these authorities, without prejudice of course to the role which will be played by advisory organizations provided by our committees of liberation, pending the constitution of local assemblies as foreseen. Woe to him who acts against national unity!

We must admit that the exceedingly difficult economic conditions into which France will be plunged in the initial period of reconstruction will exclude any rapid improvement in matters of supply and distribution. It is painful to have to tell a nation which has greatly suffered that the landing of French and Allied forces will not immediately bring comfortable conditions. But it is the government's duty to take the strict measures relative to rationing, prices, exchange, and credit which will enable everyone to receive an equal share of the necessaries of life. As production increases, as food and raw materials arrive from foreign countries or overseas France in accordance with plans on which the government is at present collaborating with competent international organizations, and as interior and exterior communications are reestablished, this situation will improve. But we must realize that the improvement will be slow. . . .

Having set up this initial distribution system, the government intends to stimulate, by every possible means, agricultural production and industrial reconstruction. Obviously, however, it will not tolerate coalitions of interests, private monopolies, or trusts, whose existence at the beginning of this new period would imperil the economic and social reforms desired by the great majority of Frenchmen, reforms which are to be decided on by nationally elected representatives. In pursuance of these same ends, wealth obtained in the midst of general privation, particularly wealth gained by activities directly benefiting the enemy, will be quite simply taken away. The new France recognizes fair profit as useful, but will consider illicit any concentration of business which might throw the state's economic and social policy out of gear and dictate the condition of men.

The government will not wait until all France is freed

from the enemy before taking action to insure the nation's existence and to restore the laws of the Republic. As the armies of liberation advance, the task of reconstruction will begin. It is obvious that if the government is to function in zones where fighting is going on there must be cooperation between the Allied military command and the local authorities designated by the government. For such cooperation to be easy and efficient, arrangements for it must have been made in advance by the French Committee of National Liberation and our American and British allies. The government, for its part, has made the necessary arrangements and has informed Washington and London of its plans. It has also decided how it will proceed with the administration of territories that gradually come under its jurisdiction. These decisions and projected arrangements represent our determination to furnish the armies on our territory with all the facilities they will need for the conduct of operations on which the destiny of the world depends and in which French troops from outside and inside France will participate in every way possible.

At this point we come to what makes the foreign relations of France so difficult at present. While the government must defend abroad the rights and interests of the country, rights and interests that extend to all parts of the world and into the future, the conditions under which it functions do not permit it, in relation to the other great powers, to have a hearing proportionate to its sacred obligations. As a result France has comparatively little part in the discussion of certain political and strategic questions presented by the war-a fact of which the nation and its friends are profoundly conscious. This is a practical issue, whose solution cannot be postponed. The government's policy in this matter is to try to make itself heard and understood, despite many obstacles, by bringing the greatest possible cooperation to the common effort, and to remain entirely uncommitted on the position of France with respect to questions which concern her if attempts are made to settle them without consulting her. At the same time the government intends to insure, by its attitude and its patient vigilance, that this transitory state of affairs shall not change the fundamental and indispensable friendship of the French people for the great Allied nations. . . .

#### THE ROLE OF FRANCE IN EUROPE

Europe knows what it is worth to mankind and is confident of emerging from its sufferings enlightened by its trials and able to undertake constructive work, material, intellectual, and moral, for the reorganization of the world. It is eminently capable of this, once it has crushed the major cause of its tragedies and divisions—the frenzied might of Prussianized Germany. The action, the influence, in a word, the value of France will then become necessary to Europe, to guide it and to help it to renew relations with the world. The government,

while carrying on the fight, has prepared by its attitude and policy for the European role which France will play tomorrow to the advantage of all.

In order that the Continent, when it is made over, may arrive at a balance corresponding to modern conditions, it would seem that certain groupings of nations should be formed, without, of course, any encroachment on the sovereignty of the various states. We believe that it would be advantageous for France to become part of some Western European group, formed primarily on an economic basis and as inclusive as possible. Such a group of nations, if it were extended to Africa and had close relations with the Near East, particularly with the Arab states, which are legitimately seeking to unite their interests-with the Channel, the Rhine, and the Mediterranean serving it as arteries-could constitute an important unit in the organization of production, exchange, and security throughout the world. Like all the projects for the near future, this must be prepared beforehand. The French government is willing to begin right now, together with the other states concerned, to study all the plans and negotiations that will be necessary.

#### THE NEW FRENCH STATE

The task of the provisional government of the Republic will come to an end when national sovereignty has been reestablished. From that moment, our institutions, disrupted by the unforeseen circumstances of the invasion, will resume their legitimate functioning; and the de facto powers which we have assumed in order to direct the nation's war effort and insure the liberation of the sovereign, or rather the captive, French people will be relinquished as having accomplished their purpose.

The permanent form of French society is not within the competence of the Consultative Assembly to decide, for it cannot proceed with free, direct, and general elections under sufficient conditions of national stability. But if events force France to wait before deciding such matters for herself, a great deal is taking place in the minds of the French people. Rising above their sorrows, they are looking toward the future. In what they say and what they think there is apparent a common tendency which already enables us to distinguish the main lines that our restoration will follow.

Our people want a democracy that will have a new machinery and, particularly, new politics. To conform to their wishes, the new regime must be based on national representation, with all the men and women of France participating in the elections. But the legislative procedure must be vastly different from that which finally paralyzed the Third Republic. As to the government to which this national representation will intrust executive authority, it should be invested with all the power and stability which are necessary to the authority of the state and to France's greatness in the world. The French democracy, however, must insure to everyone

the right to work and guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources and not to furthering private interests. In this system the great sources of national wealth will belong to the nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance of workers and entrepreneurs. Lastly, it must be made possible for high intellectual and moral elements . . . to cooperate directly with the administration.

This political, social, and economic regime will certainly be completed by assuring, within the French community of peoples, the future of those whose fate is bound to that of France. Lastly, this French system will work in harmony with every other nation cooperating within an international setup so arranged that, in a world where henceforth independence will be law, each nation can develop along its own lines, without having to bear political or economic oppression....

### The Pucheu Trial

BY A FRENCHMAN

Algiers, March 27

THE Pucheu trial is over. What was its political significance? Let us briefly recall the essential facts. A former student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure who left education for the world of heavy industry, Pierre Pucheu entered the Pétain government in 1941, serving first as Minister of Industrial Production, then, very soon, as Minister of the Interior. An active, intelligent, and bold man, the political friend of Doriot, he left the government when Laval returned to power and in November, 1942, fled to Spain, where he received General Giraud's permission to come to North Africa. From the very beginning of Pucheu's negotiations with Giraud, General de Gaulle demanded that the ex-Minister, together with Peyrouton, Boisson, and others, be eliminated.

Pucheu was charged with collaboration with the enemy, with responsibility for the persecutions carried on by his ministry, and, in particular, with the creation by him and his colleagues of a special tribunal which condemned patriots to the guillotine. The court overlooked his part in the designation of hostages to be shot by the Germans but produced from the Journal Official enough orders bearing his signature to establish to its satisfaction his treasonable relations with the enemy. The five judges—two magistrates and three generals—condemned him; General de Gaulle refused to pardon him.

Politically, this verdict is significant for several reasons. First of all, it means that Algiers refuses to absolve treason, even two-faced treason. It is probable that Pucheu did play a double game. His conversations with

one of the civilian heads of the Resistance in 1941. while he was still minister, his relations, after his resignation, with various generals known to be hostile to the Germans, and his flight from the Gestapo in November, 1942, lead one to believe that although he was completely loyal to Pétain at first, he remained so later on only so far as internal affairs were concerned—in the matter of the révolution nationale and the destruction of democracy; he seems to have wanted to betray the Germans, whose fate he realized was sealed. In the eyes of the men of Algiers, however, these two attitudes cannot be separated: to betray the Republic and to adopt the terroristic methods of the enemy constitute for them just as abominable a crime as to serve Germany against France and its allies. Such is the first significance of a verdict that will ring ominously in the ears of Pétain's ministers and former ministers.

Secondly, the verdict will give great encouragement to the Resistance movement in France. Martyred by Pucheu, the Resistance bore him a fierce hatred. It will be strengthened by knowing that punishment will be meted out to Vichy's hangmen. Any other verdict would have engendered in France a wave of discouragement and perhaps of despair. This is the conviction of the great majority of the representatives of the Resistance movement who are now in Algiers.

Thirdly, the verdict shows that the political influence of Giraud has now, in the eyes of all, virtually disappeared. Although Giraud had encouraged Pucheu to cross the Mediterranean, he did not save him from the firing squad. Moreover, of the five men who designated Giraud as the successor of Darlan, three—Bergeret, Boisson, and Peyrouton—are in prison, and the other two—Noguès and Chatel—have fled to Portugal. Between the country and the men of Vichy an impassable chasm has opened. The role of Giraud in the Pucheu drama is one sign of it. Backed by the people of France, De Gaulle alone has strength. The Allies will be obliged to recognize this.

From an international point of view, the Pucheu trial might better, perhaps, have been postponed, or at least limited to secondary counts punishable by imprisonment, leaving the more serious charges until after the liberation of France. Some fairly influential Frenchmen were of this opinion; they were not heard. This, however, is a delicate subject, one in which the whole question of the independence of the French nation is involved, a question to which Frenchmen are legitimately most sensitive. It is therefore best merely to mention this aspect of the problem without going into it.

Let us remember in conclusion that Pucheu, traitor in the eyes of the France that resists but traitor also in the eyes of Vichy, defended himself forcefully, sometimes even dominating the proceedings, and died with a bravery to which his most bitter enemies paid tribute.

### BOOKS and the ARTS

#### ABSTRACT ART

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE full significance of the revolution in Western painting during the last sixty years will not become apparent for some time. But that part of its meaning which concerns the concrete medium itself is already plain. It is only necessary to put it in historical perpective.

The previous great revolution in Western painting led from the hieratic flatness of Gothic and Byzantine to the three-dimensionality of the Renaissance. Its stimulus was a fresh awareness of space provoked by expanding economic and social relations in the late Middle Ages and by the growing conviction that man's chief mission on earth is the conquest of his environment. The immediate problem in painting was to fit the new perception of depth and volume into the flatness of the picture surface; the less obvious though more difficult and crucial problem was to synthesize depth, volume, and surface in both dramatic and decorative unity. Within the conservative format of the wall painting Giotto created a synthesis which, through simplification of shapes and surfaces and the exclusion of small detail, made his murals hieratic and decorative, yet at the same time dramatic and three-dimensional. The profane appetite for the round was disciplined, volumes were inflated at low pressure to acknowledge the flatness of the wall, and the background was pushed no deeper than the back-drop on a stage.

The Sienese a little later arrived at perhaps an even more conservative synthesis in the altar piece and easel picture. Sassetta subordinated three-dimensionality to decorative principles borrowed from the Gothic or Oriental miniature. The format of his "Journey of the Magi"-in the recent Griggs bequest to the Metropolitan-is surprisingly small: the spectator has to get close enough to read it. Against a neutraltoned background in low relief, color is picked out in a staccato pattern of flat notes by forms handled with a slight attempt at volume. The drawing is fairly correct, but the claims of correctness are not allowed to interfere with the decorative function of line. For the moment Sassetta's art has arrested the transition, having found a style in which the artist is fairly sure of saying exactly what he wants to. This contrasts with the insecure style of another fifteenth-century Sienese, Giovanni di Paolo, in his "Presentation in the Temple" (in the Blumenthal bequest to the Metropolitan), where the old tradition of the Gothic and Oriental miniature is shown in outright conflict with the new one of naturalism. The flat, shallow, but richly detailed architectural background does not provide room for the figures in the foreground; the sculptural modeling of their garments bulges from the picture surface and creates an effect of overcrowding. In his figures Giovanni has explored the illusion of the third dimension farther than Giotto, but since his background is even more strictly two-dimensional, he has failed to attain either structural or decorative unity.

With the aid of the flexible medium of oil, the conflict

between three-dimensional form and the plane surface was resolved finally by the annihilation of the second. The Italian or Flemish painter of the fifteenth century managed so to immerse himself in the illusion of the third dimension that he instinctively conceived of his canvas as a transparent rather than an opaque surface. Yet some of the difficulty of controlling the emphasis on volumes still remained. There was a tendency to insist simultaneously on the brilliance of surface which oil permitted and on highly sculptural modeling, a combination often too rich. But the Quattrocento was preoccupied with techniques and the accumulation of data: its painters preferred, for instance, to portray old people because their faces offered more details to the brush. They had not yet reached that point of repletion at which there is a readiness to sacrifice and simplify for the sake of large effects.

It was only toward the close of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth that Verrocchio, Leonardo, Perugino, Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian perfected means of consistently achieving structural, tonal, and decorative unity in three-dimensional painting. These were-aside from scientific perspective, which could disorganize as well as organize a picture—the indication and ordering of the illusion of vacant three-dimensional space which forms interrupt (Raphael), the subordination of local color to a dominant tone or key, and the patterning of shade and light. It was necessary to believe enough in the illusion of depth to organize elements within the illusion and at the same time to suspend the illusion sufficiently to see them as the flat forms they are in physical reality. But the tendency was to forget almost all about the last, and thus there was a loss involved here as well as a gain. Post-Renaissance painting sacrificed too many of the qualities intrinsic to its medium. Pictures were organized too exclusively on the basis of the illusionist effect and with too little reference to the physical conditions of the art.

The nineteenth century began to dissolve the facts and make obsolete the general conceptions under which illusionist art had functioned. It came to be realized that the earth could no longer afford to Western man, or his economy, indefinite space in which to expand; that verified facts were the only certainties; that each of the activities of culture could be exercised with assurance only within its own province and only when that province had been strictly defined. The age of specialization and of limited intellectual and spiritual objectives sets in—after Hegel, for instance, philosophers stopped constructing world systems.

And with Manet and Courbet Western painting reversed its direction. Impressionism pushed the faithful reproduction of nature so far that representational painting was turned inside out. Incited by a positivism borrowed from science, the impressionists made the discovery—stated more clearly in their art than in their theories—that the most direct interpretation of visual experience must be two-dimensional. The new medium of photography helped provide evidence for

that. Sensations of a third dimension are not given by sight qua sight but by acquired associations with the experience of movement and touch. The data of sight, taken most literally, are nothing but colors. Notice, therefore, how a flatness begins to creep into impressionist paintings, how close to the surface they stay, in spite of "atmospheric perspective," and how openly the physical nature of the canvas and of the paint on it is confessed—by way, too, of emphasizing the difference between painting and photography.

The successors to impressionism have made all this more explicit. Painting, become anti-idealist, has surrendered itself once more to the literal plane surface. Correctness of drawing, black-and-white chiaroscuro, three-dimensional light effects, atmospheric and linear perspective, etc., etc., have been progressively, though not consistently, eliminated. The uniformly smooth and transparent surface behind which the picture used to take place has been made the actual locus of the picture instead of its window pane. To acknowledge the brute flatness of the surface on which he was trying to create a new and less deceptive illusion of the third dimension, Cézanne broke up the objects he depicted into multiplicities of planes that were as closely parallel as possible to the canvas's surface; and to show recession, the planes were stepped back with comparative abruptness-even the receding edges of objects keep turning full-face to the spectator like courtiers leaving the presence of royalty. Furthermore, Cézanne's parallel, roughly rectangular touches of the brush echo the outline of the canvas. And it was the new realization of the importance of every physical factor that also compelled the distortions of his drawing, and of Van Gogh's and Gauguin's—determined just as much by the tensions between the frame of the picture and the forms within it as by expressive compulsions. There were still other ways in which the physical nature of the medium and the materialism of art were asserted: pigment was sometimes applied so thinly that the canvas showed through, or it was piled in such impastos that the picture became almost a kind of relief. (There was a paradox in the fact that both Van Gogh and Gauguin were trying to rescue painting from the materialism into which they accused the impressionists of having sunk it.)

The Fauves, early in the first decade of this century, constructed pictures with flat, high-keyed color which was arbitrary in any representational sense and more or less dissociated from contour. Cubism, parodying by exaggeration the traditional methods of rendering volume and light in a despairing effort to restore the third dimension by Cézanne's method, finished by annihilating the third dimension; resulted in paintings that were completely flat-and thus accomplished the counter-revolution in principle. Picasso, Braque, Gris, and the others through whose art cubism evolved refused to accept its ultimate conclusions, and once they had arrived at pictures from which the identities of objects had disappeared, they did an about-face and returned to representation; other artists, however, later on accepted in full the logic of cubism and become outright abstractionists, resigning themselves to the non-representational and the inviolability, more or less, of the plane surface. With a speed that still seems amazing one of the most epochal transformations in the history of art was accomplished.

The deeper meaning of this transformation is that in a

period in which illusions of every kind are being destroyed the illusionist methods of art must also be renounced. The taste most closely attuned to contemporary art has become positivist, even as the best philosophical and political intelligence of the time. Fiction, under which illusionist art can be subsumed, is no longer able to provide the intensest aesthetic experience. Poetry is lyric and "pure"; the serious novel has become either confession or highly abstract, as with Joyce and Stein; architecture subordinates itself to function and the construction engineer; music has abandoned the program. Let painting confine itself to the disposition pure and simple of color and line, and not intrigue us by associations with things we can experience more authentically elsewhere. The painter may go on playing with illusion, but only for the sake of satire. If he finds the limited depth of the plane surface too confining, let him become a sculptor—as Arp, originally a painter, has done.

But even as a sculptor the artist can no longer imitate nature. There is nothing left in nature for plastic art to explore. The techniques of art founded on the conventions of representation have exhausted their capacity to reveal fresh aspects of exterior reality in such a way as to provide the highest pleasure. But the trouble lies also with exterior reality itself. Byzantine art was abstract in tendency because it subordinated exterior reality to a dogma, regardless of whether that reality confirmed the dogma. In any case reality was not appearance. Naturalist art submits itself to appearance; if any dogma is involved it flows from appearance, and appearance is assumed to be the true and the real. Today we know that the question what a corporeal object is can be answered in many different ways, depending on the context, and that appearance is only one context among many, and perhaps one of the less important ones. To give the appearance of an object or a scene at a single moment in time is to shut out reference to too many of the other contexts in which it simultaneously exists. (And have not science and industry dissolved the concept of the entity into the concept of a process?) Instead of being aroused, the modern imagination is numbed by visual representation. Unable to represent the exterior world suggestively enough, pictorial art is driven to express as directly as possible only what goes on inside the self-or at most the ineluctable modes by which that which is outside the self is perceived (Mondrian).

Painting approaches the condition of music, which according to Aristotle is the most direct and hence the most subjective means of expression, having least to do with the representation of exterior reality. The gain that helps cancel the loss entailed by the restriction of painting and sculpture to the subjective lies in the necessity that painting become, in compensation, all the more sensitive, subtle, and various, and at the same time more disciplined and objectivized by its physical medium.

Art is under no categorical imperative to correspond point by point to the underlying tendencies of its age. Artists will do whatever they can get away with, and what they can get away with is not to be determined beforehand. Good landscapes, still lifes, and torsos will still be turned out. Yet it seems to me—and the conclusion is forced by observation not by preference—that the most ambitious and effective pictorial art of these times is abstract or goes in that direction.

#### Plain Talk About China

SHARK'S FINS AND MILLET. By Ilona Ralf Sues. Little Brown and Company. \$3.

PEAKING of fights: 'way back in late 1940, before the great Japanese blizzard, a bunch of American marines had a fight with a bunch of Italian marines. The fight took place in a White Russian dance hall on Blood Alley in the French concession in Shanghai, next door to one of the many hop joints. Just as the fight was at its best, with beet bottles flying, an American marine grabbed an Italian marine, dragged him to the piano, and ran his face up and down the keyboard, rubbing off all the Fascist glamour.

In this book about China Miss Sues has rubbed all the glamour off the face of the ruling clique of our Far Eastern ally. Needless to say, in all such fights all kinds of people get hit, some deservedly and some less so, and even innocent bystanders are not safe. Many people are going to be furious with Miss Sues, and they may even hire someone to write a reply, just as they once hired her and other Occidentals.

Miss Sues is a Polish woman, speaking many languages, who worked for seven years in Geneva for the Anti-Opium Bureau of the League of Nations. She could do a good book on that subject, but only one section of this one is devoted to her disillusionment. When the Japanese occupied Manchuria and later when Italy occupied Abyssinia, the League looked the other way and instead of doing something effective against the aggressors started a Committee for the Protection of the Whale.

Miss Sues could not stomach this, and eventually she took her cat and her typewriter and went off to China, which she believed to be an enigma, yet on the whole noble. She began by trying to chase down facts about opium but found herself chased down by one Tu Yueh-seng, opium king of China, whom the Generalissimo of all the Chinas had appointed chief "opium-suppression" officer; in previous years Mr. Tu was also chief "Communist-suppression" agent of Shanghai and did the bloody job so well that he controlled labor and sent his own henchmen to Geneva to sit on the Labor Bureau of the League. Miss Sues thinks she got the better of Mr. Tu in her interview with him-but no one ever got the better of the double-barreled Al Capone of China. His disciple, Mr. Chu Hsueh-fang, who represented Chinese labor at Geneva, will also represent it at the coming International Labor Conference in Philadelphia.

Miss Sues sat near one of the seats of the mighty, turning out publicity for China, a job to which she was appointed by Madame Chiang, who in turn did what the Australian, W. H. Donald, "advised" her to do. Miss Sues admires Donald still, but she calls him the "Richelieu of China" because, she says, he controlled Madame Chiang and, through her, much that the Generalissimo thought and did. Donald's ambition was to make Madame Chiang the "First Lady of the World," and Miss Sues thinks he achieved a great deal, inducing her to turn slightly democratic and to modify her Wellesley view of life. Madame Chiang, she says, was a mixture of many things, but within her own four walls she was a "selfish, petty, capricious prima donna."

Many of the things that appeared in print under her name were written by Donald, Miss Sues, and a number of other Occidentals, including missionaries. The Chinese masses, so Miss Sues declares, judged the three Soong sisters in the following terms: "One loves wealth, one loves China, and one loves glory." It was Madame Sun Yat-sen who loved China. However, this graphic phrase most surely came from student sources, not from the masses.

Intent on getting the scalps of the ruling clique, Miss Sues makes many statements against men who were really victims of the clique. But others deserve what they get, on the whole, for many of them drew salaries merely by virtue of their Kuomintang membership, while one would endure every indignity as long as he could eat his way through life. Miss Sues makes liberal use of satire to prove her points.

When it comes to the revolutionary movement, Miss Sues is on insecure ground, for she had but little time to know it. She was one of a group of five foreigners who made a short tour to the Eighth Route Army and the Communist headquarters in the northwest. Her interview with Mao Tzetung, the Communist leader, is excellently, even brilliantly done, but she makes herself appear ridiculous as she stands in trembling awe before Mao with her gift, a tin of cigarettes, pressed to her heart.

This section of the book contains many small factual inaccuracies. For example, the children known as "little devils" in the Eighth Route Army did not fight in battle and were not the terror of the Japanese; some romantic student perhaps told Miss Sues this tale. Her admiration for the American "volunteer" fliers in 1938 is beyond my comprehension, for they were mercenaries who would bomb anything they were paid to bomb. Also, while Dr. Robert Lim, director of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Corps, met ceaseless and bitter opposition, still he and I were not condemned wholesale for trying to "pamper coolies" (soldiers) by making first-aid kits. Dr. F. C. Yen did not oppose us but helped us. Nevertheless, the general braying and baying that went on against Dr. Lim was sufficient to give Miss Sues the impression that every man's hand was turned against his work. I come out well in this book. Miss Sues generously records my strong points, forgetting my weaknesses; but I am a little surprised at some of the words attributed to me.

Miss Sues states that, had weather conditions not been unfavorable, General Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, would have bombed Sian in December, 1936, and perhaps killed Generalissimo Chiang, who was a prisoner there. As one who was in Sian, I must state that the weather was excellent. Planes brought the Red Army leaders to the city, General Ho's planes reconnoitered over the city, his bombers bombed nearby towns, and a plane came and went from Nanking; and eventually the Generalissimo and his party were flown out.

So there are many sides to this picture of China. Miss Sues defends the democratic side, and rightly, but her reasoning is so disjointed that one finishes the book still not knowing what she really believes in. She gives a picture of one part of China—a part that has its counterpart in America, England, Italy, and elsewhere. The world is now small and very, very round, as a friend of mine is wont to say.

### The South and the Negro

RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE: CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CRISIS. By Howard W. Odum. The University of North Carolina Press. \$2.

PROFESSOR ODUM has set down in a very readable manner—one might even say entertaining were it not for the often tragic implications—the various rumors which were circulating in the South during the latter half of 1942 and the first six months of 1943 concerning the Negro's attempt to escape from his traditional status. These rumors are presented against the economic and cultural background of the South and the social changes which have been accelerated by World War II. In order to understand why they were believed, the author holds, it is necessary to understand the Southern credo in regard to the Negro. The twenty-one items in the Southern credo, as the author states it, amount to the belief that the Negro is not human and must be kept in an inferior position. This explains, for example, why kindly and generous Christian Southern whites can resort to "cold-hearted torture of Negroes" and even burn them. The behavior and the demands of the new generation of Negro youths, who are better educated than their parents, are a threat to everything that the South holds sacred. As a result there is a crisis in race relations involving three militant fronts-the Negroes, the North, and the white South. The North figures because of its influence on the thinking of Negroes and its attitude toward the Negro problem.

The catalogue of rumors is divided into four groups. The first comprises stories of attempts on the part of Negroes to get out of "their place." Many of these rumors grew out of the fact that Negro women were escaping from the servitude of poorly paid domestic service. The most celebrated were those concerning the organization and activities of the Eleanor Clubs, whose slogan was nearly always a variation of "a white woman in every kitchen by 1943." Because of the importance of the Eleanor Clubs, the author devotes a special chapter to the folklore that grew up around the name of Mrs. Roosevelt. This folklore was often so disgraceful that the author is moved to state that the South forgot its tradition of chivalry and good manners toward women. The second group of rumors consisted of "stories of Negroes taking over white women" or having the "bold intention to achieve the hated 'social equality.' " The author feels that rumors in this class were so widespread and readily believed because of the dormant heritage of fear of Negro men among white women. However, to the reviewer it appears that they were also related to a sense of guilt on the part of white men, who have had access to Negro women while white women have been taboo to the Negro man. In many cases Negro men were reported to have told white men in uniform or about to be drafted that they would "take care of the women." The third group has to do with preparations for revolt, including the widespread rumor that Negroes were buying up ice picks. Other rumors were difficult to classify; some appeared to have been planted for the purpose of sabotage. For example, it may surprise many readers to learn that there was a rumor current that "when Hitler takes over" the Negroes would gain their rightful place in America. Negro children were reported to be singing to the tune of "America":

> My country's tired of me, I'm going to Germany Where I belong.

As one might expect, there were similar rumors concerning the Negro's expectations in the event of a Japanese victory.

The third part of the book, which deals chiefly with The Way Out and The Way On, is likely to prove disappointing to the reader. Professor Odum presents the statement of Southern Negro leaders at the Durham conference, which was followed by a sympathetic reply by white leaders assembled in Atlanta. The latter conference came out for the "legitimate aspirations of the Negro," which included civil rights and a fair share in educational facilities and social services. Then follows a long list of questions-literally over a hundred-to which an answer must be found if race relations in the South are to be improved. Heeding the author's caution that this is not the time to call names and blame individuals, the reviewer does not hold him altogether responsible for the indefiniteness and inadequacy of this section of the book. Professor Odum, like most Southern liberals, is in the same dilemma in which the South finds itself. Therefore, unlike Northern liberals, he must always emphasize his loyalty to the region in which he lives. This results in occasional confusion in an otherwise clear analysis of the situation. For example, in appraising the "rightness" of the three groups, he freely admits that the Negro is "most right" because he has Christian ethics and democratic principles on his side; and that the North is second "most right." But when he comes to the South he first admits that the South is "least" right or "wrong" and then goes into a long explanation to the effect that the South is "right" in that it reflects "its natural evolutionary pattern," possesses state rights, and has been subject to certain cultural conditioning. One might remind Professor Odum that Nazi youth has been "culturally conditioned" to exterminate inferior races and that Germany is probably reflecting "its natural evolutionary pattern," but that in a world which is struggling to create a single moral order the behavior of the South as well as other political entities must be judged by accepted ethical standards and political principles. Evidently Professor Odum shares this opinion, for toward the end of his book he asks whether the South can experience the "conviction of sin" and "surrender" its stubborn heart.

In view of Professor Odum's sympathetic presentation of the outlook and aspirations of Negro youth and his excellent analysis of racial rumors in relation to Southern society, one would be inclined to overlook certain inconsistencies if they were not bound up with the central problem of the Negro in the American community. Professor Odum is no "isolationist" in respect to the place of the South in the nation; he is, nevertheless, opposed to what he calls "outside agitation." In view of his presentation of the Southern credo, one would like to know whether he thinks that the national government should allow the South to continue to rob Negroes of their proper share of educational funds and of the various social services and subsidies which are financed by the national government. However much the Southern lib-

eral may deprecate "outside agitation," he cannot deny that he must still look to the outside for support of his position. If he does not openly accept this support, he must at least offer an alternative program. This was implied in a recent editorial by Virginius Dabney, who in advocating the abolition of Jim Crow transportation in Virginia stated that the white South had to determine whether the leadership of Negroes was to rest in Atlanta or in New York City.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

#### With Straw

BRICKER OF OHIO. By Karl B. Pauly, G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$2.

OVERNOR JOHN W. BRICKER was born in a log house, went to a little red schoolhouse, made the senior honorary society at Ohio State University, was a chaplain during the last war, and likes baseball, hunting, and fishing. As a high-school orator and college debater, he opposed the direct election of Senators and government ownership of telephone and telegraph systems and favored compulsory military training.

He has spent his adult years playing politics the traditional way—joining lodges, going to county fairs, making speeches, and shaking hands. As a public official he has whittled expenses, turned a deficit into a surplus, had feuds with "bureaucrats," fought centralization of authority, and given Ohio the sort of government that satisfies the Republican business moguls.

He has never been to Europe or manifested much interest in foreign affairs. He is for "an international cooperative organization" but against any "central world authority." His ideas about the next peace are—as Mark Sullivan said of Warren G. Harding's speech accepting the Republican nomination in 1920—"clearly vague."

These facts stand out in the campaign biography of Governor Bricker written by his friend Karl B. Pauly, a reporter for the *Ohio State Journal*. The same things could be said of dozens of rural American politicians. But this "detailed information" is presented as the basis of Governor Bricker's plea for the next Republican Presidential nomination.

The book is painful reading, but it should be read thoughtfully. For it reveals what mediocre and provincial, though honest, leadership some Republicans propose to give our country in the midst of global bloodshed. Mr. Pauly damns his hero with such irrelevant and picayune praise that people aware of the world's plight will lay his book down thinking they'd as soon vote for Mickey Mouse as for Bricker for the Presidency this fall.

#### Fiction in Review

REVIEWING Eduardo Mallea's "The Bay of Silence" (Knopf, \$2.50) in the New Yorker of March 18, Edmund Wilson brings to our notice the important fact that in translation this novel by one of Argentina's foremost writers has been cut by some hundred thousand words. Although it is of course unforgivable if this alteration was made without Mr. Mallea's permission, I am afraid I cannot

go along with Mr. Wilson in the generous assumption that it is ruthless cutting which makes the difference between a successful novel and a "puzzling" and "unsatisfying" one. It is annoying in the extreme to be given a book in which characters disappear while they hold, as it were, the center of the stage, but ignoring the gaps in the narrative and judging "The Bay of Silence" by the 339 pages we are given, or any one of them, it is my guess that Mr. Mallea's novel might have been twice as frustrating rather than twice as rewarding if it had been twice as long. That is, while I agree with Mr. Wilson that Mr. Mallea's book "has a tinge of distinction," I find persistent evidence of an inherent vagueness of thought which can scarcely be blamed on either translation or editing; I recall a similar puzzling quality in "Fiesta in November," the novelette which is Mr. Mallea's only other work to have been translated into English. There is little question that Mr. Mallea is a sophisticated, welleducated, and sensitive writer—one intuitively appreciates his intention—but he seems to me always to be hinting around what he has to say instead of coming right out with it.

This amorphousness or indirection or inconsequentiality whatever one might call it—is most apparent in the political discussions that make up such an important part of "The Bay of Silence." Mr. Mallea's hero-protagonist-the story is told in the first person-is an Argentinian writer who passionately loves his country and devotes himself to finding the way in which Argentina can throw off both its corrupt native leaders and corrupting foreign influences and assert its best strength; in his twenties the young man hopes to achieve this goal through a left-wing magazine called Enough; in his thirties, somewhat wearied but still hopeful, he puts his political energies into his fiction. But from the dozens of conversations between Mr. Mallea's protagonist and his friends, and from the endless thought-passages of the writer himself, we grasp only the vaguest general political directions, never the distinct line of political purpose or argument. The people in "The Bay of Silence" are very well-informed, but they always seem to speak at a tangent to clear sense. For example, when a newcomer to Enough wishes to write some articles for the magazine on the theory of the coup d'état, Mr. Mallet sets forth his subject for him in the following words: "He wanted to comment on Curzio Malaparte, to go back to the days of the Florentine Republic and attempt an interpretation of Dante Alighieri" -surely an odd, muddled, and pretentious enterprise but one which the author does not present as odd, muddled, or pretentious. This is simply the way in which people speak and think in his novel.

This style of thought, by the way, is not peculiar to Mr. Mallea among contemporary writers who concern themselves with the political scene, and that is another reason why I cannot blame the vagueness of "The Bay of Silence" on its editing or translation. I have come across this same inability to grasp the political point, to enunciate it clearly and develop it logically, in any number of modern European novels. It is what makes Aldanov's "The Fifth Seal," in its non-satiric sections, read like an allegory to which we have never been given the key; it is persistent in Jules Romains—my head would swim if I tried to give a redaction of the political soliloquy in the first chapter of the latest volume

of "Men of Good Will"; it is part of what makes one so angry with Ilya Ehrenbourg's "The Fall of Paris" or Hans Habe's "Katharine." Indeed, this weakness appears to be so endemic among contemporary novels which deal with social-political issues that it would be tempting to look for an explanation in the times or issues themselves. But the fact is that American and English novels of the same order, whatever their other faults, seem never to suffer from this one. At least in their fiction, writers of the two English-speaking countries seem to be able to speak to the point, if not always to the right point—an observation I throw out at full risk, I know, of being accused of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism.

"Dangling Man," by Saul Bellow (Vanguard, \$2.50), in both length and conception resembles an extended story rather than a novel. It is the diary of a young man who has been classified 1-A, has given up his job and made all his preparations for going into the army, and then waits month after month for his induction; it is the exploration, that is, of the strange period in a young man's life when he has given up his normal habits and responsibilities but has not yet had his new habits formed for him, or his responsibilities taken over for him, by an outside agency. Thrown back on his own resources, Mr. Bellow's dangling man finds that he has no resources, he has only exacerbated nerves; the raw emptiness which he faces reflects the raw emptiness of contemporary life.

Mr. Bellow is talented and clever and he writes with control and precision. But "Dangling Man" is not the kind of novel I like. I find myself deeply opposed to novels of sterility-or, rather, to small novels of sterility. It is not that I think fiction should be blind to the badness or even the horror of certain aspects of modern life or that it should refuse to despair; it is, simply, that I demand of pessimism, more than of affirmation, that it have a certain grandeur. I have never understood why it necessarily follows from the loss of political hope—and it is at the core of the unhappiness of Mr. Bellow's young man that he is a disillusioned radical-that one must see human nature as robbed of drama and variety and even the physical world as non-dimensional. Art is a wonderful bootstrap by which to raise life above this mean level. DIANA TRILLING



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### DRAMA

OE AKINS'S newest play is an American cousin of the fiction of Evelyn Waugh; and like the proverbial American cousin, "Mrs. January and Mr. X" (Belasco Theater) is more awkward and less polished than its English relative. But it has a vitality of its own; it is not an imitation. After the fashion of Waugh, Miss Akins has invented a fantastic situation peopled by fantastic characters. Likewise, the fantasy is tethered to reality by an invisible thread, and it is the jerks of the thread that give the piece point.

Mrs. January is a fabulously rich and silly and pretty woman who has come, with a full complement of servants, to live in one half of a two-family house at forty dollars a month so that she will be prepared for the communism that is just around the corner—she's a Communist herself. The other half of thouse is occupied by the owner, who is an ex-President (he's an amalgam of

Coolidge and Hoover).

There is a good deal of wit in the writing. Billie Burke and Frank Craven are perfectly cast as the principal characters, and they know their trade so well that it is a pleasure to watch them plying it. But only up to a point. For somewhere along the way Miss Akins runs out of breath. Her balloon bounces along the ground instead of riding the skies—and Miss Burke's voice gets monotonous. In a word, "Mrs. January and Mr. X" doesn't come off, but I hope Miss Akins will persist in this folly.

"Only the Heart" (Bijou Theater) might have been news in, say, 1922. It's pretty dated now. Because of the part she plays, June Walker seems a little dated too, but Eleanor Anton, who makes her debut on Broadway, is charm-

ing.

I've seen nothing lower than "Chicken Every Sunday" (Henry Miller's Theater) as far as bad taste goes—except the audience that applauded it.

MARGARET MARSHALL

### ART

As Bonnard and Vuillard show, there were possibilities in impressionism which the nineteenth century failed to exhaust. Some of the last of these have been capitalized by Arnold Friedman in his most recent landscapes, in which, after years of working in a neo-Ingresque vein, the artist has dis-

covered himself as an impressionist. His current show (at the Marquié Gallery through April 15) demonstrates that something can still be said with atmospheric envelopes, complementary colors, and optical mixtures. In Friedman's successful pictures vibrating color surfaces move toward and away from each other like incidents in a well-told story. In his unsuccessful paintings there is that tendency to monotony and excessive naivete which has always been a liability of the impressionist method: there is a failure to emphasize, accent, modulate: only paint quality and texture are offered, while the compositional elements cancel each other by their equivalence. This is particularly true in the still lifes, which are too evenly focused, and in some of the landscapes, where the approach is frontal and four-square. But when the artist can rely on atmospheric interference to select and unify he produces paintings which dramatize art as well as nature. One such picture, "Approach to Town," in small format, points out a path beyond impressionism which Friedman should follow farther: abandoning broken tones and crusty impastos for the orchestration of facets of flat color. By and large Friedman's painting is praiseworthy for its honesty, for its renunciation of tricks and stunts-it is obvious that he has the equipment to paint as fashionably as anyone on the market, but it is also obvious that he has character.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

### FILMS

EMPHIS BELLE" is the story of one bomber's twenty fifth and over Germany. You realize, as you watch it, that if the crew survives, it will be retired from combat service. What this means to the men of the crew, to those whose survival will not mean retirement, and to those who are not flying that day is so unobstreperously clear in the faces of all of them that I could not guess which shots were reenacted and which were straight records. This same vigorous and pitiful sense of the presence, danger, skill, and hope of several human beings so pervades the flying, flak, bombing, and fighting scenes that not even one of the dozen or so superhuman shots allows you to feel that either it or you are there for the view. Everything is seen, done, and experienced as if from inside one or another of the men in the plane. Color and the sudden amazements of the air help to create this immediacy,

but so do the very experienced, vigilant photography, the even better cutting, and a general good taste which knows better than to use any rhetoric of image, word, or sound in dealing with such facts. "With the Marines at Tarawa" shudders like a new wound, and is as terrible to see. "Memphis Belle" does not have that kind of power or sensitiveness. But of its very different kind of war process, at once more aloof and mere intimate, it seems as good a record. Taken together, the films are documentaries with which for the first time we can look the English in the eye.

The man in over-all charge of making this good film was William Wyler, whose talent I respected in "Wuthering Heights" and even in "Mrs. Miniver," without caring for the pictures. Post-war planners should work out a better fate for him than going back to Hollywood.

JAMES AGEE

### MUSIC

BEETHOVEN'S Septet Opus 20 is a work for which Toscanini has great affection; but no matter how well it has been performed in its original form he has found the four strings insufficient to achieve proper balance with the three winds; and he has therefore performed it with a greater number of strings. There have been a couple of broadcast performances with the N. B. C. Symphony; and recently there was one with the Philadelphia Orchestra at a Pension Foundation concert in Philadelphia. The balance between strings and winds was perfect; and even with the increased number of strings the textures and proportions remained those of chamber music. The few performances I had heard of the Septet in its original form had left me with the impression of it as a work in the same class as the inconsequential Piano Quartet Opus 16; and I still have that impression of the first movement. But the theme and variations and the minuet which follow are-at any rate in the forms of living sound that Toscanini gives them-as lovely and charming as any of the best of Beethoven's early music.

At this Philadelphia concert the performance of Beethoven's "Leonore" Overture No. 2 also increased my awareness—which began when I heard Toscanini's performance of it with the New York Philharmonic in 1942—of the qualities which are presumably the reasons why on these two occasions he

has played this work rather than No. 3. No. 2 employs the same musical ideas as No. 3; it works them into a structure which parallels that of No. 3; and the generally held notion of it is that of a sort of imperfect version of the final perfected achievement of No. 3. For many years I listened to it with that notion in my head, and therefore heard nothing to contradict it; but in 1942 I heard for the first time what made me realize that this was a different work. and in its own different ways as wonderful a work as No. 3. I haven't the score to refer to: but I can cite as one instance of what I mean the last measures of the slow introduction that lead to the first theme of the Allegro-the single line of sound of the string basses, a line that is prolonged, and that reaching the point where it seemed to be going rises unexpectedly beyond this point to delay what is coming, to increase the suspense in anticipation of its arrival, and to increase its effect when it does at last enter.

Also on the program was the "Pastoral" Symphony, which Toscanini played shortly afterward with the N. B. C. Symphony in a General Motors broadcast. The two performances were close enough to make noticeable interesting differences between the two superb orchestras. For one thing, a few differences in personnel. The N. B. C. solo flute and oboe are very good; nevertheless when they finished the imitations of bird-calls at the end of the second movement my companion whispered: "What silly music!"; but the way this passage was inflected by Kincaid and Tabuteau in Philadelphia made it one of the most exciting things in the work. And in the Philadelphia performance the second movement was not marred by coarse, insensitive phrases of the solo clarinet, as it was in the N. B. C. performance. In the playing of the N. B. C. Symphony as a whole, moreover, one heard a youthful, almost nervous vitality; in the playing of the Philadelphia Orchestra a quietly assured mellowness and other qualities that come with years of working together.

In the years since Stokowski's departure I have wondered—remembering the Philharmonic after Toscanini's departure—how the Philadelphia has managed to remain a great orchestra. The only clue has been its evident alertness and eagerness and pride when it used to play under Stokowski and on the recent occasions when I have heard it play under Toscanini; and I have concluded that it is esprit de corps and pride in its great past that have enabled it to keep itself at a high level in the present. But this is a matter on which no one can speak with the knowledge and understanding of the man who has himself played in orchestras; and I have at last received from such a person—a young man now in the army who played in college orchestras and in the National Orchestral Association and watched the Philadelphia Orchestra in action—an authoritative explanation of what I have wondered about.

The personnel of the Philadelphia, he writes, has remained largely intact, retaining a backbone, in its woodwind and brass sections, of "some of the greatest artists in the world on their respective instruments, and masters of ensemble playing," who set the pace; and "the strings are nothing but fine." In each section, moreover, the men play with the man who taught them at the Curtis Institute ("Torello and all his students from Curtis make a terrific bass section"); when a new man is needed a new Curtis graduate comes inanother great technician with solid musicianship." And at Curtis the men not only studied their instruments but were trained in ensemble performance by the great oboist who sits in the center of the orchestra and who has much to do with its playing like "just one big string quartet." In other words, the orchestra is composed of musicians who "seem to feel the same way about the music all together," and therefore it "pulls together." Nor did my informant fail to give credit for all this to the one who created it: the men of the orchestra "were brought up under the convictions of Stokowski in his better days; and they stick by them."

And here I might add that when I recommended Winthrop Sargeant's artiele in Life it was for his description of Toscanini's way of working with an orchestra, written out of the knowledge and understanding that Sargeant acquired from playing in an orchestra with Toscanini; and that some other details in the article caused this column's raised eyebrows department to raise its eyebrows. The statement, for example, that Toscanini refines most of the vigor out of Brahms would cause me to suspect that Sargeant, after leaving the Philharmonic in 1930, did not hear much more of Toscanini's playing of Brahms, and therefore did not hear the performances that had been swift and sinuous acquire the breadth and weight and power they have had for years now.

B. H. HAGGIN



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### Letters to the Editors

#### Freedom for Lesser Breeds

Dear Sirs: Going through my papers from Puerto Rico, where I spent some time as a visiting professor, I found again the cablegram from New York that reached me on October 10: "Salvemini, Sturzo, and myself will speak October 12 in great Carnegie Hall meeting on Italian situation. Please cable message expressing your opinion on Italian Darlanism. (Signed) Pacciardi."

I cabled: "Consider me present with all three of you. One is the protest as one is the hope."

It was a message succinct enough not to clog the line. But it did not reach the addressee. Pacciardi, ten days later, surprised me with a letter expressing his and our friends' surprise at my inexplicable silence.

The Western Union and the cable office, I immediately ascertained, were guiltless. Instructed by experts on the insular situation, I applied to the censor in San Juan. "It is my firm conviction," I wrote, "that nothing in the message violated war-time or other regulations, while it is my assumption that in dubious cases the sender is usually advised by the censor's office and asked to withdraw or to modify the message. A kind explanation would be appreciated." The censor replied that his records showed "no interference on the part of cable censorship." "Any further communication on this subject, he added, "should be addressed to the Chief Cable Censor, Washington, D. C." I thereupon sent the documents to the Chief Censor with my question appended thereto.

He answered, on November 29, as follows: "Your letter of 17 November, 1943, is acknowledged. It is not the policy of this office to give any information concerning the ultimate disposition of international communications, since all messages are filed at the risk of the sender and may be stopped, delayed, or otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the censor without notice. We regret that we cannot be more helpful to you. (Signed) Charles S. Sullivan, Jr., by direction."

Charles S. Sullivan, and those who direct him, are herewith courteously requested to stop and listen. Communications between the Caribbean island

and the American mainland can be called "international" only by virtue of a figure of speech whose boldness only advocates of Puerto Rican independence can adequately appraise. That island, at any rate, is a possession of the United States, not the private estate of a political clique. It is a naval and air base, serving a national and supernational cause, not a reserved ground whereon any Mr. Sullivan is entitled to build a sanctuary of mute conformism in favor of the particular passions and interests he personally prefers. The censor's right and duty is to interfere with communications affecting our military security and secrecy, not with such as may perturb Darlans, Badoglios, and their patrons in the State Department, If, for reasons other than strictly military, he tampers with the freedom of speech of Puerto Ricans and of Americans in Puerto Rico, he misuses a power that was not granted to him in order that the island we hold in trust may be degraded to a most un-American colonial status. Much, of course, is left to what he calls his "discretion"; but discretion, to put it mildly, is not synonymous with indiscretion. G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, Ill., March 15

#### Lesson in Calumny

Dear Sirs: Recently Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, attacked me as an "ambiguous and sinister figure." Mr. Browder's speech, delivered in Cleveland on January 30, was made a page 1 story in the Daily Worker the next day. It has just come to my attention.

I came to the United States in the spring of 1943 at the joint invitation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and was received again in January, 1944, by representatives of United States labor groups. After a visit to the International Labor Office in Montreal, I was the guest at a luncheon given by a joint- committee of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in New York, where I also addressed the C. I. O. War Relief Committee. A few days later I spoke before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at

Mr. Browder delivered his attack

a few days after my departure from the United States. He also charged me with having pleaded in Washington "the case of pro-Nazi conspiracy," by which he meant the recognition of the Bolivian Junta which had just seized power. He charged further that I had "for some time been the special protégé of the Adolph Berle group in the State Department and of Jack Herling, head of the labor section of Nelson Rockefeller's organization," "These gentlemen," added Mr. Browder, "built up Ibañez for the role of opposition to Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Confederation of Labor.'

I have for a long time held the belief that the average man in the United States is guided by high moral standards. Generally, he is an honorable and truthful man. Unfortunately, there must be some exceptions; otherwise it could not be explained how Earl Browder-I presume he is the same Earl Browder in whose behalf I signed on several occasions petitions for his release from jail, addressed to President Rooseveltcould attack me in a long list of incorrect statements and calumnies.

I do not know what reasons this gentleman could have for insulting me, but he is guilty of a shameful lie when he states that I am a protégé of Messrs. Berle and Herling, that I have argued in favor of the recognition of the present Bolivian government, and that I wish to dislodge Lombardo Toledano from the presidency of the C. T. A. L. Not a single one of these statements is true; and they reveal Citizen Browder as a man devoid of any sense of responsibility and incapable of expressing a dispassionate opinion.

I have been a humble but consistent anti-fascist fighter from the time fascism and Nazism first appeared in the world as a reactionary and anti-labor menace. I was anti-Nazi both before and after June 22, 1941. I shall continue to be while I have the strength to fight for social progress and human freedom. Mr. Browder is surely not the person to give me lessons in this respect. BERNARDO IBANEZ

General Secretary, Chilean Confederation of Workers, Vice-President, Confederation of Latin American Workers

Santiago, Chile, March 15

#### The Legion Carries On

Dear Sirs: The Legion's self-assumed task of expounding and guarding 'Americanism' in the schools of the United States stirred up a tempest in Colorado recently when Harry Bridges, president of the C. I. O. Longshoremen's Union, was invited to speak at the University of Colorado. The local Legion post and the state Legion commander, with the blessing of national headquarters, tried to prevent the meeting, but were bluntly told by Dr. R. G. Gustavson, acting president of the university, that the institution "will not be run by any one group, including the American Legion." Dr. Gustavson's forthright statement was probably prompted by the fact that the Legion had been meddling with the schools of several Colorado cities, the most recent activity being the ousting of the superintendent of the public schools of Boulder, which is the home of the university.

Such a rebuff took the breath out of the legionnaires for a moment; then Benjamin C. Hilliard, Jr., a Denver lawyer who was in Indianapolis as a Legion national executive committeeman, rushed back to Colorado as the "crusader" who was "going to tell the university president off." He turned the protest against Bridges into an attack on Dr. Gustavson's fitness as head of the state university. He was so taken up with the "crusade" that in his five-page "remonstrance and petition" he failed to mention the American Legion.

Harry Bridges addressed the students, as scheduled. The auditorium was packed to the roof, even though classes had not been dismissed. It was an enthusiastic audience, and a great demonstration of support for Dr. Gustavson and of interest in a labor leader. Later the students, as well as the faculty, offered resolutions approving the acting president's stand.

But it was not a clear victory for "Gus," as he is known on the campus. The notorious Denver Post called the invitation a "stupid act." The Board of Regents met to consider the situation. One of them, E. R. Campbell, a Denver lawyer, had already said in a letter to Trevor P. Thomas, state commander of the Legion, "Occasionally it seems that the faculty or students construe freedom of speech as a license to invite any jackass to come and bray." Another regent, known for his incoherent jingoistic pronouncements, declared, "In the last twenty years Colorado University has lost considerable prestige because of teaching communism." Talk to him, and you will learn that "Communists" occupy the White House and the Supreme Court. Such men did not fire Dr. Gustavson, but they did reprimand him and say the university was in error in inviting Bridges to address the students.

Mr. Bridges's inoffensive talk on national unity received hardly a line in the columns of publicity. Even Mr. Bridges limself was almost forgotten in the attack on the university. Surely Regent Campbell designated the wrong party in this fracas when he used the term "braying jackasses."

F. G. Boulder, Colo., April 1

#### For a New Era

Dear Sirs: Mr. Willkie is right: "We must have a fiscal policy that squarely faces the economic realities." But a fiscal policy, however taxes may be simplified and adjusted, that does not provide a basic and general principle for the just distribution of the wealth created by "free enterprise" is not facing squarely the economic realities.

Our industrialists, peerless in creative endeavor and in efficiency, have large-scale enterprises in prospect which will furnish employment for perhaps a million men. Such enterprise is the main-spring of our domestic economy. But in spite of economic conflicts, nothing has been said about a just distribution of the wealth thus created, without which there is no promise of domestic peace and security. Even the foremost advocate of economic liberty, J. S. Mill, foresaw the unreliability of the free play of economic forces in bringing about a just distribution of wealth.

Again and again we have been told that our economic salvation lies in a return to "free enterprise." But no attempt has been made to reinterpret "free enterprise" consonant with the progressive life of today and tomorrow. On the one hand "free enterprise" has created fabulous wealth for a few; and on the extreme other hand it has created an economy of enslavement from which a vast number cannot, unassisted, extricate themselves. In this age that is not good enough. This is looking economic realities squarely in the face.

The continuation of the capitalist system and permanent peace everywhere depend upon such modification of "free enterprise" as will bring order out of chaos, gradually mitigate inequalities, and establish justice and security for all.

In order to establish a basic, universal formula for the economy of "free en-

terprise" I propose that the President delegate the Secretary of Commerce to appoint a fully representative commission whose sole duty shall be to determine: (1) the ratio of profit justly due an employee as compared with an equally just ratio of profit due the employer or owner; (2) the ratio between profit and cost of production which in justice may be asked of the consumer for goods, services, or rentals; (3) recommendations for publishing these ratios and for appropriate legislation to make them effective in the economy of "free enterprise." These recommendations to be sent to the Secretary of Commerce and to Congress at the same time.

If power politics can be subordinated to more vital values and these ratios accepted as a general principle of our economy, a new era in the democratic way of life will have evolved with fair promise of justice, prosperity, and security for all.

R. P. GRAY

Floral Park, L. I., March 10

#### Ups and Downs

Dear Sirs: Last week I was hitchhiking around the back woods of Louisiana, going toward the Delta. A car pulled up, a man stepped out and extended his hand. "Shields is my name." I told

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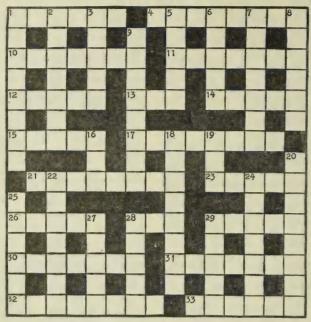
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### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 60

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

1 How the market man records on his

bill that the mat was a gift 4 "He was the mildest mannered man That ever ----- ship or cut me throat" (Don Juan)

10 A kind of looking-glass for the one-

11 Thoroughfares of political exploration

12 Shrunken unterseeboot

(hyphen, 1-4) 13 The same

14 Anxious to do something

14 Anxious to do something
15 Ass into Italian poet
17 Zeno's reply when asked who a
friend was (two words, 7 and 1)
21 They wouldn't last long if the fault

were only on one side

23 Beverage of the man who drank like

n fish?
26 It is rarely picked from choice 28 "O what can --- thee, knight-at-

Alone and palely loitering"
(La Belle Dame Sans Merci)
29 Are as without space in spaces
30 Witty sayings about men
31 An afternoon ritual in England

(hyphen, 3 and 4)

32 They are authorized to attest, but

not a sign of the Zodiac
33 Passenger vehicles which got you to your destination in installments

#### DOWN

- 1 Home town of Two-buck Tim
- 2 Servile dependents 3 Implied, but not expressed 5 Here's an expert; what a break!

6 The subject for discussion is an

article on me No gruel for this idler

"Heaven but the vision of fulfilled -And hell the shadow of a soul on fire" (Rubaiyat)

9 He may never meet his match 16 The light drip of one suspended

dropped on the ear in Childe Harold Eel boots (anag.)

19 The letters here come literally in showers

20 Place for lace

Dishevelled

24 Meeting in cats and dogs form

Prehistoric stone table that seems to dwarf human beings A Roman might be found in this kind of house

You will always find Elias in this part of the church

29 Sailor astern!

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 59

ACROSS:-1 MAN-LIKE; 5 SOLOMON; 9 SAMBO; 10 GAP; 11 PILLS; 12 ANSWER; 15 SEA AIR; 16 DIALECT; 17 EARS; 19 SIAM; 21 SERVILE; 22 NEWS; 23 WARD; 25 NET SHOT; 27 TUCKER; 29 PRISON; 33 VIVID; 34 HUE; 35 CAPRI; 36 SITTERS; 37 SERVANT.

DOWN: -1 MISTAKE; 2 NAMES; 3 IRONED; 4 EGGS; 5 SUPS; 6 LAPPET; 7 MELBA; M NOSTRUM; 13 RIVETER; 14 SLAVISH; 15 SCALLOP; 18 RAW; 20 IDA; 22 NATIVES; 24 DENTIST; 25 NEEDLE; 26 TRACER; 28 CIVET; 30 SEPIA; 31 THUS; 32 SEES.

him mine. He pumped my hand and flashed a badge. He asked for my credentials, and I showed him a few cards and explained that I was in the merchant marine. "You can't be too careful these days," he said. "I've caught twenty-eight sabatoors since the war started. I'm known as the best deppity in Dixie, work with the sheriff's office, the state police, and the FBI. Just caught a sailor that deserted nineteen months ago. They'll shoot him when I bring him back, yessir." We exchanged pleasantries about the art of catching spies. Suddenly he started violently.

"What's that paper you got under your arm?" I gave it to him. It was the New York Daily News, opened to the editorial page. "Oh, that's all right. It looked like the Nation paper."

"What's wrong with The Nation?" "Well, we got to look out for that paper. That's the one put out by the Seventh Day Adventists. Sometimes it's all right, but it's got its ups and downs."

New Orleans, La., February 15

#### Fan Letter

Dear Sirs: Will you please give to J. D. K., the author of Hymn to Free Enterprise, the deep appreciation of one fourteen-year-old boy. Never before have I read such a subtle and witty piece on our "glorious and free" system. ROGER R. BALDWIN

New York, March 21

#### CONTRIBUTORS

BOGDAN RADITSA was formerly with the press section of the Yugoslav government in exile. He resigned this year in protest against its pro-Axis policies.

LUCILLE B. MILNER is secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. She has contributed to Harper's, the New Republic, and other magazines.

CLEMENT GREENBERG is a wellknown art critic. He was formerly on the staff of the Partisan Review.

AGNES SMEDLEY was active in Chinese politics for ten years. Her books include "China's Red Army Marches" and "Battle Hymn of China."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, head of the Department of Sociology at Howard University, is the author of "The Negro Family in the United States."

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 22, 1944

NUMBER 17

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 8, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

### The Shape of Things

IN THE PAST WEEK THE RED ARMY HAS cleared southern Russia of the enemy in a series of unparalleled victories. Unexpectedly, the Germans made no effort to hold Odessa, although, as the Russians showed in 1941, the city is well located for a stubborn defense. They apparently succeeded, however, in evacuating a considerable part of its garrison. The Nazi forces in the Crimea were less fortunate. Their long respite since the Red Army's advance bottled them up in this peninsula last November had, perhaps, made them overconfident. At any rate they were staggered when two Soviet armies struck simultaneously from the north and the east and their retreat became a rout in which a huge number of prisoners fell into Russian hands. When these victories are consolidated the Red Army will be in position to carry the war into the heart of Rumania. The Ploesti oilfields, now some 170 miles behind the front, are a natural objective which, it must be assumed, the Germans will defend desperately since they are the source of one-third or more of their petroleum supplies. In the West, preparations for "D-day" continue and there have been suggestions that it may not be far in the future. One significant development is the increased attention which Allied bombers are giving to the German airfields and the railroads leading to the invasion coast, These facilities must be largely put out of commission before General Eisenhower's forces can cross the Channel. and the job requires a huge tonnage of bombs since there are hundreds of Nazi air bases as well as a very complex communications system to be dealt with. Progress is being made, however, and the scale of the Anglo-American air offensive is ever increasing,

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THE INAUGURATION OF A TOUGH POLICY toward neutral nations that are in any sense assisting the Axis was announced by Mr. Hull in his latest speech. Hitherto, he said, the power of the United Nations to influence neutral behavior had been limited. While we were moving from relative weakness to strength we could remind them that their very existence depended on a democratic victory; we could not ask them to expose themselves to certain destruction. But now that victory is assured, we have, the Secretary of State asserted, the right and duty to insist that the few countries

fortunate enough to be at peace do not prolong the conflict by giving material aid to the enemy or by affording facilities for his spies and propaganda agents. Chief among the countries referred to are Spain, Argentina, Portugal, Eire, Turkey, and Sweden. We do not need to remind our readers that the first two of these have been consistently "neutral against us," and that even now, when their hopes of an Axis victory are fast fading, they are throwing as much sand into the machinery of the United Nations as they dare. For geographical reasons Argentina's aid to Germany may be chiefly ideological; Spain, in addition, affords it invaluable minerals and harbors innumerable spies, including a nest at Tangier that Britain is particularly anxious to clean up. We shall, however, get little response from Spain unless we are prepared to follow tough talk with rough action. A good start might be made by recalling our Ambassador to Madrid, Carlton Hayes, who seems far too anxious to shield Franco from the facts of life.

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THE REFUSAL OF THE ALLIED AUTHORITIES to lift a hand to prevent the forced retirement of their protégé, General Giraud, is the most convincing sign so far that their policy toward General De Gaulle and the Committee of National Liberation has been modified if not reversed. Mr. Hull's promise that the United States would permit the committee to exercise administrative functions in France under the supervision of General Eisenhower left open several convenient loopholes. One of them was his explicit refusal to recognize the De Gaulle committee even as a provisional government. In the light of Mr. Roosevelt's comment-made two days earlier but after he had seen the Hull statement—that nobody knew what sort of government the French people wanted, this refusal was obviously intended to leave Eisenhower the option of dealing with other political forces if he saw fit. This loophole still remains open. But events of the past week indicate that De Gaulle will at least be given a chance to develop his policies and build his government without the constant interference he has suffered until now. General Giraud has been counted out by his erstwhile backers, and no new contender has been pushed into the ring. An Associated Press dispatch from London reports that an agreement between Britain and the United States, "now in the final stages of negotiation," empowers General Eisenhower to deal with the Committee of National Liberation as civil administrators of France and rules out all relations with Vichy, but specifically provides that the Commander-in-Chief shall be "free to deal separately with any resistance group which is disinclined to associate itself with De Gaulle." This seems to indicate the degree to which the Allies have shifted their position. Still more reassuring would be confirmation of a CBS report that Eisenhower has invited De Gaulle to London to discuss invasion problems.

WILLKIE'S DEATH AS A PRESIDENTIAL aspirant does not leave him entirely without influence for he has yet to make a will. With several would-be heirs hopefully eyeing his political estate he can afford to sit back for a while and observe their behavior. Stassen, perhaps, would be the most logical legatee, but there is a good deal of evidence that Willkie is resentful about the Minnesotan's entry into the Wisconsin contest. Moreover, while Stassen's followers insist that they are not climbing on anybody's band-wagon, there is a natural suspicion that they might eventually be willing to make 1 deal on the basis of the second place for their man. A Dewey-Stassen ticket would have that nice balance which appeals to the professional politician. Meanwhile Governor Bricker's hopes seem to have been revived by the Wisconsin results. If there is to be a stop-Dewey movement, it might well form about him. But such a movement would have to draw strength from both the internationalist and the nationalist wings of the party. Thus Bricker, while making goo-goo eyes in the direction of Willkie, is rushing around the country talking about the importance of hanging on to overseas bases. The Dewey machine, for all its prophecies of victory on the first ballot, is not yet strong enough to ignore the benefits which would accrue from Willkie's blessing. Roland Marvin, one of the two or three New York delegates pledged to Willkie, jumped hastily on the Dewey band-wagon and was assigned immediately to sound out the 1940 candidate. He seems, however, to have met with a discouraging reception. Mr. Willkie evidently is in no mood to respond to the flattery of appeals to be "regular." Before he commits himself to any candidate he wants to know to what policy that candidate is himself committed.

THE DRAFT SITUATION WAS ONCE AGAIN thrown into confusion by the order suspending the induction of virtually all men over twenty-six. While subsequent directives clarifying the order have enabled draft boards to settle down to the task of finding enough young men to meet their quotas, the Selective Service System had a few bad days in which no two boards seemed to interpret the order in the same way. The result of all of this has been a new outcropping of complaints and criticism of our selective service policies. The New York Daily News speaks of "cockeyed draft management," while the New York Post complains of "our stumbling Selective Service." There is much justice in these complaints, particularly as they apply to the suddenness of the changes in policy. On one day the government tells a twenty-seven-year-old father in a moderately important job that he is desperately needed in the army; the next day-after he has given up his job-he is told he is not wanted at all. Yet apart from the inconvenience caused by sudden shifts, there is much merit in the decision to take as many men as possible in the eighteento-twenty-five age group before drafting men over twentysix. It is a decision which probably should have been made many months ago; it is particularly defensible at a moment when the army has reached full strength.

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THREE IMPORTANT LABOR DECISIONS WERE handed down by the Supreme Court last week. In the Pollock case the court held unconstitutional a Florida statute which makes it prima facie evidence of fraud to obtain money in advance for work and then fail to perform it. The law is an elaborate device for evading past Supreme Court decisions against debt-peonage laws. The same result was sought by sentencing men, usually Negroes, to forced labor for fraud instead of debt. The decision cancels a sixty-day prison sentence imposed on an illiterate Negro worker who was to pay off the debt by forced labor at less than nine cents a day. In the other two decisions the court strengthened the position of unions under the Wagner Act. In the Medo Supply Company case the court held that once wage negotiations have begun, an employer cannot disrupt a union by granting a "voluntary" pay increase. In the Frank Brothers case, the court confronted a situation in which a union, in the nine months between the filing of charges with the NLRB and the issuance of the NLRB complaint, lost members and no longer had a majority. On this ground the employer thereupon refused to bargain with the union. "A requirement that union membership be kept intact during delays incident to hearings," the court held through Justice Black, "would result in permitting employers to profit from their own refusal to bargain."

IF EVER A BREACH OF THE NON-STRIKE agreement appears justified, it is in the case of the employees of Montgomery Ward's Chicago branch. Shortly before the expiration of a contract with Local 20 of the United Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees Union, C. I. O., the company notified the union that they would not negotiate a new contract. The matter came before the War Labor Board, which ordered the company to extend the contract. Ward's then refused the WLB order, contending that the union no longer represented a majority of employees and that the WLB could not compel employers to sign closed-shop or maintenance-ofmembership agreements. The company's defiance of the board precipitated a strike in the Chicago plant and the War Labor Board has referred the matter to the White House. It is to be hoped that the President will support the WLB with the same firmness that he showed on previous occasions on this same issue. The prolonged war between Montgomery Ward, led by Sewell Avery, and Local 20, supported by the War Labor Board, will be discussed in detail in an article to appear in next week's Nation.

### Price Control Works

PRICE ADMINISTRATOR BOWLES was in an extremely strong position when he appeared before the House Banking Committee last week to ask for a continuance of the Price Control Act in substantially its present form. He did not have to argue, as his predecessors have had to, that price control would save the country from a disastrous inflation. He could show that the OPA had stopped the vicious cycle of rising prices, that the line had been held for a solid year. His appeal did not rest on economic theory but on the facts that are there for all to see. A year ago the cost of living was rising at the rate of ¾ of 1 per cent a month. Despite lack of Congressional cooperation in the full price-control program and despite constant attacks from some diehard business groups, this rise has been completely halted.

Unfortunately, this victory has not prevented various groups on both the right and the left from sniping at the OPA. Philip Murray, president of the C. I. O., flatly challenged the report of the stabilization authorities and repeated his previous assertion that the cost of living had advanced 431/2 per cent instead of the 231/2 per cent shown by the official reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. An analysis of the C. I. O. cost-of-living report shows, however, that it includes such items as taxes, warbond purchases, and black-market purchases-none of which properly belong in a cost-of-living index. The analysis also reveals that many of the items selected for comparison were, strictly speaking, not comparable. And it is interesting to note that even the critics of the BLS index do not contend that the cost of living is still rising at breakneck speed. They implicitly admit that stabilization has been achieved by their use of the same figures month after month.

The C. I. O. attack on the accuracy of the official costof-living statistics is harmful chiefly because it has undermined public appreciation of the OPA's accomplishments. The C. I. O. does not want to undermine the OPA; it would like to see the Price Control Act strengthened. But in denying the eeffctiveness of OPA it is playing into the hands of a small but powerful group of business men and politicians who are determined to wreck the stabilization program by one means or another. The latest and most insidious attack on the program from this group may be found in a series of recommendations drafted by the Smith committee of the House. This committee has proposed three innocentsounding amendments to the Price Control Act which, it alleges, would alleviate hardships. They are: (1) permitting appeals from OPA regulations to the federal district courts; (2) placing the control of the price of foodstuffs, rubber, petroleum, and other products in the hands of the agencies concerned with their production; and (3) by striking out the word "generally" before the phrase "fair and equitable," compelling the OPA to fix a price profitable to all elements in an industry.

Adoption of any one of these three amendments would hamstring the OPA's efforts and threaten a complete breakdown of the stabilization program. If, for instance, the ninety-three federal courts were given jurisdiction over appeals from OPA rulings in place of the present Emergency Court of Appeals, great confusion would inevitably arise from conflicting decisions, and the entire program might be held up pending Supreme Court settlement. Placing price control in the hands of the agencies responsible for war production is wholly illogical, for if but one of the agencies fell down on the job a general retreat on the price front would become necessary. Experience has shown that the line must be held at every point if it is to be held at all. Most dangerous of all is the proposal that would force the OPA to set prices guaranteeing profits to every business, however incompetent its management might be. Such a proposal, as Mr. Bowles points out, would not only mean huge profits for the more efficient business units but would undermine the foundations of the system of private enterprise. The most effective answer to all these proposals is to be found in the success of the present law. We should permit no one to tamper with it.

### Hull and Italy

Secretary Hull's radio speech on April 10 "met squarely the principal criticisms recently leveled at the Administration's foreign policy." But we are ready to acknowledge that, in some respects, it provided a more satisfying meal than has been spread by the State Department for some time past. The references to the French situation were welcome and were accepted by the De Gaullists, hungry for a friendly word, as a veritable bonne bouche. As we point out on an earlier page, the pressure of events has forced the State Department to change its tune in regard to France.

The Secretary's approach to the Italian problem was even more hesitant. He recalled the declaration of Moscow, made jointly by the United States, Russia, and Britain, promising the democratization of the Italian government, the removal of all Fascist and pro-Fascist elements from the administration, and the creation of democratic organs of local government. Declaring that this policy is being carried out, he added naively: "Only that part which calls for the introduction into the central government of more democratic elements has not yet been put into effect." And he explained this omission by asserting that a change of regime might have prejudiced the military situation.

The latest reports from Italy hardly confirm Mr. Hull's optimistic suggestion that the purge of Fascists has been successfully completed. At a meeting of the Allied Control Commission on April 14, Lieutenant Colonel G. H. McCaffrey, who has been regional commissioner for a large district in Southern Italy, reported that local governments were ridden with "grafting and looting" and that "various ministers are putting back the people we fire on the payroll." Some other officers attending the same meeting were more encouraging, but it is plain that cleansing "free" Italy is proving an uphill task.

Nor could this well be otherwise so long as the Italian government itself is largely composed of men who were loyal to Mussolini until the Fascist ship showed unmistakable signs of foundering. The real cause of delay in implementing the Moscow Declaration seems to be a reluctance to deal with the Fascist infection at its chief center in southern Italy-the House of Savoy. Instead of putting pressure on the King to eliminate himself, Allied policy has been to push the democratic parties into backing the king. And, unhappily, since Stalin indorsed them, these tactics have been succeeding. Emmanuel has now announced his decision to withdraw from the throne as soon as Rome is recaptured. But as he intends to leave his son, Prince Humbert, who has been just as fully associated with Fascism, to exercise his powers with the title of "Lieutenant General of the. Realm," this gesture is one of those changes which mean more of the same thing.

It has served, however, to split the junta composed of the six opposition parties which hitherto had presented an unbroken front against the House of Savoy. Inspired by the Communists, who several weeks ago indicated their willingness to waive their opposition to the monarchy until after the war, this body has agreed to share in the formation of a new government headed by Badoglio. Besides the Communists, the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, and the Democracy of Labor voted for this step. The Socialists abstained, and the Action Party formed a minority of one, refusing to pretend that there had been any change in the situation justifying a reversal of its position.

In his speech Mr. Hull foreshadowed this development with complacent approval. How, we wonder, does he reconcile it with the statement that "there can be no compromise with Fascism and Nazism"? Does he regard Emmanuel and Badoglio as untainted by Fascism? If so, we can only conclude that any Fascist who take the trouble to disguise himself with a handful of anti-Axis wool will be able to fool the State Department into believing him a democratic sheep. Giving Mr. Hull full credit for good intentions, his qualifications as a shepherd, charged with gathering the nations back into the democratic fold, are dubious, to say the least.

### Return from Mexico

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THERE had been a gap of ten years in my Mexican experience. My last two visits in 1939 and 1940 had been too short and too near the end of the Spanish War to make it possible for me to absorb fully the fascinating process of evolution in a country of such vigorous personality. This time I went to Mexico determined to find out what was going on, especially how much truth and how much exaggeration there was in the stories that Mexico, under the present administration, had reversed its historic revolutionary trend.

The official purpose of my visit was not difficult to accomplish. It was to gain the support and cooperation of the Mexican government for a plan for the rescue of refugees, elaborated by the Free World Association together with other humanitarian organizations. The unhesitating agreement of the authorities in this matter was in itself an encouraging indication of Mexico's general mood. Reactionary tendencies and a warm readiness to welcome the victims of international reaction are not characteristics that match. A few days after my arrival this favorable impression was fully confirmed by an interview with President Avila Camacho.

On the morning that I was received by the President the notion that a few weeks later an attempt would be made on his life could never have crossed my mind. And yet when I read the news in New York I could easily reconstruct the incident, to its smallest detail. I could see the great square flanked by the palace and the cathedral and hear the gay sound of the bugle announcing the entrance of the President. I could see the antechamber crowded with officials and visitors waiting for an audience. And I could see Avila Camacho, solid and powerful, holding the assassin immobile until the guards took him into custody. Especially I could hear his quiet voice questioning the young man about the motive of the attack. Equanimity and calmness are the hallmarks of the Mexican President's character.

Avila Camacho's response to my request was instantaneous. He feels legitimate pride in Mexico's attitude toward refugees. No other country has, in this respect, a more admirable record. It is not the Spanish Republicans alone who have found in Mexico something much more important than shelter. Anti-fascists from everywhere have been received there, not only to be tolerated and given a chance to survive, but to carry on the fight for freedom. My interview with the President was excellent. He gave me an immediate sense of the political atmosphere of the country and provided an invaluable prologue to the full story of Mexico as it unfolded in the remaining weeks of my visit.

But the fact that the general political situation in Mexico is different from what some recent reports have indicated does not mean that reaction is non-existent or that progressive forces are not obliged to face the same problems as everywhere else. To begin with, I should mention one of the disturbing factors: the widespread discouragement with the way in which the war has been waged in the political field. If I choose that as my first point, I do so because on my return from Mexico I found some of my American friends in the same gloomy frame of mind.

The immediate reason for this discouragement is of secondary importance. It may have been caused by the recognition of Badoglio or by Willkie's retreat from the Presidential contest after the victory of reactionary elements in Wisconsin. It doesn't matter. What really matters is the loss of confidence resulting from the policy of the United Nations. The number of people who no longer believe a single word of official speeches and statements is increasing with alarming speed. They have seen how Darlanism followed close upon the speech proclaiming the Four Freedoms; how, in spite of the Atlantic Charter, the people of Spain, who are 90 per cent pro-Allied and anti-Franco, have been pushed aside, while Franco has been courted in the most disgraceful fashion. They have seen how this war for democracy has strengthened certain dictatorships in Spanish America, thanks to the financial and political support of the Allies. They have seen what has been done in Italy and what would be done everywhere else in Europe if certain officials in the various foreign offices had the last word.

After all, we cannot be surprised at their skepticism. The same attitude has inspired every independent columnist and radio commentator, here and in England, for the last two years. The same sentiments have been expressed week after week in *The Nation*. We have insisted that the lack of a clear, straight, democratic line in the conduct of the war and the delay in creating a Council of the United Nations must inevitably lead to confusion and disillusionment.

We can easily understand the state of mind of our Mexican friends and other people of the Western Hemissphere. But disbelief in the official policy of the Allies does not justify the defeatism into which a large section of the left is falling. That reaction has become aggressive and insolent, that it has everywhere taken advantage of the absence of vigorous democratic direction in the war, is perfectly true. But it is not true that reaction has won, or that it must necessarily win. We have with us still the majority of the people of the earth. There are still the movements of resistance in Europe, ready to destroy in the final round every Badoglio whom the governments of the United Nations try to foist upon them. There are still the people of Asia, for whom the war has been a signal for a revolutionary awakening.

There are still the people of Latin America, waiting for the day of victory to throw out their little dictators, no matter how respectable they have become by virtue of the honorary degrees bestowed upon them by American universities.

Mexican democrats in particular have no excuse for pessimism. It was their firm stand which only recently brought to a dead stop the reactionary forces in Mexico, just when those forces thought they saw a clear road ahead. In every country, Mexico and the United States not excepted, the people in overwhelming numbers want a better world and are willing to fight for it. No one on the left, no matter how depressing the present political scene may be, has the right to desert them.

[Beginning in an early issue, The Nation will publish several articles on Mexico by Mr. del Vayo.]

### MacArthur's Political Foray

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 14

ONGRESS is back, in a more cantankerous mood than ever, and there is ample indication that it will spend even more of its time than before in baiting the President. The first stink bomb of the renewed session was the release of the Miller-MacArthur correspondence, but except in the Patterson-Hearst-McCormick press this is more likely to help Mr. Roosevelt than to hurt him. Some here are jubilant, thinking the letters will ruin MacArthur, but they may be rating popular intelligence too high. The letters show the Allied commander-in-chief in the Southwest Pacific in a very unsoldierly posture—disloyal to his commander-in-chief and a rather pompous and ignorant ass.

General MacArthur has as much right as anyone else to oppose the New Deal, but he would be in a better position if those letters contained at least one expression disassociating himself as a soldier from Representative Miller's extremely intemperate partisanship. Miller's letters are those of a fanatic to whom only one war has any meaning—the war against the New Deal and the President at home. In one letter he expresses the certainty "that unless this New Deal can be stopped this time, our American way of life is forever doomed." Representative Miller seems not at all aroused about that man in Berlin. The only reference to the Axis is the remark in passing that by the time of the election "the war with Germany and Italy may well be over." This is the letter which General MacArthur describes as "complete wisdom and statesmanship," with which "I do unreservedly agree." A general who agrees with Representative Miller is too unreliable politically to be intrusted with command, for Miller obviously believes that the great menace to America is at home and not abroad. If the situation were truly that painted by the Representative, it might be General MacArthur's duty to move his troops on Washington rather than Tokyo. There are some rightists who feel just that way. And they will be encouraged by General MacArthur's reference, in his letter of reply, to the "sinister drama of our present chaos and confusion." The "sinister" would seem to imply that there is something intentional and malevolent in the "present chaos and confusion."

Expressions of this kind from a commanding officer in time of war seem well beyond the limits of propriety. The General's not too subtle hint in his second letter, "I will be glad when more substantial forces are placed at my disposition," would seem an equally improper attempt to lobby in Congress against the military decisions of his superiors. An honorable and self-respecting soldier, however violent his disagreement with his superiors in time of war, should feel too proud to stoop to political intrigue and back-scratching.

It is significant that Representative Miller does not use the word fascism or Nazism. His second letter speaks of "the wave of communism and nationalism which seems bound to engulf the European countries, Asia, and South America," and identifies it with the "monarchy" being established at home by "left-wingers and New Dealism." This is the talk and the mood Goebbels would like to spread if he could as the basis for a negotiated peace in the West, but it evoked no reprimand, not even a gentle one, from MacArthur. It was this letter which the General described as "scholarly" and as "calculated to arouse the thoughtful consideration of every true patriot." General MacArthur modestly compares himself to Lincoln. The correspondence bears a stronger resemblance to the activities of the Copperheads.

Not much is known here of Representative Miller. He is a first-termer, and the MacArthur correspondence brings him for the first time into the headlines. He is a Republican from Kimball, Nebraska. He was graduated from a local high school and from Loyola Medical College in Chicago, and has practiced medicine and surgery in Kimball County since August, 1919. He was elected mayor of Kimball in 1933 and a member of the Nebraska unicameral legislature in 1937. He was state health director in 1941-42, just before his election to Congress. He lists among his past eminences the state governorship of the Lions Clubs (1931) and the presidency of the State Medical Association (1939). He is a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, a Methodist, a Mason, an

Elk, and a member of the Knights of Pythias. He owns many farms in western Nebraska.

Representative Miller's record in Congress is, with one exception, exactly what one would expect. The exception is that he voted for the Fulbright resolution. The fact that a man of Miller's obviously isolationist views voted for this internationalist resolution indicates how little reliance may be placed upon it as a serious expression of Congressional attitudes, for Miller even voted against so mild, though concrete, an example of international cooperation as the extension of Mr. Hull's reciprocal-tradeagreements act. Miller has been a staunch supporter of Dies, Smith, Hobbs, and other reactionary Democrats and a consistent opponent of consumer subsidies, OPA, and other measures designed to hold down living costs. He voted for all anti-labor measures, for a mandatory increase in oil prices, and for abolition of the domestic branch of the OWI. He was not recorded on the polltax bill, but he showed up in support of Rankin's successful fight against votes for soldiers. The record provides a fairly typical portrait of a MacArthur admirer.

The MacArthur lieutenants here and in New York are encouraged by the half-million votes cast for him in the Illinois Republican primaries. But the more detailed reports beginning to arrive make it far from certain that the combined isolationist and crypto-fascist vote can carry Illinois in November. MacArthur, unopposed, polled 76 per cent of the Republican vote last Tuesday, but Dewey, unopposed, polled 86 per cent of the Republican vote in the Illinois primaries four years ago. In primaries free from any major contests the Democrats polled almost as many votes as and in one case more than were cast in the bitterly contested Republican primaries. Most significant of all was the vote cast in the primaries for nomination of Congressman-at-large.

The successful Republican nominee was Stephen Day, the Congressman who before Pearl Harbor was an associate of George Sylvester Viereck, the convicted Nazi agent. Day had the support of the Green political machine in Illinois and was renominated by it, but he ran far behind the rest of the machine ticket. The machine delivered some 560,000 votes for Governor Green but less than 400,000 for Day. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, who will oppose Day in November, polled almost 440,000 votes in the Democratic primaries, where there was no contest. The vote for Mrs. Douglas was not much less than the combined vote on the Republican side. Day ran far behind his ticket in the 1942 general elections and seems to be the weakest spot on the ticket again this year. The facts available here make Dewey look like a better Republican candidate than MacArthur in Illinois and the President a better bet in that state than either. Since Illinois Republicanism may be regarded as the stronghold of our contemporary "Copperheads," that doesn't speak too well for MacArthur's political pulling power elsewhere.

### 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

T IS HARD TO FIX attention upon the activities of the peace conference while the whirlwind approaches across Europe. But it is worth recalling occasionally, as new governments arise and new revolutionary alliances are formed, that a group of elderly gentlemen in frock coats are still at Paris playing the old game of empire. While they arrange frontiers, the frontiers dissolve; while they talk of a League of Nations, half of Europe makes its own league of revolutionary peoples. Shall they fight or placate these new forces, starve or feed them, turn to the right or to the left? They do not know.—April 5, 1919.

PERHAPS THE MOST SINISTER STORY that has come out of the Seattle strike is the account of the work of the "Minute Men" told in detail by Kenneth Macgowan in the New York *Tribune*. Formed during the war to make patriotism compulsory in Washington, the Minute Men developed a highly organized spy system, based, according to the statement of its chief, on the German system of domestic espionage.—April 5, 1919.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS NOW taking shape as a nation. . . . No agreement has been arrived at with the 3,000,000 Germans living along the northern rim of Bohemia. . . . Instead, the flame of race hatred has been fanned by both sides. . . . Germany will now have a handle for the economic and political invasion of Czechoslovakia.—HENRY G. ALSBERG, April 5, 1919.

IT WOULD SEEM as though nothing could withstand the systematic and relentless efforts of Japanese imperialism to wipe out Korea as a moral fact.—April 12, 1919.

IT MAY BE SAFE to assume that the nationalist tremors that have lately been agitating certain Senators in regard to the future sovereignty and proud isolation of the United States will be laid at rest by the recent cabled revisions to the League of Nations Covenant. . With [the] simple requirement of unanimity among all nations, including those involved in a dispute, other articles of the Covenant providing for arbitration and adjudication of questions of international controversy seem hardly necessary.—April 19, 1919.

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS has gone to jail in a cause as old as time and as noble as human nature—the cause of the fundamental rights of man. Against the arbitrary law which jailed him, he stands as the defender of the intrinsic law.

—April 19, 1919.

NEWS OF THE REVOLT of American troops at Archangel comes like a sudden squall to fray out still farther the fag-ends of our Russian policy. . . . The only direct and clean-cut policy in sight is that of Soviet Russia, which marches forward imponderably across the face of Europe while our statesmen sit in Paris twiddling their thumbs.—

April 19, 1919.

### Masquerade in Budapest

BY ROBERT PARKER

In THE fall of 1940 the German army moved in force into Hungary. Nazi officers went into telephone, telegraph, and commercial-radio offices. German soldiers patrolled railroads and bridges. Censors from Berlin established themselves in the Budapest post office. The Luftwaffe took over the airfields. Adolf Hitler was preparing for his attack on Russia, and thirty trainloads of German troops rolled daily through Hungary into Rumania and up to the Prut River, which formed the Soviet border. All these steps were reported by the American correspondents in Budapest, of whom I was one. Presumably the American legation told the State Department what was going on; at any rate it knew, for the American military attaché was arrested for watching German troop trains puff through Budapest.

Now, suddenly, three and a half years later, we are told that Hungary has been "occupied" by the Wehrmacht. Cordell Hull speaks of a "dastardly act." The usually well-informed Elmer Davis, in a letter to the Washington Post, calls the occupation the Führrer's "latest act of cannibalism," adding, "It is possible that Hitler found it necessary to occupy Hungary by force, violence, and fraud instead of by consent simply because the Hungarians . . . saw so clearly that Hitlerism was doomed."

Most Hungarians, including Regent Admiral Horthy and his gang, have known for years that Hitlerism was doomed. The late Count Paul Teleki caused a book to be published during his premiership showing that Germany couldn't win. Admiral Horthy told me in an interview before war broke out that the Nazis were licked before they started. The plain truth is that Hungary was occupied by Germany in the fall of 1940. It wasn't accomplished by "force, violence, and fraud"; it was done with the full agreement of Admiral Horthy and the Hungarian government. What has happened recently is only a further degree of occupation. The difference is that Horthy and his crew are now starting a long-planned campaign to try to convince the Allies that their hearts are in the right place after all. The amiable Tibor Eckhardt was sent to this country nearly three years ago to prepare the way.

To understand the situation we must take a look at basic Hungarian policy. Since Bela Kun's Communist regime was driven out of Budapest in 1919—incidentally, with the invaluble aid of the victorious Allies of World War I—Magyar policy, under Horthy's control, has been entirely devoted to the recovery of lost terri-

tories. The slogan Nem, nem, soha (No, no never) that was applied to the Trianon treaty's transfer of land to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania became the watchword of every Magyar government. National Socialism is, of course, anathema to Horthy and his reactionary followers. For them the rise of Nazism in Germany meant the ascendancy of the gutter element, with Adolf Hitler the chief guttersnipe. But at the same time the Führer represented the dynamic force in Europe, the force that could and would change frontiers. Horthy and his friends swallowed their pride, held their noses, and joined the Nazis in the belief that Hitler would give them back their lost territories.

After Munich Hungary did in fact recover a strip of land on its northern frontier from a prostrate Czechoslovakia. In March, 1939, it gobbled up Ruthenia, with Hitler's blessing. Next it demanded Transylvania, and in its acquisition of the northern part of this province lies the explanation of the "occupation" Secretary Hull now so vehemently deplores.

When Hitler prepared to attack Russia, he had to secure the Carpathian Mountains as a bulwark against a possible Russian attack before the Wehrmacht could launch its own. Believing that Rumania could not be depended upon to defend the mountain passes, he determined to detach northern Transylvania from Rumania and give it to Hungary, whose army officers were solidly pro-German and anti-Russian. All during the summer of 1940, therefore, Hungary was encouraged to scream for the return of Transylvania, which had been part of the Hungarian kingdom before 1918. When Budapest and Bucharest were sufficiently excited, Hitler haled the heads of the two governments to Vienna and forced Rumania to relinquish northern Transylvania.

It was no secret in Budapest that Hungary paid a stiff price. Horthy put his country's railways and munitions factories at Germany's disposal and promised to defend the Carpathians, with the Germans, against the Russians if there was need. That need has now arisen, and Hitler has moved his soldiers into Hungarian Transylvania to try to hold the passes against the victorious Red Army. The Horthy regime, however, chooses to forget its bargain of 1940, for Horthy's followers have told him it is time to adopt the Darlan-Victor-Emmanuel-Badoglio strategy. Hence the screams of "occupation." It's a convenient excuse and can be made to look genuine.

That Hungary would try to whitewash itself has been apparent for a long time. A Hungarian cabinet minister

was very frank about it in Istanbul last summer. He said Hungary had recovered "sufficient" territory from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Now the question was how to make peace with the Allies. The first actual step, taken early this year, was an attempt to pacify the Yugoslavs lest they jump on Hungary's back at a later date. For there is still one item left on the Horthy program—get the rest of Transylvania from Rumania.

The attempt to pacify Yugoslavia has not proved very successful, chiefly because the Yugoslavs are not a people who quickly forget broken pledges—or such an incident as the massacre of fifteen hundred Serbian men, women, and children by Hungarian soldiery. This occurred in the winter of 1941-42, when Hungarian troops occupied the Serbian town of Subotica despite a year-old treaty of perpetual friendship between Yugoslavia and Hungary. One day the Magyar troops, obedient to orders, murdered a large part of the town's population. The Budapest government did nothing for two years. Then, early this year, when it became apparent that the time had come to make amends, it announced that the commanding officers at Subotica were to be tried by courts-

martial for the "unfortunate incidents." In typical Magyar fashion, however, it failed to carry the affair through, and soon announced that the guilty officers had "successfully fled to Germany." Anyway, said Hungarian diplomats in neutral countries, the Serbs would know Budapest was very sorry.

The next step of the Horthy government was to send as new envoys to the neutral European countries men who had close ties with Englishmen and Americans. For example, a former chief of the Foreign Office press bureau who had an English wife and was personally a charming man became minister in Stockholm. He could be relied upon to put out the right stories at the right time. The first news of the "occupation" of Hungary came from these Hungarian legations in neutral countries. We have no other way of knowing what is going on inside Hungary.

The reports were somewhat astonishing, to put it mildly. Some said that "German parachutists fluttered down in the dark on Budapest"; others that "troops in transit to Rumania broke the seals on their coaches." Earlier, however, I had watched hundreds of troop trains roll through Budapest, and not one was ever sealed.



THE CARE OF DOVES

Usually the Nazis got out and spent the day walking around the city before proceeding on their journey. The government of Premier Kallay was superseded by one headed by a certain Doeme Sztojay, described as Hungarian minister in Berlin. Mysteriously, Sztojay became a field marshal overnight. There was no attempt to hide the fact that he and his Cabinet were legally sworn in by Admiral Horthy.

These events received immediate attention in Washington. Mr. Hull called on Hungary to fight Germany. An Associated Press dispatch said the appeal implied that if Hungary did so it would get better treatment at the peace table. The dispatch said further that "the American action carried with it an implicit promise that Hungarian resistance would earn the respect and friendship of the United States, which in victory would look more favorably on the status of Hungary despite its voluntary alliance with Hitler up to the moment of occupation."

You can be sure the Horthy government will now "resist" to the best of its ability. Of course, not much can be expected of it, since it was taken by surprise and

the country has now been "occupied"! But its intentions, Washington can rest assured, are of the best—especially since "the respect and friendship of the United States" are promised in return. Above all else, Budapest wants the United States to "look more favorably on the status of Hungary" at the peace table. For there's still that one unfinished piece of business.

Hungarian diplomats with whom I talked in Istanbul were exceedingly frank about it. "Obviously," they said, "Transylvania must belong to either Rumania or Hungary. The two countries are equally guilty of having joined the Axis and having fought Russia. Both declared war on Great Britain and the United States. When the peace conference meets, the question will be which of the two countries is least guilty." They thought they could prove that Hungary was the lesser sinner. The first reports from Horthy's legations in the neutral countries said Rumanian troops helped the Germans to occupy Hungary. But the Rumanian legation in Ankara was quick on the trigger, too. It announced that Rumania had been "occupied" at the same moment as Hungary.

### Votes for Negroes?

BY STANLEY H. LOWELL

THE recent decision of the United States Supreme Court (Smith v. Allright) invalidating the resolution of the Texas state Democratic convention that only "white citizens" should be permitted to vote in the primary was a triumph for progressive democracy. Yet it is imperative that the enthusiasm of liberals be tempered by a full realization of Southern tenacity where the Negro vote is concerned. Primarily, it is important to understand that the court did not establish or make any pretense of establishing a new constitutional principle. Justice Reed carefully pointed out that the court felt it had erred only in its former application of a previously extracted principle.

Suit was brought in 1942 by a Negro, Lonnie Smith, against two election judges who had refused him a ballot in the Texas Democratic primary which was to choose nominees for federal offices. The refusal was based solely on the race and color of the potential voter. The election judges were acting in conformity with a resolution of the state convention of the Democratic Party which restricted membership in the party and participation in its deliberations to "white citizens" otherwise qualified, The court held this resolution of the convention to be the action of an agency of the state of Texas. As such it was "state action" and came within the proscription of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that

the right of citizens to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

If the discrimination had been the result of "private" action, it would not have been within the purview of this command of the Constitution. The court, therefore, thoroughly examined the primary system in Texas and decided that the state statutes made the party, which is required to follow the legislative enactments, an agency of the state.

Earlier in the opinion the court reaffirmed the postulate established by *United States* v. *Classic* (1941) that the protection of the Constitution extended to the right to vote in a primary involving the choice of federal officials, "where the primary is by law an integral part of the election machinery."

The legal solidity of the decision appears unquestionable. That the state of Texas was acting through the Democratic Party seems self-evident. The bitter battle which preceded this decision makes clear the state's studied intent to disfranchise its Negro citizens. Though continually forced into more devious methods, the state never abandoned its primary objective—the elimination of Negro electors.

One is struck by the peculiar "rightness" of such a victory at this time. We are a nation engaged in war

against an ideology whose principal tenet is "racism" and its attendant theory of the second-class citizen. Enemy propaganda has feasted on the difference between our public pronouncements and our domestic actions. To those who believe in human dignity and freedom it is heartening that our highest tribunal has leveled another barrier to a more complete democracy.

However, the furor aroused by the decision in the South and the quick and angry reaction of political leaders in the eight states that have restricted primaries raise the question of the extent of the triumph. The former chairman of the state Democratic Executive Committee in Texas keynoted Southern feeling when he said that "soon a group of us will get together and after careful study devise a way to meet the situation." This was no idle boast.

Undoubtedly a way of nullifying the court's decision will be sought. Through the second decade of the twentieth century whites were "protected" by the so-called "grandfather clauses," under which voting privileges were permanently and automatically granted to those who were qualified or whose ancestors were qualified to vote in some pre-Civil War year, while others, in the main the mass of Negroes, were barred by stringent "literacy" requirements. After this means of stripping the Negro of the franchise was eliminated in 1915, the state of Texas prepared to strike the first blow in what was to develop into an all-out contest with the Supreme Court of the United States. There was full recognition in the South of the unimportance of the general election in those wholly Democratic areas. The Texas legislature, therefore, in 1923 enacted a statute which declared that "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party primary election held in the state of Texas."

A Negro, qualified to vote except for the prohibition of this statute, was denied the opportunity at a primary election involving federal officers. The Supreme Court in Nixon v. Herndon (1927) held that the action of Texas in refusing the ballot to Negroes by statute was in violation of the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision made no mention of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Since the Supreme Court held that the state could not act to bar the Negro elector, Texas snapped back in the very next year with a new enactment which seemed to fill this chink in the wall of discrimination. The state would not act; the new law declared, instead, that "every political party through its state Executive Committee shall have the power to . . . determine who shall be qualified to vote." Thereupon, the state Executive Committee of the Democratic Party promptly adopted a resolution which provided that "white Democrats . . . and none other [should] be allowed to participate in the primary elections." Texas itself carefully avoided saying

"no Negroes"; it pointedly sought to circumvent the court's decision by delegating the authority to another body—the party Executive Committee.

When the same Negro was again denied a ballot and again brought suit, the Supreme Court was not taken in by the subterfuge. It sturdily found (Nixon v. Condon, 1932) that the Executive Committee had derived its authority from the statutory proviso. Its action, being a delegation of state power, was "state action" and thus invalid as discriminatory under the Fourteenth Amendement. Unfortunately, the court faltered slightly and refused to decide whether a political party in Texas had inherent power to determine its own membership. This first sign of weakness was quickly pounced upon.

Just three weeks after the decision in Nixon v. Condon was handed down, the Texas Democratic state convention proceeded to adopt this new, court-suggested formula to accomplish the old purpose. This time the state would not pass any legislation, directly against the Negro or in delegation of authority. The prohibitions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, directed as they are against the action of a state, would thus be effectively by-passed. The convention adopted a resolution limiting membership and participation in the Democratic Party to "all white citizens"—the very resolution reexamined in Smith v. Allright.

Once again a Negro who had sought and been denied a ballot asked for judicial support. But this time in vain. The Supreme Court decided in *Grovey v. Townsend* (1935) that determination of the membership of the Democratic Party by the state convention was a significant change from determination by the Executive Committee. One was the action of a voluntary private association, the other action by authority of the state. The court further declared that the denial of a vote in a primary was a mere refusal of party membership, with which the state need have no concern.

The decision of the court, written by Justice Roberts, was unanimous. The right of the Negro to vote in a Texas primary seemed effectively and permanently blocked.

Not until the opinion in *United States* v. *Classite* (1941) could the advocates of equality take heart. The court there determined that the occurrence of fraud in a Louisiana primary was a subject of Congressional enactment, and the corrupt acts of election officers were held punishable under the federal criminal code in primary as well as in general elections. *Grovey* v. *Townsend* was not cited or mentioned in the Classic case. Nevertheless, Classic did bear upon *Grovey* v. *Townsend* in that the recognition of the place of the primary in the electoral scheme made it clear that delegation to a party of the power to fix the qualifications for primary elections is delegation of a state function.

The door which had been so tightly shut six years

before in the Grovey case had now apparently been pried ajar. The opening, however, was not yet wide enough to permit the passage of a colored citizen in the South. Shortly afterward, therefore, suit was instituted by Lonnie Smith to enable the Supreme Court to reexamine the Grovey v. Townsend case. The present opinion is the result.

But although this discriminatory barrier has been leveled, the Negro will be hampered in the future, in Texas and like-minded states, by other modes of disfranchisement. Already an extraordinary session of the Legislature has been called by the Governor of South Carolina for the purpose of keeping the Democratic Party primary "pure white." The primaries' structural foundation in state law having been emphasized by Justice Reed, all statutory reference to them will be eliminated. As an alternative, the Charleston News and Chronicle advocates editorially a return to the convention system and, if necessary, the revival of nominations in secret lodge rooms. Whatever the means used to prevent them, the Negroes, Senator Maybank has told Congress, will not vote.

The cloak of discrimination has more than one button to keep it safely fastened. Much thought, even genius, has gone into the problem of safeguarding white interests in the South. By clever devices apparently not aimed at race or color the great mass of Negroes have been barred from the vote. Strengthened and stringently enforced, these requirements will maintain the barricade. Each expedient takes some characteristic of the Negro and sets it up as a suffrage disqualification. In addition, white election officials must be "satisfied."

Exacting residence requirements penalize the migratory habits of colored citizens; lengthening the required period and tightening the mode of "satisfactory" proof will keep many from the polls. The poll tax, in some states cumulative, utilizes the impoverished condition of most Southern Negroes. Moreover, even if the money is available, an easily lost receipt or other "satisfactory evidence" of payment is necessary. Educational requirements take advantage of the Negro's lack of schooling. Literacy and comprehension must also be shown to the "satisfaction" of the examiner, and the standards of achievement demanded of a Negro and a white man may, of course, differ materially. Property qualifications which strike at low income and poor financial situation have been used in several states; ownership of forty acres of land or of personalty with an assessed valuation of \$500 is often beyond the ability of the Negro.

Lurking in a corner, but not too shy or hesitant to show its face when the occasion warrants, is the oldest and most straightforward of all methods of eliminating the Negro elector—intimidation. If any or all of the methods referred to do not achieve the desired end, the problem may be resolved by force and fear.

In each of these stratagems care has been taken to avoid the constitutional pitfall by disqualifying the Negro without discriminating against him as such. Although the Supreme Court in Smith v. Allright inveighed against any indirect denial of constitutional rights, the circumventions described are well able to gain their object. The decision is important, nevertheless, as part of the ceaseless struggle of progressive forces to achieve complete democracy in this country. It strips the façade of legal protection, at least, from one more discriminatory practice.

### In the Wind

A SPOKESMAN for the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, addressing the top executives of a chain-store organization, suggested that Negroes be discouraged from coming into the stores by cancelation of their charge accounts. The suggestion was rejected, on the ground that it was un-Christian.

THE TEXAS STATE GUARD is being trained in the handling of riots and "the protection of vital industries." The program has the backing of the Christian American Association, which has been active in pushing anti-labor laws through state legislatures, and whose leadership includes men who have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Negro activity.

THE WPB OMITTED mentioning one important item in its report on extra paper grants for 1943. *Tide*, an advertising trade magazine, has smoked out the admission that the *Reader's Digest* was granted 1,061 tons in February, bringing its total extra tonnage for the year to 2,484 tons, the largest for any magazine. . . . *The Cross and the Flag*, Gerald L. K. Smith's anti-Administration, anti-British, anti-Russian, and anti-Chinese magazine, carries in its current issue an editorial whose content is summed up in its final sentence: "God bless the *Reader's Digest.*"

THIS BIT of jumbled German history is contained in an advertisement by Warner and Swasey (turret lathes): "The German government ended unemployment by government work. The German government owned and operated the railroads, controlled the press and radio, guaranteed universal education, supported unions, assured medical care, limited corporation profits—did all the things many Americans want our government to do. Of course the German government became a dictatorship, as all such paternalistic governments always do."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Three soldiers in German uniforms ordered coffee at a small restaurant in Czechoslovakia. The waiter shouted to the kitchen, in Czech, "Three coffees with rat poison." One of the soldiers stood up and corrected the order, shouting to the kitchen, in Czech, "Only two coffees with rat poison, please. I am an Austrian."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

### India's Would-be Quisling

BY JOHN W. GERBER

AST September I reported in these columns on Subhas Chandra Bose and his plan for setting up an "independent" Indian government under the protection of Japan. At that time the idea must have seemed fantastic. Bose has now turned it into disquieting fact: units of his "Indian national army" have entered India and laid the basis of a "provisional national government."

I suggested in September that Bose's close ties with Japan were his greatest handicap, since China's influence in India was so strong. Bose and his Japanese overlords seem to have realized that weakness and are doing their utmost to overcome it. "The Provisional Government," Bose has said repeatedly, "is convinced that Japan has no political, economic, or military ambitions in India." Japan is interested, he insists, "only in destroying the Anglo-American forces in India, which are enemies not only of India but of Asia as well." The Japanese are backing Bose's penetration with a major propaganda campaign, making every effort to allay suspicion of their intentions.

Powerful forces are working for Bose. Not the least of them is Indian nationalism, which Bose seems to be turning very effectively to his own purposes. Japanese and Indian troops had no sooner entered India than Prime Minister Tojo declared that "all areas of India through which the National Army advances will be immediately placed under the control of the Provisional Government of Free India." A Bengali follower of Bose's, Azad Chatterji, was promptly named governor of the "liberated" territory. (He will, of course, have no more power than the Japanese puppets in China.) Chatterji has announced that the government is ready "to seek the collaboration of all suitable persons in the liberated areas for important tasks." Currency has been issued to drive out the British rupee, and the government claims to have founded its own bank in Burma.

Bose and the Japanese chose a strategic spot for their drive into India. The little state of Manipur has a long history of resistance to the British. The last recorded instance occurred during World War I. In 1917 the British raised a labor force in Manipur for service in France. When they tried to raise a second contingent, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed only toward the end of 1918, with the help of a large force of Assam rifles and Burmese military police. As a consequence, Manipur

was deprived of all semblance of home rule, subdivided, and put under the administration of the neighboring Assam states.

Bengal, which includes Assam and Manipur, has been the scene of many violent clashes between the Indians and the British. It is Bose's home, and the considerable influence he still exercises in India is mainly concentrated there. Bose said last August that he expected Indian aid for his invasion; he invaded at the place where he was most likely to get it, and he is claiming now that a number of tribes have risen against the British and that deserters from the Allied camp are joining his forces. British military authorities in this country say that unrest has so far been insignificant.

The impression left on the Indian people by last year's famine in Bengal has been another weapon in Bose's hands. "A new economic order," as well as a "new political order," he has said, "will be instituted under the provisional government."

The basis of the new life is a well-planned economy, and the welfare of the Indian people will be secured by that plan. Without planning there would be chaos, with individuals trying to obtain the most profit, and therefore measures have been formulated to safeguard the welfare of the people. The fundamental principle will be to guarantee to each individual his essential rights, such as food, clothing, and education. It will be the duty of the state to provide these rights so that the people can live like normal human beings.

Bose has trumpeted loudly that he and his army are beginning a "march to Delhi" to "liberate India from British tyranny." His more immediate objective is to cut the new road to China. He announced last November that his army was "fully prepared to march into Bengal and Assam," and "when we do," he declared, "any hope entertained by Chungking of opening a road from Assam will be destroyed." As this is written, he is on the verge of achieving his goal. If he does, it will be a major political and military victory. He can use it to cast doubt upon the strength of our determination to aid China and to prove that Japan is quite capable of attaining its stated military objectives.

The United Nations can no longer ignore Bose; he has begun to turn his words into action. On the whole the people of India are disinclined to aid China's enemy. But Bose will receive considerable support from his own blind followers and from other violently anti-British elements. It may not be enough to enable him to reach Delhi, but it will help him to neutralize the efforts of the United Nations to make India a major base of operations.

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

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m OR}$  some time treasonable printed matter has been circulated secretly in Germany—and the police are making feverish efforts to discover the distributors, printers, and authors. Four specimens of it, all addressed to soldiers, have received particular attention. A booklet whose title may be translated "I'm Fed Up" is a handbook for soldiers who want to desert. One with the deliberately misleading title "Digest of Ballistics" gives instructions in the art of making oneself unfit for military service; it is alleged to have been written by medical students. A newspaper called The Soldier in the Mediterranean Theater, obviously printed in France for circulation among the occupation troops, appears intermittently to urge insubordination and peace. The first page carries a printed request to all Frenchmen "to hand this paper cautiously to a German soldier." A pamphlet entitled "Ten Commandments for the German Soldier" is another call to insubordination and desertion. One day copies of it were put in all the students' desks at the University of Leipzig.

All these booklets are described in an article in the St. Galler Tagblatt for March 25 written by an anonymous "special correspondent." This correspondent declares that a genuine German "underground" is gradually being built-quite a different thing from the fictional underground of the moving pictures and the propaganda journals. In general, stories about the underground should be received with a good deal of skepticism. By reason of their very subject matter they cannot be checked. The experienced and critical analyst, however, can tell by almost infallible signs whether a report is to be taken seriously or not. The test is a certain exactness of statement, an agreement in small details with already established facts. The article in the St. Galler Tagblatt impresses one as reliable, and is therefore worth quoting at some length.

The author notes first that opposition in act or in thought emerged in Germany only as the military situation began to deteriorate. An illegal broadsheet with the title "December Manifesto" was circulated in December, 1941, but at that time, with the German army standing before Moscow, it made little impression. A year later one called "Proclamation of the West German Peace Conference" had "noticeable echoes, particularly in the Rhineland and Westphalia," where there had been severe air raids. After Stalingrad came the well-known

"Manifesto" of the Munich students, which had a sensational effect all over the country. Illegal activity has been increasing ever since.

The pattern of resistance is like that in the occupied countries, particularly France. As soldiers of the occupation armies, as civilian officials in occupied territory, or simply as workers in close association with foreign labor, Germans have learned about the methods used outside the Reich—and are beginning to copy them at home. An organization much like that of the French maquis, according to this account, is now active in Germany.

In Berlin and Breslau, for instance, representatives of the *maquis* systematically provide food cards, civilian clothes, and all kinds of permits. In 1943 official reports listed 56,000 deserters, only a small number of whom can have succeeded in escaping abroad. All the others live illegally in the *maquis*, using the identification papers of people who have died or disappeared. It has become necessary to reinforce the military police in order to cope with the rising wave of desertions. . . .

Students have become the main figures in active resistance. This is interesting since most students are soldiers who have been sent home to continue their studies. Shortly before the big raids on Berlin a Nazi Party representative was prevented from speaking at a students' social evening, and the gathering was dispersed by the police. As a result of the devastating air attacks German state services are not functioning with their usual clockwork precision, and the maquis is seizing the opportunity to destroy the prestige of the "omnipotent state."

The Nazis are reacting to these signs of opposition in two ways. Some, the article tells us, simply sneer—and "point confidently to the numerous anti-aircraft turrets on squares and at street corners, which have been provided with openings toward the streets to be used in civil warfare. 'As long as we have these strong points,' they say, 'the people cannot harm us.'" Others take the matter more seriously and, profiting by the example of the underground, "declare that in the event of a German defeat they will themselves go to a maquis and make life unbearable for a successor government or the Allied occupation forces."

#### NO MONARCHY

The Overseas News Agency has distributed a story asserting that practically every Spaniard is ready to accept the monarchy and that I myself was engaged in Mexico in the task of winning Republican support for the restoration. In thirty years of journalism I have seldom read a more idiotic story. I was, I am, and I shall remain an enemy of the monarchy. I believe that its restoration would be a disservice to the Allied cause and an insult to the Spanish people.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

### BOOKS and the ARTS

### THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS

BY LOUISE BOGAN

THE modern detective novel originated in times physically, and perhaps spiritually, darker than our own. The roman policier was based on the invention, new and terrible to the French, of the political police, under Fouché and Napoleon. Later Vidogc, an adventurer born under the Old Regime, managed under the new dispensation to make a transformation in which the chaos of the period is summed up: he became Chef de la Sureté and used his criminal career as a basis for his position on the other side of the law. His "Memoirs," published in Paris in 1829, intersected the legend of the Byronic hero. Here was something new, a product of another social situation, the beginning of a new legend. Vidoqc appears almost immediately in literature as Balzac's Vautrin, Meanwhile, and following closely in the steps of actual spies and agents provocateurs, Eugene Sue began to produce, in the '30's, his series of roman-feuilletons, which included "Les Mystères de Paris" and "Le Juif errant." Jean Cassou has stated that the development of the roman-feuilleton and the creation of the social sciences is parallel. The secrets of "sordid and terrible Paris" were sought out, in the first, under the cover of darkness. The rich and the poor, the intriguer and his victim, were linked together. "The poor adventurer, the pariah, the carbonaro, the artist, the regenerator, the adversary of the Jesuits . . . these were the phantasmagoria projected by [the beginning of] the nineteenth century." They were symbolic of the strange desire that had manifested itself in the midst of chaos: "to pass beyond the political to the social revolution."

The earliest detectives worked by mystery and ruse rather than rapidity and force. Roger Caillois, in his intelligent study of the genre, "Le Roman Policier,"\* says that the detective is at first successful not through his logic but because of his disguises. He is, at the beginning, an inheritor of Fenimore Cooper, the infallible observer of the forest. The great city has become a new jungle, more dangerous than the solitudes of Canada. This pattern was soon abandoned, but it has returned in the spy and secret-agent stories of the present. But let us watch the closing in of the form, the development of "deduction," which at one point made the detective novel into an almost pure play of the logical faculties, a detached jen d'esprit.

This tendency toward rules was observed in the detective novel while rules elsewhere in nineteenth-century literature were being progressively rejected. The detective novel splits off from the surrounding anarchy of form. And within its closed universe Poe further limits its locale by inventing the convention of the locked room. The detective now has

\*I have followed the analysis of M. Caillois's "Le Roman Policier" (Editions des Lettres Françaises, SUR, Buenos Aires, 1941) very closely, I am also indebted to "Quarante-Huit," by Jean Cassou (Gallimard, Paris, 1899).

completely rejected his bloodhound role. He becomes the scientist "coordinating indices," the artist-priest astounding the world at large as well as his rather stupid human foil. The crime becomes as isolated from life as a chemical experiment. Rules to protect the reader emerge: "Give the reader an equal right with the detective . . . no supernatural or scientific marvels . . . no tricky architecture . . . no factors brought in at the last moment." And the acte gratuit, the novel and motiveless impulse, cannot function at this point; the diabolical machinery must work on the basis of accepted motives. Now, "the detective story must take from existence nothing but a frame. . . . It is not interested in passions or emotions except as a force to set the mechanism in motion. It is only interested in forming a complete and simple figure from incomprehensible and partial fragments. The novel attaches itself to the nature of man. This nature is a bother to the detective story, at this stage, and it supports it only unwillingly."

M. Caillois's analysis now reaches a crucial fact. Here is this new form, coldly opposed to everything literature stands for. But the pure exercise of the intellectual faculty, the detachment from emotion, the devotion of the detective to the penetration of "an artificial miracle"-all this is brought up against the unalterable convention that a detective novel must be based on a corpse. It demands a murderer-a person who has killed and risks capital punishment; no other sort of malefactor will do. And because of this anomaly between crude subject and skilled method, the detective story cannot remain a pure puzzle for long. "The cards must be shuffled." Suddenly "neither the murderers are real bandits nor the searchers real police." Variations multiply; here, in a late development, is Simenon's Maigret, a detective with a compassionate heart. "An obscure necessity obliges these policemen to make reservations in their role. They have a liberal attitude or a liberal profession. . . . They occupy a marginal place in regard to society, in the manner of the sorcerer or devil in the ancient tales who appears in the guise of a stranger, a horse dealer, a doctor, an itinerant merchant."

The closed circle begins to break. The puzzle begins to widen back toward the novel proper. Now the criminal has become anyone. "The most unexpected person" is now any man or woman, of whatever age or condition. And the elaboration of the setting becomes inexhaustible. Everywhere has become the scene of the crime. No situation, however sacred or cut off from life by money, power, or prestige, has been omitted. As in a fox hunt, every modern type and modern locale has been "blooded" by the detective novel. But the detective story has not by any means merced



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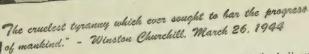


with the novel. It has, instead, drained off from the other form all its residues of "sensation." While apparently working with the most icy logical detachment, the narrative breaks off "complaisantly to recount scabrous scenes of cruelty or eroticism. The ambition of the intelligence is flattered while the appetite for sensation is satisfied."

The mention of death and dissolution has almost disappeared from modern middle-class and "folk" literature. The detective novel does not reject one detail of the macabre. And it openly accommodates fear and aggression, open or disguised. Certain authors specialize in the frozen will of the nightmare—or the neurotic symptom; their characters may not escape even if they could. The rat-in-the-trap, the spider-and-the-fly motifs recur. The baseless fears of the folktale or the psychiatric clinic are endlessly repeated. And the inveterate reader of detective stories can soon classify his reading into stories written by and for sadists, by and for masochists; into stories in which someone, under a pseudonym, is working off some obsession or perversion or fear that is sure to link up with similar aberrations in some reader. On a higher level we get a complete picture of paranoia in Kafka's "The Trial."

The obscure religious undercurrent in these dramas of sin and retribution cannot be overlooked. "One of the strange phenomena of the nineteenth century"-I quote a modern clergyman-"is the spectacle of religion dropping the appeal to fear while other human interests have picked it up." The Gothic novel that began in the late eighteenth century bore the marks of a broken-down, secularized, floating religion. It is the supernatural that intervenes. The trappings are Catholicism's ruined abbeys; the fumes are those of a Protestant personal hell. Ritual has dissolved. The detective story, on the other hand, has all the marks of a live cult, developing from primitivism toward complexity. The victim is always there, whether the sign of a brutal sacrifice or a more humane oblation. And the priestlike character of the detective was once very clear: Sherlock Holmes, in whose human reality many people believed, is the supreme example of this type.

"The present-day individual," writes a psychiatrist, "is more and more called upon to give up his aggressions. The repressed and therefore unconscious criminality of the normal man finds few socially harmless outlets: dream and fantasy life, the neurotic symptom, and some transitional forms of behavior. . . . " The break-through of the submerged unconscious, the symbolic struggle between good and evil-in the detective story we find a reenactment of these struggles. And the flight motif has returned, along with the tracking-down of-the-fugitive role of the official or unofficial police. Graham Greene, one of the most intelligent and exciting writers of the modern "thriller"-because his imagination seems peculiarly sensitive to archetypal subconscious themes-has recognized the role of the conscience in these dramas; he gives one book a title extracted from Francis Thompson's poem "The Hound of Heaven"-"The Labyrinthine Ways." And it is Greene who has stated that the history of contemporary society is being written "in hundreds of volumes, most of them sold in cheap editions"-the detective novels. The great and perceptive writers of the nineteenth century



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from George Eliot through Henry James accepted the material and announced the themes, striking out across the world of devotion to "progress" and bourgeois complacency. At the moment continuous and sharp attention should be paid to this vehicle, in which every rejected and denied human impulse can be accommodated, from the petty but terrible Schadenfreude (joy in another's misfortune), bred from the poorer native qualities of the human heart as well as from the pressures of a competitive society, to the larger evil schemes of power and ambition. The detective novel, now snobbishly cut off from the main stream of literature, reviewed flippantly if at all, may at this moment have within it secrets of what we are and shall be. And the future may look back to it, as it now exists, through great works engendered by it, as we look back through Baudelaire's poems to Sue's Paris, and back through Shakespeare to the crude horrors of the Tragedy of Blood.

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SCRIBNERS

### ANATOLE FRANCE: 1844-1944

BY ALBERT GUERARD

Et voici qu'elle se relève Du tombeau profond de l'oubli. O ma jeunesse, ô mon beau rêve, Ie t'avais mal enseveli.

T TOOK Victor Hugo seventeen years to recuperate from his funeral; I trust that after two decades Anatole France will rise "tel qu'en lui-même enfin l'éternité le change," transmuted by death into his essential self. All the minor graces, the pretty tricks, the smirks and naughtinesses that once delighted middle-aged sophomores have returned unto dust. We have forgotten the Living Classic, the Old Master, the bland Pontiff of Free Thought, who with ironical resignation allowed himself to be worshiped. What could he do, and whither could he flee? Touraine was no refuge; and the snobs, fawning and backbiting, would have beaten a path even to Shangri-La. We have forgotten the aged satur. sporting with red-kirtled Amaryllis in the Boulogne grove. We have forgotten there ever was a Brousson, exactly on a level with the Master's slippers. We have forgotten even that Anatole France "wrote beautifully of beautiful happenings," like the troubadour of Poictesme. How tenuous and remote the gossip, epigrams, and madrigals of vesterday appear. through the perspective of these haggard years!

Yet, merely as an artist, his place is assured. He was no weird Titan but a scrupulous craftsman. As such he will live by the side of good Théophile Gautier, definitely above the charming lyric acrobat Théodore de Banville, in the pleasant foothills of Parnassus; and men of gentle nurture will enjoy his urbane converse long after the vociferations of would-be geniuses have died away; for the still small voice need not be stern. But I am not jotting notes on Anatole France as a writer for some future textbook of literature. Anatole France did not work in vain; yet so far as the history of art is concerned, he might as well never have lived at all, for he created nothing. He combined delightfully Voltaire and Châteaubriand; ironical free thought, antiquarian curiosity, a gentle yearning for the past just before it mellows into oblivion. But Renan, not Anatole France, was the originator and the master of that exquisite and paradoxical blend. It was Renan who prepared "the purple shroud wherein dead gods repose."

The superficial charm of Anatole France is literary, and even bookish; his greatness, strange as it may sound, is of a moral nature. Half a century ago he would have been voted a decadent trifler, while Theodore Roosevelt, Rudyard Kipling, and Jack London were strenuous, red-blooded, twofisted he-men. Yet we are not sure how they would have stood the test of our times. They swaggered on obvious paths; compelled to probe their souls, they might have been bewildered, and veiled their confusion with bluster. We have no misgivings whatever about Anatole France. He was not the man to crave "a means of escape from responsibility, from the coherent, close-knit, waking self which has to make decisions." He was not "above the strife," like Romain Rolland; he did not profess, like Jules Romains, that synthetic "good-will" which is more than half mystification; he would have spurned the delicate equivocations of André Maurois;

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above all, he would never have sought sanctuary in the crypts of any dogma, national, political, or economic. He never shirked the burden of freedom.

He is with us. Read his "Histoire Contemporaine"; it is Vichy and the hesitant friends of Vichy that he denounced forty-five years ago, for the sorry triumph of Pétain is but the long-prepared revanche of the anti-Dreyfusists. By no stretch of imagination could you imagine him cooperating with the New Order of a crude and cruel fanatic; and you could not imagine him either doing obeisance to the Big Three for the sole reason that they are big. Clear-eyed and disenchanted he was, even cynical at times, but there are levels of "realism" to which he could not have stooped.

He was thought to be a dilettante, an epicure; when the test came, he never flinched. He served, modestly, even humbly, in unfamiliar, uncongenial fields. I have heard him address a Socialist meeting in a dingy hall crammed with rough men. This was no miraculous conversion. It was the author of "La Rôtisserie" and "Le Lys rouge" who, at fiftyfive, took his place among the fighters for truth and justice. He did not have to disown his career. It was his culture that had tempered, pointed, and sharpened his mind until it could seek unerringly, in the heaviest armor of prejudice, the almost invisible and fatal flaw.

It was, I repeat, the Anatole France of "La Rôtisserie" and "Le Lys rouge" who had trained himself, unawares, for the ordeal he stood so well. Frivolous to the frivolous, these books are examples of intellectual courage, a courage so self-assured that it needed no bluster. The smile of Anatole

\$**\$**\$**\$**\$**\$**\$

was the heir of the long "humanist" tradition, the one in which "the humanities" are but the vehicle of "humanity." He was "humane" like Rabelais, Montaigne, Molière, and Voltaire. And because he was humane, he who could furnish his ivory tower with the quaintest bric-à-brac never lost touch with common humanity, the people. He did not go to them with that apostolic zeal which is the noblest form of arrogance; he was with them all the time, and they recognized him without effort. It remains the undying glory of

France is not a mask and is not a weapon. It is the flash of

quiet triumph of the strategist noting the enemy's clumsy

move. It is irony, the art of agreeing with your opponent

better than he agrees with himself; irony, the hatred of all dogmatic, doctrinaire, and Pharisaic pretense. With irony he

summoned to his side pity: unfeigned, manly, active sym-

pathy for the torments, doubts, and frustrations of all men:

Crainquebille with his barrow, Bergeret poring over his "Virgilius Nauticus," Alfred Dreyfus at Devil's Island.

unkind to Anatole France. The wastrels of that dismal age

had found shorter cuts to freedom; taboos could be exor-

cised for a few francs in any dram shop. Just as their Philis-

tine counterparts, the Normalcy Boys, jeered at Wilson, the sophisticates railed at the "irony and pity" of Anatole

France. Yet, for a test, try to imagine a Germany, a Russia,

Anatole France did not claim superhuman stature. He

an America in which irony and pity prevailed.

"The sun that also rises" over the Lost Generation was

the common people in France that in an hour of stress they chose as their Führer men like Jaurès, Zola, and Anatole France. That people and that spirit are not dead. They lived in Léon Blum, dilettante, epicure, and martyr-Blum, to whom Baldwin and Chamberlain preferred Franco, while we were busy washing our neutral hands. When Paris is cleansed from Nazi and collaborationist slime, the spirit of Anatole France will be hailed again; and not only the Paris but the Europe of tomorrow will remember him with

## oices

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### Man Against Market

pride and gratitude.

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION. By Karl Polanyi. Farrar and Rinehart, \$3.

ALBERT GUERARD

HIS book might well have been prefaced by that magnificent quotation from John Donne in which Hemingway found the title "For Whom the Bell Tolls"-"No man is an Iland, intire of itselfe; every man is a peece of the continent, a part of the maine." For its theme is the continent of society and the erosion that society has suffered from an attempt to force upon it an economic system based on purely individualistic values.

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set of causes: the measures which society adopted in order not to be, in its turn, annihilated by the action of the selfregulating market."

The clash between the market system and the movement to protect men and institutions from its crudities has long been recognized. But as Mr. Polanyi points out, the apologists for laissez faire have been in the habit of ascribing all state interference with the automatic functioning of the market to a collective conspiracy of selfish interests. This charge, he argues, is absurd, and he cites in refutation the great variety of forms which the reaction against laissez faire adopted and the diversity of groups that at one time or another promoted it. In one of his most telling passages he quotes Herbert Spencer's attack on "restrictive legislation." To that Victorian diehard such measures as compulsory vaccination, the regulation of common carriers, the public inspection of food and drugs, the Contagious Diseases Act, and the institution of public libraries were anathema as attempts by the state to overthrow the "natural laws" of economics. Yet as this book makes clear, each of these measures dealt in the public interest with some pressing problem arising out of modern industrial conditions. Moreover, their sponsors, as a rule, were uncompromising opponents of collectivism.

The truth is that the effort to refer all economic matters to a self-regulating market was met by a spontaneous reaction. And this was particularly marked in the case of labor, land, and money, all of which the market system sought to reduce to the stature of ordinary commodities. One of Mr Polanyi's main arguments is that the attempt to treat wages as a "price," fixed solely by the forces of supply and demand, was totally destructive of social institutions. For it assumed that the worker was a man without ties, possessing complete mobility, who could always sell himself in the best market. Only the hobo fulfils these conditions, and a "perfect" labor market would mean a society of hobos.

The first spontaneous reaction to the paramountcy of the market was, according to this book, the Speenhamland system. This was essentially a plan for supplementing rural wages by payments from local taxes. Launched by the justices of the peace at Speenhamland, a small town in southern England, just as the Industrial Revolution was gathering momentum, it spread rapidly over a large part of the country. The results were disastrous, for instead of protecting the laborer from the rising cost of living the actual effect was to drive wage rates down and pauperize a large section of the working class. Moreover, to the extent that it did slow up the migration from the country to the new factories it served to maintain a supply of cheap labor for landowners and large farmers.

Mr. Polanyi does not defend this system: he exhibits it as a horrible example of the consequences of the collision between the market economy and intrenched social institutions. And in an acute piece of analysis he suggests that the situation produced by Speenhamland, the juxtaposition of a growing army of paupers and a rising industrial production misled the classical economists into enunciating such theories as "the iron law of wages."

The application of the market system to land and money, both social institutions rather than commodities, likewise produced a series of clashes which are discussed at length

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in this book. In the case of money, the gold standard made possible a self-regulating market and became itself a universal fetish. Mr. Polanyi's exposition of the ways in which nations, struggling to maintain stable currencies, sacrificed economic and political freedom to this fetish is not the least fascinating section of a fascinating and wide-ranging work.

In the space of a review it is not possible to do more than indicate the bare outlines of one of the most important and original contributions to economic thought in several years. I must warn the intending reader, however, that this is no bedtime book to be tackled with the brain half-asleep. It requires concentration, but it is worth it.

This warm indorsement is not to be taken as implying total agreement. On the contrary, reading this book, I found myself constantly questioning its interpretation of facts. I suspect, for instance, that Mr. Polanyi is giving too much weight to purely intellectual forces in the working out of the Industrial Revolution. Did the classical economists create a trend or merely rationalize one? Which leads to the question whether the social calamity in England for which this work blames the self-regulating market was not, in fact, an inevitable accompaniment of rapid industrialization.

Perhaps the answer is to be found in an analysis of the planned industrial revolution carried out in Russia over the past twenty-five years, at which Mr. Polanyi casts no more than a passing glance. There we had a conscious diversion of income from the workers for the purpose of industrialization under forced draft, a deliberate sacrifice of the standards of living of one generation for the benefit of the future, an intentional liquidation of social institutions which could in any way interfere with the over-all plan. True, the fruits of the resulting investments do not accrue to private persons. But the suffering involved in their creation has been no less real and is at least comparable in volume and intensity to that experienced by the British working classes in the first half of the nineteenth century. May I suggest to Mr. Polanyi that a comparative study of the English and Russian industrial revolutions might form a fruitful subject for a future book? KEITH HUTCHISON

#### The Web of Words

THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE. By Frederick Bodmer. Lancelot Hogben, Editor. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.75.

BEFORE undertaking to review this distinctly novel, impressively learned, generally entertaining, occasionally witty, sometimes tedious, frequently exasperating, too often opinionated, and probably very useful book, one ought really to devote the free evenings of the next six months to learning to read the principal Germanic and Romance languages by the methods and with the help of the abundant paraphernalia that Mr. Bodmer has supplied. Although it attempts and succeeds distractingly in being several things at once, the chief aim of "The Loom of Language" is to lighten the burden of learning for the home student. The test of the recipe is the pudding. Accordingly, it is by its practical usefulness rather than by its considerable power to inform, amuse, and even astound its readers that the book should ultimately be judged. Since the pro-

cedure I have suggested is not feasible at the moment, this review should be regarded as merely a provisional report.

'The Loom of Language' belongs to the same series as the widely known "Mathematics for the Million" and "Science for the Citizen" and has a number of characteristics in common with them. If you have encountered any of its predecessors, you know in general what to expect of itan alliterative title, a vast quantity of fact-crammed reading matter, a disarmingly friendly tone, a real faculty for clear exposition, and a promise, provided you cooperate diligently, to make you an accomplished linguist-at least, to enable you to read and perhaps to write French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish. There is a catch in it somewhere, of course, and it is an old, familiar one. No book, no matter how ingeniously devised, can eliminate the necessity of memorizing words and paradigms and of practicing their use unremittingly. Mastery comes only by drudgery.

Mr. Bodmer, however, believes that the amount of drudgery can be reduced materially. Many of the devices that he uses and advocates are no longer new in this country. For the past twenty-five years the tabulators of words, idioms, morphological forms, and syntactical constructions have been slaving faithfully at their unspeakably dull but useful tasks, and the results of their labors are now generally available for actual instruction. A full 160 pages of "The Loom" are devoted to three highly useful, intelligently compiled word-lists-the first giving English, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and German in parallel columns, the second giving English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, and the third listing the Greek words that form the basis of the modern scientific vocabulary in all European languages. Scattered throughout the book are a large number of tables and diagrams that put linguistic facts in their most assimilable typographic form.

More novel, and certainly questionable, is his contention that it is easier to learn several related languages simultaneously than to take them up one at a time. Many of us have humiliating recollections of our efforts to learn Anglo-Saxon and Old Icelandic, or Spanish and Italian, in that way; if Mr. Bodmer has discovered how to turn the trick, he will have conferred an inestimable boon on students. I hope he has done so, but this, as I have said, is only a provisional report.

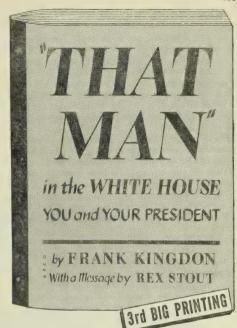
Mr. Bodmer is also over-optimistic, I feel sure, in his belief that a small vocabulary-approximately two thousand words-is sufficient for what he calls fluent self-expression in any language. Here I think he has misinterpreted the results of certain word counts and of C. K. Ogden's experiments with Basic English. No single conversation is apt to exhibit an extraordinary range of vocabulary, but in the course of a day an educated man engages in many conversations on a variety of subjects. That a word occurs seldom does not make it negligible. Basic English is a special technique of expression and not one that is ordinarily convenient to use. When Basic is employed to perform its more startling feats of communication, it becomes an exercise in perpetual definition, complex and cumbersome. Fluent self-expression with a meager vocabulary is possible only for halfwits, who have little to express, or for logi-

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cians, who can handle the defining technique of Basic and

But most of Mr. Bodmer's suggestions for overcoming the difficulties of learning a foreign language are sensible and acute. He places great reliance on developing "language consciousness"—that is, intelligent interest in language as mechanism-as an aid to learning. Of course, it will work, but it is an unusual person who develops it. The late Edward Sapir had developed his language consciousness to the point, I have been told, where he could master a new language in the leisure hours of a voyage across the Pacific, but he was the most brilliant and profound student of language of our generation. We are not apt to see his like again. Unfortunately, the tendency in education for a number of years has been to assail the study of language at every opportunity so that the idea that linguistics is dull and useless is deeply implanted in the general opinion. It will require a thorough reform of our educational practice to change matters.

Yet that change is pretty sure to come. For several generations Americans have been the most persistently monolingual of all the great nations. Separated by the oceans from Europe and Asia, with our only linguistic frontiers—with French in the northeast and Spanish in the southwest—lying in sparsely settled territory, we have been but dimly aware that other languages might be worth knowing. Now, however, that men have flown around the globe in four days, and that an electric spark, transmitting a signal, makes the circuit in a fraction of a second, our linguistic as well as our geographic isolation has vanished. Although the English

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language will in the immediate future be more important than ever before, fewer English-speaking people will find their native language sufficient for their needs. German, French, and Italian will probably lose some, though not great deal, of their current importance; Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and Chinese are certain to gain importance and prestige. Necessity will make linguists of us. "The Loom of Language," despite some serious shortcomings of method and of manner, is a book for the times by virtue of its intelligent discussion of linguistic problems and its resolute insistence that for the ordinarily intelligent adult there is no insuperable obstacle to the learning of several languages.

GEORGE GENZMER

#### Of Art and Morals

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES: ESSAYS ON BELIEFS IN POETRY. By Horace Gregory. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

THE miscellaneous papers, chiefly enlarged and revised book reviews, that Mr. Gregory has assembled here under so challenging a title are linked together, he tells us, by the fact that they deal with the success of various authors in using Achilles's shield as they confront this perilous world. The shield "may be taken to mean the degree of self-knowledge that a work of art contains to protect itself against what has been so often called 'the ravages of time.' The shield, then, seems to protect the author of a poem, reviving his name even from the deepest obscurity and offering through its example a protection for the reader. There is little doubt that Achilles's shield dazzled and disarmed his enemies; and if the shield may be said to contain a moral purpose in its creation, it was rather more than artfully concealed within the arts of persuasion that it employed." Armed with this explanation of Mr. Gregory's chosen symbol, the reader feels safe in exploring these pages for instances of the way in which self-knowledge served a company that includes Samuel Johnson, D. H. Lawrence, Lewis Carroll, and Paul Elmer Moore, among others as diverse in their personalities and their performance. If the adventure proves somewhat disappointing-for it is rarely that the beliefs of his subjects are made as lucid or as significant as one has been led to expect-one ends by forgiving a writer who ranges so widely and who discovers a sufficiency of entertaining and arresting matters in the course of his travels.

Mr. Gregory says not a few good things by the way. Sometimes these are offered, as a poet should offer them, in a happy metaphor, as where he observes, of the usual pairing of Keats and Shelley, that "names in close company, like coins jingled too frequently together, lose their faces, and in literary discourse many names are worn to faceless brilliance in the jargon of studious research and reappreciation." Sometimes he says simply what has oft been thought but ne'er so well expressed, as when he declares that "Poe was more frequently the master of artifice than of art." Again, he introduces shrewd comparisons, such as the seemingly unlikely one of George Moore with Sherwood Anderson, or nice contrasts, such as that of Alice, Lewis Carroll's Alice, with Wordsworth, remarking that the practical little girl,

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PUBLISHING COMPANY unlike the not impractical poet, "knew terror, but not grief." The essay on Alice and Wordsworth is one of the most stimulating in the collection. Here the author is fairly explicit as to his own demands upon poetry, asserting that it must always appeal to "our sixth sense, intelligence," and concluding with a statement of his requirements for the art that is full of interest. He would have it that the intelligence which enters into poetry is not merely "sensible of ethics" but also "of the devotional spirit," and since this is not the only passage in which Mr. Gregory pays his devoirs to religion, one could well wish him to be more expansive at this point. But just as one looks for ampler exposition and analysis, the author turns away, and the reader is teased by a sense of over-hasty dismissal. What is lacking here, as elsewhere in the book, is a sufficiently precise evaluation of belief.

But if Mr. Gregory does not quite succeed in his ambitious task of making clear just how well these men and women knew themselves and how this knowledge affected their art, and if he does not always compel agreement, he does show himself a thoughtful, discerning student of literature. He manages to avoid the pitfalls besetting the dogmatically social critics on the one hand and the preciously formalistic on the other. As his foreword suggests, and as the final essay in the volume makes plain, he inclines rather toward that scholarly and, in the best sense of the word. humanistic approach to letters so happily exemplified in the work of Edmund Wilson. And if he seems to plead for his saint rather too emphatically to make his own faith appear quite firm, and seems also, as befits so keen an admirer of eighteenth-century literary virtues, to be wanting in the enthusiasm that warms what it illuminates, his insistence on the moral implications of literature and on the obvious if not always recognized distinction between a vivifying humanity and a withering humanitarianism deserves attention. This emphasis is of special value in a period when letters are dominated by the man who runs, or more often flies, as he writes. BABETTE DEUTSCH

#### Islands and Mandates

JAPAN'S ISLANDS OF MYSTERY. By Willard Price. The John Day Company. \$2.50.

R. PRICE has long been unique among journalists as the man who actually visited the Japanese mandated islands and survived to tell the tale. He made his trip I should guess-he doesn't date it precisely-some seven or eight years ago. His record of what he saw and did in the islands is a truly engaging narrative in which a travel story is bolstered by solid fact drawn both from observation and standard reference works. The result is by far the best book on the mandates for the general reader, and it will be a rare specialist in Pacific affairs who won't find a great deal of value in it. It certainly complements and supplements P. H. Clyde's "Japan's Pacific Mandate" (1935) and Tadao Yanaihara's "Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate" (1940). Yet it still remains true that the full story of what Japan did in its mandate will not be available until the war is over and the hot passions of today have cooled. Running through Mr. Price's narrative is the conviction, shared by other writers, that Japan's remarkable job at developing the economic potentialities of the islands was disfigured and debased by the subversion of economic policy by the military expansionists. Mr. Price leans to the conclusion that public works like harbor development were consistently executed more in relation to military than to commercial needs. Certainly the League of Nations Mandates Commission long suspected as much, but lacking an inspection service it could not prove its point. In fact, Mr. Price's book is another illustration of the fact that remarkably little about the military developments in the islands can be proved in advance of their actual conquest and detailed inspection. Even the recent Japanese boast about fortifications really proves nothing, for it may be chiefly designed to reinforce a widespread American conviction. The current conclusion that Truk-brilliantly described by Mr. Price-is not supplied with any very elaborate man-made permanent defensive works may be found to apply elsewhere. What the islands have is a God-made military importance which the Japanese have fully exploited by the use of their naval and air forces. This does not preclude the possibility that many of the islands are liberally supplied with pillboxes, but vast forts may nowhere be found.

Mr. Price offers a reasoned defense of island-hoppinga generally misunderstood expression—as a preliminary to his travel story, and concludes with a prescription for the future. The latter involves, among other things, the return of all Japanese in the islands to the homeland. This will create an economic vacuum which the natives are hardly prepared to fill and which I find it difficult to see being filled successfully. A lapse in Mr. Price's reasoning is his failure to emphasize that the economic development the Japanese achieved was fostered by a protected market for the produce in Japan. It could not have been accomplished on the basis of free world competition. I do not see that a listing of the products of the islands will interest Americans economically, for many of the products, notably sugar, would hardly be welcomed here by the established suppliers. The role of economic interests in the achievement of Philippine independence-where political progressivism and economic reaction wanted the same thing-has considerable illustrative value here.

Nevertheless, Mr. Price has written a first-class book. I'd like some day to meet the Australian mentioned on page 10. He is a curiously ignorant fellow, rare among his countrymen.

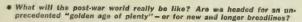
C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

#### M. Maritain's Aesthetics

ART AND POETRY. By Jacques Maritain. Translated by E. de P. Mathews. Philosophical Library. \$1.75.

MARITAIN'S criticism and aesthetics do not make from his scholastic language, with which the contemporary reader may not be familiar, but rather from the tension of his prose. Application will often elicit from his pages a high lucidity, but it does not seem to reduce the tension, which remains to tempt the reader with a promise of meanings beyond those he has already grasped. The chief cause

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#### A WORD ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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foreign and the public and the public utilities, coal mines, individualist,
struttional authority, Mr. Dunn maintains (and
proves in terms of simple arithmetic) that free
enterprise can flourish only if we solve, NOW,
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coming crisis. Mr. Dunn has achieved interdicated newspaper writer, lecturer, and author ARTHUR DUNN dicated newspaper writer, lecturer, and author of such widely noted books as "Thirty Million Tobs."

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of this tension lies, if I may hazard a guess, in the fact that M. Maritain, though he is in one essential aspect of his personality as much of a "modern" as any of us, must harmonize his modern sensibility and interests with his own religious and philosophical views. These two components of his personality call, if justice is to be done to the claims of each, for thinking at a deeper level than we moderns are forced to do, for we accept modern art, as we accept everything modern, as a matter of course. The result is that M. Maritain has achieved a view of art and a conception of its place in the scale of human activities far more serious and liberal than that which is to be found in the writings of the majority of contemporary philosophers.

M. Maritain is able to assign to art a high place in the scale of values because he conceives of man's needs and destiny in a much more serious, more exacting way than we moderns can ever do. No sentimentalist, no mere humanitarian bent on making life easier at the price of emptying it of its highest values, M. Maritain's understanding of human nature and his deep religious faith-which he would say are intimately connected-keep him from kneeling, as we moderns do, in indiscriminate worship of man. M. Maritain respects man. But he knows what we moderns do not care to learn—that man can achieve full human stature only by serving ends higher than himself. What function, then, does he think art can serve? He does not assign to art the highest place, of course, for as a Christian he reserves that place for saintliness, but he does rate it high because he considers it to be a means to express a radical spirituality. And the artist expresses spirituality by "informing" matter with the radiance of an idea. And when successful the result is a "creation," in a fairly literal sense, and in more than one place he tells us that the artist continues the work of the Creator. This is to say that art is not a copy or an imitation of nature. Hence art "does not make the mind conform to reality, but reality conform to the mind."

That we would disagree with M. Maritain when he insists that to establish fully the dignity of art it is necessary "to go back as far as the mystery of the Trinity," is not here to the point. He is a dogmatist and does not wince either at the word or at its implications. What is to the point is that we moderns are not able to assign to art as serious a function as he. We moderns claim to have liberated our humanity from the bondage in which medievals like M. Maritain insist in holding it, and claim thus to have discovered its intrinsic dignity. But in fact we have not really exalted man or his activities, but have, in the main, deprived them of their true worth. Hence the essential weakness of humanism and the triviality of its problems. Take, for instance, the current controversy as to whether art can give us knowledge of reality or not. The quarrel is about the function of art, about its dignity; and on one side are those who tell us that the end of art is the "expression" of emotion and not knowledge, and on the other those who tell us, in Mr. Tate's phrase, that the end of art is to give us "complete knowledge of man's experience." But neither of the two sides seem to see that the controversy is purely verbal and that it misses the really important question. For if those who hold that art expresses emotion degrade it to the level of that which it expresses, their opponents, in defending the proposition that art gives us real knowledge, are not defending anything radically superior, as they seem to imagine. For of what use is their knowledge, what do they do with it, except to show it off like strutting peacocks? "Ah, through it we grow, we realize ourselves," they answer us. Yes, but to what end? so that you may realize yourselves? Are you so blind that you cannot see that self-realization for its own sake remains sheer self-idolatry?

In the last essay of this new book M. Maritain carries forward his inquiry into the nature of poetry begun in the older volume, "Art and Scholasticism." And if I understand him, what he wishes to make clear in this essay is that the power of the poet is indeed, as we moderns say but do not really believe, a truly creative power, that is, a free and not a determined gift, since the poem states more than the experience of the artist from which it grows, bubbling, when it is true poetry and not the slavish imitation of the academician, from the very deepest levels of the soul. But there is much more in this essay and in this thin volume than my last few sentences would seem to indicate. The first part of the book is made up of three essays calling attention to the religious aspects of the art of Chagall, Rouault, and Severini. The second part, entitled Dialogues, is made up of notes of varying length, giving us an inkling of how arduous and sustained has been the struggle that M. Maritain has carried on with his contemporaries. Some of these notes will be fully intelligible only to those who are familiar with the French scene and its personalities. It is interesting to note that one of M. Maritain's most formidable opponents is Gide, whose talents M. Maritain obviously respects profoundly, but with whose ideas, of course, he disagrees radically. In the third essay there are ideas and suggestions, like the distinction drawn between soul and spirit and magic in art, which most of his readers I dare say will like to see elucidated at greater length. But there is nothing in this book, obscure though some passages in it may seem, that is dead. All of it is quick and exciting to the imagination and the intellect. For this seems to be the peculiarity of M. Maritain as critic and as philosopher of art, however "scholastic" in the disparaging sense his philosophical treatises may seem to the reader who does not agree with his assumptions: when he writes on art he seems to join to the subtlety of the thinker and the fervor of the religious man the full-bodied sensibility of the poet.

ELISEO VIVAS

#### Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH "The First Lady Chatterley" (Dial Press, \$2.75) is only a first version of the famous nowel which D. H. Lawrence wrote three times before he achieved the book he wanted, it is announced on the jacket as "an original and hitherto unpublished novel," quite without mention of "Lady Chatterley's Lover," and it is delivered to the public with a happy air of overthrowing Lawrence's own judgment as to which version of the novel merited publication. Esther Forbes, who helped bring the manuscript to light, writes in her foreword: "Obviously he was a born novelist before he grew a beard, read Freud, and set himself up as the Prophet of sex." This single statement, as

vulgar as it is patronizing, serves to indicate the fundamental difference between the first and final drafts of the Lady Chatterley story, and the reason why many readers will wish, like Miss Forbes, to disconnect the two versions of the book, with their preference all in favor of the first version. Sex—Lawrence's kind of sex—is perhaps even less popular today than it was when Lawrence published "Lady Chatterley's Lover." What he called the book-talking, book-thinking people prefer the class struggle, and the first version of Lawrence's novel buries in class conflicts the sexual theme which he was to proclaim in such full voice in the final version.

In broadest outline the two versions of the book are not dissimilar. In each Lawrence is telling the story of a woman who is married to a paralyzed husband and falls in love with a gamekeeper, but there is a drastic revision of detail and a profound shift in emphasis between the first and final texts. It is fascinating to read "The First Lady Chatterley" as the first step in the evolution of Lawrence's difficult idea. In several ways the first version is "artistically" superior to the third version: it is more economical, more visual, and wittier; it is also considerably less cruel. But clearly it not only subordinated but distorted Lawrence's sexual message and therefore had to be discarded.

The evolution of Lawrence's idea is best traced in the evolution of the gamekeeper. Even the name of Constance Chatterley's lover is different in Version 1 and Version 3. In the first draft Mellors is Parkin-an out-and-out proletarian, small, peppery, and ugly, uncouth to the point of cloddishness; when he loses his job at Wragby because of an ugly squabble with his estranged wife, he becomes a truckman in Sheffield and a Communist. In other words, the choice of sexual fulfilment would require Lady Chatterley to give up every educated taste and established value in her life. In "Lady Chatterley's Lover," on the other hand, the gamekeeper is personable, and if he is not a gentleman by birth, his sensibility gives him an air of breeding; his use of the local accent is not necessary, it is symbolic protest; his gamekeeper's profession is also a symbol, of the lonely man. Mellors's place in the social structure is conceived as classless, and it is his role not to threaten the security of the Chatterley class but to represent the power of sexual knowledge and completeness.

Now on the surface this transformation of Parkin into Mellors has the unpleasant look of snobbery. Certainly the promotion of the gamekeeper from a private in the last war to a lieutenant is hard to take; and we have evidence from his other writings that Lawrence was not untouched by snobbery. But he was a peculiar kind of snob. If he was attracted, as a man of his mixed background might well be, by the upper classes, he was at the same time fully aware of their dead ruthlessness. Conversely, although Lawrence had a tendency to romanticize the lower classes, he refused to blind himself to their deadness and their resentful idolatry of their masters. And so double a vision of society is an invitation to satire. There are moments in "The First Lady Chatterley," such as Constance's visit to the gamekeeper's friends, which are almost Shavian. Satire, however, was at odds with the passion in Lawrence's temperaJOHN DAY

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 ment, and as he worked on the Chatterley novel he evidently came to see that his class issues were confusing the sexual issue. The transformation of Parkin into Mellors is the transformation of the Lady Chatterley story from a Shavian problem novel which asks the unanswerable—and pointless—question, "Is the whole world well lost for the sake of sexual fulfilment?" into a thesis novel which asserts Lawrence's passionate conviction that without a healthy sexuality life is meaningless and can turn vicious. The rewritten gamekeeper also saves Lawrence from the fatal error he was always on the point of making, of supposing that sexual neuroticism is a blight to which only the upper classes are subject.

And the transformation, from the first to the third versions, of the character of Mrs. Bolton moves in a similar line of sexual logic. In the early draft Chatterley's nurse is only a harmless gossip, a woman who, because she had once had a marriage of sexual happiness, is capable of a great generosity toward Lady Chatterley. But in the final version Mrs. Bolton is not the passive object of Chatterley's infantile sexuality; she herself finds a complex and rather malign gratification in her unhealthy relationship with her paralyzed master. It is a cruel, disturbing portrait, but its insight is based not alone in sexual understanding but in understanding of the subtle way in which social motives can intertwine with sexual motives. Just as, in the developing study of the gamekeeper, Lawrence rejected class simplicities for human complexities, so also, in the development of the character of Chatterley's nurse, he rejected sentimentality for a frightening reality.

I do not think that in the ordinary terms by which we judge novels "Lady Chatterley's Lover" is a great novel. I think it is a great failure, as a thesis novel is very likely to be, even at its best. Certainly its cruelty diminishes its quality as a work of art, and even as a text. For instance, I have never understood why Lawrence had to paralyze the husband of Lady Chatterley. If Clifford were physically normal, his sexual inadequacy would be less melodramatic and much more relevant to ordinary life; and although Lawrence tries to show us that Clifford's paralysis is only the physical counterpart of a deeper inner crippling which antedates the war, the fact that he was a war victim necessarily makes us sympathetic to him, or at least makes us wish to protect him against Lawrence's relentless pursuit. And all along the line the book is marred by an unforgivingness of judgment-quite as if people are to be condemned for weaknesses which they themselves would well be rid of; it is almost as if Lawrence were fighting a personal fight against their tragedies.

Yet the lesser cruelty of "The First Lady Chatterley" is not enough to compensate for the lesser insight. If the novel in its final form is in many ways horrible, it is still the nowel Lawrence had to write—a fierce truth toward the end of a lifetime spent in search of truth however unpleasant. One thinks of Lawrence writing his heart out with all his novels, and in no case perhaps more than with "Lady Chatterley's Lover," and one wonders whether to be sadder for him that the Chatterley story was once read for its dirty words or that it will now be read because there are scarcely any dirty words at all.

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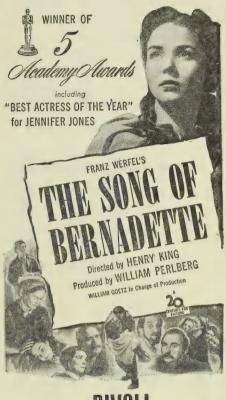
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#### DRAMA

ILLIAN HELLMAN, in her latest play, plunges into a discussion of what are known as vital issues. She is an experienced craftsman, and there is some deft writing in "The Searching Wind" (Fulton Theater). But the play fails for lack of the clarity of thought and feeling essential to both art and political analysis.

This defect is all the more glaring because the subject of Miss Hellman's dissertation is confusion in our time confusion which, on one level, make an appeaser of Ambassador Hazen and, on another, poisons the personal relations between himself and the two women in his life. The unhappy triangle is disposed of in the end by means of a rather glib and far too easy appeal to Freud; on the political side we get a tag line which is a simple-hearted, not to say simple-minded, appeal to love of country. Miss Hellman doesn't even plump for collective security.

Appeasement is the nominal villain of the piece. But it is only named, never examined; and Miss Hellman offers no alternative save the vague patriotism I have mentioned, presents no point of view on which to base a judgment or a choice. Ambassador Hazen's son, who has been wounded in

Italy, is bitter because his father is an appeaser, but his bitterness seems to be founded not on any real perception of the issue but on the remarks of his favorite buddy, a baker's son now dead in action, who had twitted him on the fact that his parents associated with appeasers. At the same time Miss Hellman's portrait of Ambassador Hazen is so full of "understanding" and compassion for his confusion that one can't help feeling that she at least forgives him. And finally what are we to make of the American liberal editor, the lovable old non-appeaser, whom she pictures, rather unconvincingly it seems to me, as retiring from public life when and because Mussolini takes power?

Miss Hellman reviews the rise of fascism and the triumph of appeasement in three flashbacks. The first two, showing the onset of fascism in Rome and Berlin, are well done, though both scenes are cluttered by the development of the love triangle, which goes relentlessly on right through the March on Rome, the German inflation, and Munich. The third flashback-which is less good but is notable for a delineation of a Nazi diplomat-deals with the Munich pact. I think there should have been a fourth one, commemorating the Soviet-German pact, but it is clear from the context that Miss Hellman is one of those people who assume that there is a moral difference, though they never explain why, between Chamberlain's attempt to turn Hitler east and Stalin's attempt to turn him west.

Because of her refusal or her incapacity to analyze the moral issues she has chosen to bring up, Miss Hellman has succeeded only in writing a confusing play about confusion—and since it does not really face issues but merely bandies them about, it is pretentious as well, in the worst sense.

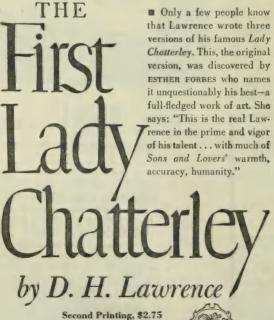
The only other of Miss Hellman's plays that I have seen is "The Little Foxes." She handled its neat, over simplified, and rather inhuman theme with skill and sharpness—she is very expert at the cruel, knowing line. To judge by the present play she is not up to larger human and social themes, though she can write adult dialogue and she knows how to construct a scene.

Dudley Digges gives a polished performance as the aged and peppery liberal editor, though the part is overdone, in both the writing and the acting. The best bit of acting is that of Arnold Korff as Count Max von Stammer—and the part is extremely well written. Mont-

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gomery Clift, as the son, wrings a great deal out of a rather barren part.

The two women as portrayed by Cornelia Otis Skinner and Barbara O'Neil hardly seem worth the attention lavished upon them—which is fully equal to that accorded to appeasement. And they are, in the bargain, badly dressed—to what purpose? Seemingly by direction the tension between them is held at such a constant high pitch that it becomes monotonous; and this forcing may account for an awkwardness and stiffness of movement. As for Dennis King, he is almost a burlesque of the diplomatic stuffed shirt—one finds it hard to believe in his passions.

MARGARET MARSHALL

#### ART

HE showing of Mark Tobey's latest paintings (at the Willard Gallery until April 29) deserves the most special notice. A man of fifty, Tobey has only comparatively recently discovered himself; yet he has already made one of the few original contributions to contemporary American painting. Like Morris Graves-whom he has influenced, it seems-Tobey comes from Seattle. He has a similar affinity with Chinese painting and likewise takes advantage of the carte blanche which Klee's example has latterly given to the graphic imagination. Tobey and Graves have also in common their renunciation of frank color. In the case of Tobey color is a delicate affair of pale tints, intensity being reduced by an omnipresent gray which filters every hue. Tobey's great innovation is his "white writing": the calligraphic, tightly meshed interlacing of white lines which build up to a vertical, rectangular mass reaching almost to the edges of the frame; these cause the picture surface to vibrate in depth-or, better, toward the spectator. Yet this seems little out of which to compose an easel painting. The compensation lies in the intensity, subtlety, and directness with which Tobey registers and transmits emotion usually considered too tenuous to be made the matter of any other art than music. And yet again—his painting is not major. Its mode, which consists in dividing and subdividing within a very narrow compass of sensations, gives the artist too little room in which to vary and amplify. It is obligatory that Tobey work to expand his range.

Those who question the capacity of

the twentieth century to produce final statements in art should see the cubist still lifes and collages executed by Juan Gris in 1916 (in the representative show of his work at the Buchholz Gallery through April 29). They are already archaic—in the best and fullest sense of the word. There is the same counterplay of the structural and the rhythmic, the symmetrical and the dynamic: monumental silhouettes in creamy blacks that seem to include the whole spectrum are counterpoised by the lyrical space between their edges and those of the canvas. Gris's best

cubism was synthetic rather than analytic—that is, he dissected his theme and only put it together again when new relationships between its parts had been invented. The reconstruction was usually embalmed under a heavy waxen finish which gave it an old-master look of inevitability and permanence. But much more than a finish is responsible for the old mastery of Gris's art. A picture such as the "Still Life with Collage" is the best touchstone I know by which to compare and assess the work of the ambitious painters of our time.

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#### MUSIC

ITH each new and greater victory of the Russian armies all that Stalin has to do is order a salute fired by a greater number of guns. But for his composer-laureate the task of producing a greater pronouncement each time is more difficult. After the halfhour of noisy commotion in the first movement of his Seventh Symphony what more can Shostakovitch do in the first movement of the Eighth? Certainly not more and noisier commotion; and so he reverses the process and fills the half-hour with slow melody which pushes and strains, and in which each sound in fact is prolonged and distended to the utmost. This movement provides the required opening grandiloquence; after that Shostakovitch can take things easier for two movements with the lively, grimacing hubbub of his natural inclination; in the fourth-movement passacaglia there is again the slow pretentious straining of the first movement, but this time only briefly; and in the finale, a pastorale concerned with the more joyous times of peace ahead, he can again fall back on lively hubbub and end this time not with a brassy affirmation of triumph but with tranquil major chords of the high strings over last portentous mutterings down below -almost exactly as Strauss ended "Also sprach Zarathustra."

In addition to what works of art communicate directly there is what they convey indirectly; and in addition to what Shostakovitch's music has "said" it has always conveyed to me as low-grade a mind and taste as I can recall having come into contact with through an artistic medium. In this the Eighth Symphony was like the rest; but it also gave me the impression-even at moments when it proclaimed most loudly-of that mind's utter and desperate weariness in the face of what was demanded of it. When each grandiloquent sound was being prolonged and distended in the first movement, it was as though that mind were trying in this way to de-

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lay as long as possible the moment when it would have to produce the next grandiloguent sound.

For a long time I have intended to report on an excellent article in the English magazine Horizon, in which Gerald Abraham, writing with friendly interest, examines the succession of Shostakovitch's works, describes their features of idiom, style, and form, and relates these to factors in Shostakovitch and outside him. I still intend to do so: and I will also discuss some of the other contents of the book "Eight Soviet Composers" (Oxford, \$1.50) in which the article has been published with other good articles on Prokofiev, Khatchaturian, Knipper, Shebalin, Kabalevsky, Dzerzhinsky, and Shaporin, and with a general introduction on the functioning of the composer in Soviet Russia.

The people who are victimized by a book like Abraham Veinus's "The Concerto" (Doubleday, \$3.50) have asked for it, literally. They are not content to take the individual form in sound as an individual form in sound, for the effect it was intended to produce on their minds and emotions as a form in sound; they insist on taking it as a fact in history—the history of musical styles and forms, and general cultural and social history. Nor is it merely that after listening to Mozart's G minor Symphony and being affected by it as a piece of music they want the additional knowledge of its relation to other symphonies and to the culture and events of its period; it is rather that they think they must have this knowledge in order to "understand" the symphony properly-when in fact they don't need it at all; and at worst they think that they listen to the G minor only to hear its place in the history of musical forms and its relation to the culture and events of its period. One can say they think this because they have been taught to think it. For one thing they have been taught it in the courses in "history and appreciation of music," in which, sometimes for lack of the insight with which to illuminate the music itself, the "appreciation" of this or that form has been made "a study of the development of the form that correlates it with concomitant social and cultural developments." And they have been taught it by everything they have read and heard-including most recently the pronouncements of the musicologists with an interest in everything about music except the music as something to hear and be affected by, and on the other hand the talk about Shostakovitch in Russia and our own little Shostakovitches here. One listens to a symphony to hear about the suffering and heroism of the Russian people, or about the bleak Kansas plains; and so one listens to Mozart's G minor to hear about eighteenth-century superficiality and artificiality.

But whatever the reasons the fact is that the public asks for books on the development of this or that musical form. On the other hand the fact is also that while it is the public which asks for them, it is Mr. Veinus who, in response to this demand, uses in "The Concerto" the technique he used in his Victor leaflets-that is, whips about two per cent of historical fact and one per cent of musical perception into a lot of glib verbiage about supposed "developments" of style and form which for the most part occurred only in his own mind, and which misrepresent not only the character and meaning of the individual pieces of music they refer to but even their style and form.

B. H. HAGGIN

#### CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT PARKER was head of the Eastern Europe bureau of the Associated Press at the time Hitler invaded the Balkans. He will soon bring out a book called "Headquarters, Budapest."

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C. HARTLEY GRATTAN has traveled extensively through the British dominions. His most recent book is "Introducing Australia."

ELISEO VIVAS teaches philosophy at the University of Wisconsin. He has contributed reviews and criticism to a number of magazines.

The Cross-Word Puzzle had to be omitted from this issue. It will appear next week as usual.

# THE Vation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 29 1944

NUMBER 18

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Assosiates, Inc., 20 Vessy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogy Building.

### The Shape of Things

THE GREATEST NEWS OF THE WEEK IS NEWS of an event that has not happened. From every neutral rumor factory and from the capitals of the warring countries come stories of the imminent assault on Fortress Europe. Observers piece together such items as the concentrated bombing of Nazi communication centers, the high spring tides, the removal of civilians from invasion areas, the unheard-of restrictions placed by Britain on the movements and messages of diplomats, indications of coordinated military actions on the eastern and western fronts. From these happenings many calculations have been made and announced. Their accuracy can be checked when the first Allied soldier wades ashore on the first Continental beachhead. But no one doubts that the attack will come soon or that the last phase of the war is about to begin. It is only the duration of the struggle that remains uncertain. Has the Allied command learned the lessons provided by the mighty Russian offensive and by our own experience in North Africa and Italy? The most obvious and urgent one is the necessity of operating on a scale great enough to prevent the enemy from regrouping his forces and moving them in to meet new thrusts. Ludwig Renn's article this week shows clearly how the Russians have accomplished this vital objective. Another lesson is the necessity of utilizing to the full the resistance forces inside each country. We failed to do this in Italy; indeed, the effect of our unhappy political strategy there was to neutralize the entire underground movement. Perhaps better plans have been made for cooperating with the resistance in France and the other Western nations. Unfortunately, such plans require political as well as military ability, and this is something our leaders notoriously lack. On the other hand, the anti-fascist forces in Western Europe are well organized, tempered, and bitterly determined—far more so than in southern Italy. They need arms-and the confidence of the Allied commanders. The length of the war and the number of Allied lives lost will largely depend on how much of both they get.

THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL Labor Organization at Philadelphia opened with a demonstration by the Workers' Section against the fascist dictatorship in Argentina. Under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano, Mexican labor delegate and president

of the Latin American Federation of Labor, the section voted fourteen to three in favor of excluding the Argentine labor representative, Luis Girola, and his advisers. Speaking to the press, Toledano indicted the Argentine government for its wholesale suppression of freedom, including the freedom of labor organization. It was not, he argued, merely one of those personal dictatorships common in Latin American history but a government based on a theory totally opposed to democracy. Moreover, he continued, it was spreading its poison throughout Latin America, creating a Western political front for Hitler. A minority composed of the United States, British and Australian delegates accepted Girola's statement that, while the Argentine unions had suffered some interference, they remain substantially free. Robert Watt, A. F. of L. representative, suggested that it might be unwise to probe too deeply into the question of how freely unions could operate under a dictatorship. That, he indicated, would raise doubts about the good faith of other delegations. This attitude is not quite consistent with that of the A. F. of L. in regard to the Russian unions. What is more important, and dangerous, however, is its passive acceptance of the dilution of the workers' voting strength in the I. L. O. through the admission to their section of totalitarian stooges.

x

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S LAME ATTEMPT TO get out from under the political disaster of the Miller letters is as fatuous as his original replies were stupid. "Sinister" seems to be a favorite word with the General; he "entirely repudiates" the "sinister interpretation" that his letters "were intended as criticism of any political philosophy or of any personages in higher office." This will come as a surprise to the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press, which welcomed the letters as such, and to any person who can read English. The General's letters to Representative Miller were certainly much more than the "amiable acknowledgments" he now terms them. MacArthur did not include, as a wiser man would have done, even a single phrase on which he could fall back to prove that he had not been utterly lacking in the respect due his commander-in-chief and the loyalty one expects in a soldier. The reaction of the Republican and conservative press indicates just how big a blunder Mac-Arthur has made. The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and even the New York Sun condemned or deplored the General's attitude. the Sun saying that as a politician MacArthur "belongs somewhere near the foot of the class."

\*

THE PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN London will have repercussions far beyond the bounds of the British Commonwealth. British pressure for a more closely knit empire has found expression in the speech of Lord Halifax in Toronto and the more recent

speeches of such polar opposites as Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, Mr. Shinwell urged that Britain seek its post-war markets within the empire and Mr. Churchill reminded the House that the Atlantic Charter had expressly provided for the continuation of a system of imperial preference. This emphasis comes as a distinct blow to those who thought that an inclusive system of multilateral trade agreements was a comparatively easy step in the direction of international collaboration. Britain's concern for its competitive post-war position is undoubtedly due partly to uncertainty about our foreign policy and our willingness to accept commitments after the war. Unfortunately, the solution it seeks appears neither realistic nor likely to lead to happy results. In the first place, it seems to run counter to prevailing trends within the Commonwealth. Our close relations with Canada have made us aware of its intense national consciousness and its competence to handle its own foreign policy as exemplified in trade agreements and joint defense and joint economic arrangements. Recent statements by the leaders of the three major Canadian political parties indicate little desire to follow the British lead and a solid determination to preserve the Commonwealth on its present basis. In the second place, moves toward a more centralized empire and a tight system of imperial preference will provide an excellent excuse for our own economic imperialists to swing into action. Prime Minister King of Canada was giving sound advice to us all when in reply to Lord Halifax he "rejected the idea of inevitable rivalry between the great powers" and stated that Canada would strive for "close cooperation among those great states themselves and all like-minded countries."

×

DRASTIC DEFENSE REGULATIONS AIMING AT instigators of strikes have been decreed by the British government in an attempt to check the wave of walkouts. There is no doubt that recent stoppages in the coal fields and shipyards have seriously affected production, but it is debatable whether the situation will be improved by police measures. If it were true that such strikes were mostly the work of professional agitators, jail sentences and fines might effect a cure. But while the Communists inveigh against subversive Trotskyites, no one familiar with British labor can believe that such elements are strong enough to play a role of real importance. It would be more realistic to seek a psychological explanation for most of the recent strikes. After five years of constant overwork on slim rations the British workers are now experiencing the strain of waiting for invasion and the climax of the struggle. When "D-Day" arrives we may be sure they will close the ranks, but meanwhile Labor Minister Ernest Bevin's order may serve to heighten irritation rather than decrease it. It is true that the order, while imposing penalties up to five years' imprisonment

and a \$2,000 fine for persons found guilty of fomenting strikes, does not prohibit the advocacy of strikes in properly constituted union meetings. But as Aneurin Bevan, M.P., has pointed out, this safeguard amounts to "liberty by license" and, in addition, contrives to put the rank-and-file trade unionists in the hands of their officials. Mr. Bevan's claim that the order should have been first submitted to Parliament will attract some support in the House of Commons. But the military situation will probably enable the government to avert any open rebellion among the members.

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS issued its program for the post-war period. It is in many ways an admirable document which manages to avoid the evils of abstract internationalism into which so much liberal and labor thought is easily betrayed. It pleads for "the transformation of the war-time alliances of the United Nations into an organization for peace" and insists that "unilateral action and regional understandings are valid only when in accord with measures taken by the General International Organization." There is, however, a curious emphasis upon the necessity of maintaining "free enterprise" which occasionally suggests that the document might have emanated from the National Association of Manufacturers rather than a federation of labor. One would expect to find labor more definitely committed to planning per se, though one may be gratified that labor also recognizes the peril to liberty in any overall collectivism. As a matter of fact on most of the specific issues the A. F. of L. program demands a great deal of planning and calls for all kinds of political controls of the industrial process and governmental guaranties of minimal standards. Why this pragmatic approach should be confused by an abstract and absolute identification of democracy with "free enterprise" is a mystery which a future student of our social history may find difficult to unravel. Or perhaps he will find in it the key to our major difficulties; for it reveals to what degree the dogmas of the owning groups have affected the political thought of all classes.

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OUR HATS ARE OFF TO OUR CONTEMPORARY the New Yorker for its definitive profile of J. B. Matthews, "director of research" of the Dies committee. Matthew Josephson and Russell Maloney are the gifted biographers, and the piece appeared in the issue of April 22. A paragraph on the semantics of the Dies committee cites the following useful syllogism: "No conservative is a Communist; most New Dealers are not conservatives; therefore most New Dealers are Communists." We recommend the piece to all our readers and, more particularly, to members of Congress.

### The Rules of Trade

THE Honorable Harold Knutsen, Republican minority leader of the all-important House Ways and Means Committee, is reported to have said in commenting on the new World Money Stabilization plan: "They deny, but not to my satisfaction, that if this super-world government is going to fix gold values, they will also have the power to tell us what our tariffs are going to be." It does not need a psychologist to detect here the normal fear reaction to the mysterious. The Representative, when he made his statement, had not had time to study the plan, let alone understand it. Had he managed to penetrate its unfortunately opaque phraseology and to translate into concrete terms its severely abstract ideas, he would surely have realized that its weakness is over-caution rather than over-ambition.

Certainly this proposal for an International Stabilization Fund, which has been agreed upon in principle by the experts of some thirty nations, suggests nothing approaching a super-government. At every point the plan defers humbly to national sovereignties. The strongest powers it proposes for the managers of the Fund are of a negative kind. If, for instance, a member state persistently buys more abroad than it sells, causing the Fund to accumulate an excessive amount of its national money. the managers may refuse to sell it other currencies until it takes steps to restore its balance of payments. At no foreseeable date is the United States likely to find itself in this position. What is much more probable is that if we continue, as for years past, to sell more goods and services abroad than we buy, the demand on the Fund for dollars will outrun the supply. In this event, the managers may apportion the supply and authorize member states to restrict exchange dealing in dollars with a view of rationing their own nationals. This step would, of course, tend to reduce the demand for American commodities. And while taking this provisional precaution, it would be the duty of the Fund to report on the causes of dollar scarcity and recommend a remedy.

Such recommendations might reasonably include proposals for a reduction of American tariffs since this would enable other countries to sell more goods here and thus replenish, indirectly, the Fund's supply of dollars. But it would still be the privilege of Congress to accept or reject the suggestion. The only power behind the management would be the force of public opinion, which might well express itself strongly if it were realized that the rejection of the recommendations could lead to a breakdown of the world monetary system.

There is a widespread belief in this country that we ought to expand our foreign trade after the war. Many business-men are looking to world markets as an outlet for surplus goods and a means of maintaining employ-

ment. Everyone recognizes that foreign trade cannot be safely conducted when money values fluctuate violently. Hence there is a demand, which this new plan seeks to satisfy, to anchor the chief currencies of the world firmly to gold. Representative Knutson would agree, we are sure, that the world should be made safe for American commerce. But we cannot expect to combine expanding trade and stable exchanges with a chronically favorable balance of payments. We must either buy from other countries the equivalent of what we sell or force them to fall back on exchange restrictions and barter.

Recent discussions in Britain of a sterling bloc, which have so alarmed some commentators here, do not mean that the British have turned their backs on the ideal of an expanding multilateral exchange of goods as envisaged in the Atlantic Charter. They indicate, rather, a search for an alternative method of maintaining that volume of trade without which Britain cannot survive, in case the United States insists on continuing to try and play the game of international commerce on the basis of purely national rules.

The proposals which have been agreed on in Washington as a basis for discussion at the forthcoming world monetary conference are an attempt to draw up new rules. They are not definite and they do not impose policies on any nation. But if they are adopted they imply a steady reduction of trade barriers everywhere. For we cannot begin to cure the disorders of the international exchanges unless we first understand, and act on the understanding, that trade is an exchange of benefits.

#### Labor and the A. T. & T.

THE American Telephone and Telegraph Company has always boasted of the wide distribution of its stock and implied that the company was virtually a publicly owned concern. But its management, using the proxies in its control, has just indignantly rejected a proposal at the annual meeting that its employees be represented on the board. The proposal was made by the United Telephone Organization, an independent union, which nominated its president and another union official for A. T. and T. directorships. On a democratic basis the employees of the company have a strong case for representation on the board, since they represent the largest single stockholding interest. Not even the largest insurance companies own more than 1 per cent of the 18,000,000-odd shares outstanding, but the company's employees, who owned about a million shares in 1930. still hold some 600,000 today, or about 3 per cent of the total. If the sale of stock to employees is to be a means of democratizing industry, as big-business apologists often contend, then we think A. T. and T.'s workers ought to have a voice on its board.

One reason why management is so strongly opposed

to labor representation was indicated when counsel for the union charged that 185,000 employees were discharged in the years from 1929 to 1936, while the \$9 dividend rate was being maintained. A labor representative would fight to maintain employment at the expense of dividends. The fullest employment practicable also means better service for the public, but aside from that the public interest would be served by labor representation. An example was provided by another union resolution introduced at the annual meeting, and promptly snowed under by management proxies. This was to discontinue negotiations to transfer A. T. and T.'s teletype, leased lines, telegraphic facilities, and (we understand also) certain communications patents to Western Union. Labor's primary interest in this, of course, is to maintain employment at A. T. and T. But this happens to coincide with a public interest in maintaining some vestiges of competition in telegraphic communications now that the merger of Western Union and Postal has been approved.

We don't know why A. T. and T. is willing to negotiate the surrender of this portion of its business to Western Union. We think that on investigation, and we hope the Federal Communications Committee will investigate the proposed transfer, it might be found that there were interlocking interests between the two companies and between them and certain communications equipment manufacturing concerns. It is also possible that there is a "gentlemen's agreement" not to invade each other's preserves. But we do know that Western Union, unlike A. T. and T., has been a very backward company technologically. The extent of this backwardness is fully and graphically set forth in the dissent which Clifford I. Durr of the FCC filed last year in opposition to the commission's order approving the merger with Postal. On the basis of the record, there is good reason to believe that Western Union might use its control of A. T. and T. facilities and processes merely to limit competition and to stifle new communications methods.

Commissioner Durr, citing the testimony of Western Union's vice-president in charge of engineering, pointed out that the company planned to take ten years after the war to instal reperforation equipment. This device is "now conceded to be obsolete." Not until after that time will the company "turn its attention to more efficient methods, which the witness stated are already available and proved to be practicable from an economic as well as engineering standpoint." The progress promised is at a snail's pace, and the snail's pace is at the expense of the public. Commissioner Durr compared the situation to that of a drayman "who promises to replace his old wagon . . . but refuses to buy a truck until his horse is too old for further use." Durr predicted that "he may well find that his competitor's truck has made his horse valueless long before ripened years have entitled it to retirement to pasture." To carry on Durr's metaphor, it would seem that the drayman is now anxious to buy the old competing truck and put it out of business so that he can continue to operate a horse and wagon profitably. The A. T. and T. union has demonstrated its public usefulness by calling attention to the proposed deal with Western Union. Fortunately, as Walter Gifford of A. T. and T. admitted, its consummation requires the approval of the FCC.

# Peace Terms for Japan III—Political

IT IS generally agreed that the military and economic clauses of the ultimate peace treaty with Japan will have to be strict enough to prevent any possibility of Japan recouping its strength for a new adventure in world conquest within the foreseeable future. But if the basis of a lasting peace is to be laid in the Far East, means will have to be found to bring Japan within the orbit of democracy. This will be facilitated if the economic peace terms are drawn in such a way as to facilitate a higher standard of living in Japan.

The political conditions to be imposed upon Japan are equally important. The Japanese are an extraordinarily proud people; they have long chafed under the smug attitude of superiority demonstrated by many Westerners. This aspect of Japanese psychology undoubtedly made it easier for the Japanese militarists to obtain general support for what was at best a desperate war against great odds. Unless strenuous corrective measures are taken, the shock of defeat will accentuate the peculiar quirks in the Japanese character. This can only be avoided if the political conditions of peace are designed to encourage the mind-healing democratic forces that until now have been crushed by the militarists.

Many people despair of a constructive approach to the Japanese problem because of the weakness of the democratic elements within Japan. Admittedly, they are weak, compared with similar forces in Germany or Italy. But they are stronger than most Americans realize. In Japan's last "free election," at the end of April, 1937, the Japanese people expressed themselves clearly as opposed to the militarists' aggressive program. A series of strong antiwar strikes developed in the Japanese munitions industries in the fall of 1941. Articles have appeared in the Tokyo press complaining that some Japanese were being "infected by American and British ideas." This may not seem to be much to go on, but it must be remembered that an overwhelming majority of the Japanese people, peasants and workers alike, have been ruthlessly exploited by the militarist-industrialist coalition. If we can destroy the bonds by which they are held in subjection, the political climate of Japan may change.

One of the most effective means utilized by the militarists to strengthen their hold over the masses is the doctrine of Emperor worship. By taking upon themselves the right to speak in the Emperor's name, the militarists were able not only to dominate policy but to make sure of wide-spread popular support for their imperialist program. The unique position of the Emperor in Japanese psychology is a factor which must be reckoned with in the peace treaty. Indignities heaped upon his person without ideological preparation would almost certainly fan the fires of Japanese nationalism and thwart all efforts to bring the Japanese people into the democratic camp. Some observers with long experience in Japan even go so far as to urge that the Emperor be retained as a stabilizing force in the Japanese political structure and that the required transformation of the Japanese social structure be made, as past Japanese revolutions have been made, in the Emperor's name. The objection to this proposal is that the whole conception of the Emperor as Son of Heaven is inescapably linked with the mystic Kodo (imperial way) which the militarists have used to justify their campaign for world conquest. If Japan is to be transformed into a peaceloving nation, the imperial myths must be discredited.

Obviously, this cannot be done overnight. Nor can it be imposed by dicta in the peace treaty. Nothing short of a thoroughgoing revolution can accomplish this task quickly. Nevertheless, it is essential that conditions be established under which the Emperor can be detached from the militarists, and the development of modern, progressive ideas encouraged among the Japanese people. As a step in this direction, Shintoism might be banned as a state religion on the ground that it sanctions a policy of aggression inconsistent with the requirements of peace. Properly handled, the discrediting of the Emperor cult, much of the symbolism of which is of comparatively recent origin, may not prove as difficult as many Westerners have believed. Many Japanese have indirectly revealed their doubts regarding it. Defeat should deal a heavy blow to the Emperor's prestige. And positive measures to bring Japan back into the family of nations would help to free the Japanese mind from medieval

This last is particularly important. Steps must be taken to restore a sense of dignity to the Japanese people. Once a democratic leadership has manifested itself, it must be strengthened by all possible means. The Allies must make it clear from the outset that a place will be found in the council of nations for a genuinely democratic Japanese government. If possible, special encouragement should be given to the trade-union movement. A democratic Japan should be given full and free access to the world's raw materials and markets so that it may provide a standard of living for its people that was never possible under militarism. There can be no guaranty that these measures will be successful. But the one hope of permanent peace in the Far East lies in this direction.

### The Shadow Over the Capital

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 20 EPRESENTATIVE COX of Georgia is no longer chairman of the Special House Committee Investigating the Federal Communications Commission, and Eugene L. Garey is out as counsel, but these changes do not seem to have made much difference in the committee's approach and tactics. The questions asked Mrs. Hilda D. Shea, former chief of the Special Studies Section of the FCC's War Policies Division, deserve attention. Harry S. Barger, the committee's new counsel, seems to be carrying on in the Garey tradition. Garey is a partner of Liberty Leaguer Raoul E. Desvernine, and was counsel for I. G. Farben interests and allies in several suits designed to keep General Aniline and Film from American control. Garey appeared to think it one of his duties to find out which employees of the FCC were Jewish. Barger's questions were designed to elicit the fact that Mrs. Shea's maiden name was Jewish and that her father was a Russian immigrant. This information would, of course, be highly relevant in a Nazi court. Barger ought to go back where he should have come from.

Mrs. Shea was called upon to deny that she was a Communist or Communist sympathizer, but she admitted -sit tight for a horrendous revelation!-that while enployed as an attorney by the National Labor Relations Board she received a letter from Mrs. Beatrice M. Stern, an NLRB division chief, asking her to support Labor's Non-Partisan League. Barger pointed out that the league was sponsored by the C. I. O., which he no doubt regards as a subversive organization, but with striking forbearance made no reference to the fact that the league was equally notorious as a labor-front group designed to reelect F- D- R- Mrs. Shea was also asked whether she belonged to the National Lawyers' Guild, but she said she didn't. Barger disclosed that the guild had been described as a Communist-front organization. I can't imagine what Barger will be discovering next.

Barger is not a very funny joke. He and his committee are only one of the agencies fouling the air of Washington and making the city unlivable for progressive government employees. We have just seen the Dies and Kerr committees drive from public life so fine and honorable a man as Robert Morss Lovett. I note that Lovett, who is incorrigible, has just been reelected a vice-president of the League for Industrial Democracy, along with such other subversives as John Haynes Holmes, Alexander

Meiklejohn, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell. Their careers may be found-fully set forth in Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling's "The Red Network." While Mrs. Dilling is on trial for sedition, her faithful readers seem to be carrying on quite nicely at the Capitol.

It is not entirely irrelevant at this point to take note of the address delivered this week by J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, before the annual meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution in New York. Hoover's principal animus, in the frankest speech this old hero of the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press has permitted himself in several years, was aimed at "militant, self-seeking, loudly vocal groups of muddled emotionalists, parlor pinks, fellow-travelers, and avowed Communists." Hoover said the FBI keeps strictly out of politics. But at the beginning of a Presidential campaign one may wonder just what political movement was identified with Hoover's words by the good ladies of the D. A. R., who have long suspected the President and the New Deal of the worst.

I wonder what the ladies thought Hoover meant when he attacked "superficial sugar-coated panaceas that are neither democratic nor defensible"-these ladies who voted a resolution urging Congressmen to oppose passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for compulsory federal health insurance. I am revealing no secrets when I report that the press corps here thought of pro-Roosevelt PM when Hoover criticized as "irresponsible" those editors who "not only proclaim their personal views but urge their readers to wire or write their demands urging this or that action." Had the wicked editors been named they would have grounds for libel action in Hoover's next sentence, "The fascist-minded tyrant is no different from the native-born communistic-minded corruptionist." If all this isn't sly dabbling in politics, the dictionary must have been revised since I last looked at it.

This revived appearance of n way of thinking some people hoped J. Edgar Hoover had outgrown is a serious matter for the post-war period. The FBI will be in part responsible for the enforcement of New Deal legislation for the protection of labor's right to organize. It cannot function effectively if it is to be operated in political illueracy and obscurantism, and the way in which it does comport itself may play a crucial role in the readjustment of our society to peace-time conditions. "The guaranties which the Constitution throws around civil liberties,"

the La Follette committee said in the first of its great reports on employers' associations and collective bargaining in California, "are neither pious declarations nor archaic echoes of the historic past; they are the ground plan for the healthy functioning of an industrial society. Their infraction will shatter our democratic society upon its internal conflicts; their fulfilment will enable it to achieve a strength and unity which no domestic or foreign enemy can challenge."

Before the war the FBI had become the top agency and in many ways the national coordinator for local and state police activities, and these were often aimed at the suppression of labor's rights. How the local and state authorities operated in California is dramatically set forth in the La Follette committee's latest report, Part VIII of the California series. This deals with the Associated Farmers and warns that "there is good reason to believe that the pattern of California in the years 1935-39 is the pattern for the United States today or tomorrow." It points out that from the days of Greece and Rome to "the struggles in Eastern Europe after World War No. 1, the relationship of men to the land they worked and to the fruits of their labor has been the nub of endless tyranny and conflict." It recalls "the participation of the landed Junkers in Hitler's rise to power, the place of the large landholders of rich Italian valleys in the vanguard of Mussolini's early maneuvers, the support of fascist rule in Spain and Hungary by similar groups."

These lessons, the La Follette committee says, "cannot be ignored." Agriculture is a major form of livelihood

for the American people. California is the state which exhibits most clearly what may happen as large landholdings increase, as agriculture becomes more scientific, and as it develops into a big business rather than a way of life: "It is inevitable that the pattern set for employeremployee relationships in agriculture in California, if retrogressive, reactionary, or semi-fascist in tone, will be a great blow to the cause of economic democracy." Before the war, as the report shows, state and local police in California were often so closely interlocked with employer associations and their labor spies and provocateurs as to seem part of one great machine for the oppression of labor, agricultural and industrial. The Associated Farmers itself owed its financing largely to the California Packing Corporation and the Industrial Association of San Francisco; local and state police, hired thugs and vigilantes did the dirty work. Some of the principal police characters, such as "Red" Hynes of Los Angeles, who was paid \$6,727.40 by the Associated Farmers from February, 1935, to May, 1937, exchanged information with the FBI.

If there is any hope of carrying over into the post-war period the better employee-employer relations developed during the war, much will depend on the FBI and the Department of Justice and their influence over local and state police. Much will also depend on the spirit prevailing in Washington, and especially in Congress. Among many business men, in California, here, and elsewhere, there are signs of a new spirit that is most encouraging. But I cannot report the same of official Washington.

### How the Red Army Wins

BY LUDWIG RENN

Mexico City, April 10

THE Russian offensive that began last winter has political as well as military objectives. The political aim is to free the satellite countries from German domination; the military, to get into position for an attack on Germany itself. The strategy of the Russian general staff enables Russia to hold its reserves in readiness near Moscow and at the same time forces the Germans to scatter their reserves so that they are not available in large numbers to repel an attack at any point. Stalin is trying, especially, to draw the Nazi reserves toward the northern and southern ends of the front.

The Red Army is able to follow this strategic plan because the country behind the Russian lines is a plain over which a network of railroads and highways is spread pretty evenly, whereas the country behind the Nazi lines presents three great obstacles to transportation and communication. In the center are the Pripet Marshes, a hundred miles wide and a hundred miles deep; in the north is the Gulf of Finland, separating Finland from Estonia; in the south is the great horseshoe of the Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps. Under the limitations imposed by these facts of geography, the main Nazi communication and transport system runs northward from Warsaw in a corridor between the battle front and the Baltic Sea, and southward in another corridor between the battle front and the Carpathians. Thus it is possible for the Red Army, by parallel thrusts on both sides of the Pripet Marshes, to threaten both the communications leading from the extreme northern wing in Finland and Estonia through Poland into Germany, and those leading from the southern wing on the Black Sea through Bucharest, Budapest, and Vienna into Germany.

Correspondents never tire of repeating that if the rail-

roads running northeast through the Carpathians were cut, the Nazi armies in the south would have no means of retreat. Actually, however, the most important effect would be to make the transportation of German reserves, most of which are in Poland, slower by days or even weeks. Faced with this possibility, Hitler may feel compelled to divide his reserves into two parts, one in Poland and one in Hungary and Rumania. In that case he would, indeed, have a better distribution of reserves near the front, but those in the south would be unable to help those in the north, and vice versa; whereas Stalin is able to move any part of his reserves quickly to any part of the front.

One of the favorite strategic devices of the Russian general staff is to force Hitler to move ever-increasing numbers of troops on ever-diminishing railway facilities; as a result it frequently happens that by the time the Nazi reinforcements arrive on the field the battle is already lost-the cannon and other heavy arms abandoned, the beaten troops in full flight. The Russians do this by attacking alternately north and south of the Pripet Marshes. Thus in the first months of last winter they exerted pressure exclusively in the south; then at the turn of the year they suddenly attacked with great force in the north, wiped out the powerful Nazi army besieging Leningrad, and rolled southwest to Grenz and Pskov. Hitler's troops were driven halfway to the Baltic before they were able to make a stand. The northern corridor was cut down to half its former width, and the next attack in this sector will probably close it altogether.

Principal Railways

Boundaries, 1941

Previous Boundaries

Major Railways

Major Railways

SETHONIA

SETHONIA

Boundaries, 1941

Previous Boundaries

Major Railways

SETHONIA

SETHONIA

Boundaries, 1941

SETHONIA

Boundaries, 1941

SETHONIA

SETHONIA

BOUNDARIA

BOUNDARIA

BOUNDARIA

BULGARIA

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

BULGARIA

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

BULGARIA

GRAPHIC ASSOCIATES

At present the Russians are attacking with ever-increasing force in the south.

This southern offensive marks a departure from the methods used up to now. In all previous campaigns two armies were united under one leader-under an attacking general such as Zhukov, Konev, or Vatutin. This time, however, there seem to be three double armies moving in close coordination under one command. Their purpose, now that they have squeezed the Nazis into a narrow corridor on the southern front, is apparently to make them transfer troops back and forth behind the lines as much as possible. Since the north-south trains and trucks carrying reinforcements from one part of the front to another cross the routes of the east-west trains and trucks bringing up reserves, the resulting confusion is almost unbelievable. In the face of this three-pronged Russian attack, the Nazi reserves and reinforcements have almost always arrived too late.

The most sensational part of the campaign thus far has been General Konev's drive in one week across the Bug and Dniester rivers, where the Nazis must have prepared strong defenses. Already the most important railroad east of the Carpathians, the Warsaw-Odessa line, has been cut, and by the time this article appears in print the Russians will almost certainly have captured the last highway in the southern corridor. The Red Army has also pushed on into Hungary and Rumania, and panic has resulted in both countries.

But just as the correspondents were wrong in predicting that the Nazi armies in the Ukraine would have to surrender, so they were wrong in predicting that Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria would sue for peace. No one seems to have asked how these countries could do such a thing. Could Hitler possibly allow Hungary to back out of the war now that the southern corridor is lost and the supply line for the southern armies must run through Budapest? Could he permit the Bulgarians to make peace and place their railroads at the disposal of the Russians? Then the Red Army could cross the Black Sea, roll through Bulgaria to join hands with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, and establish a Balkan front almost a thousand miles long, stretching northward through Rumania, Hungary, and Austria. To forestall such a development, Hitler has occupied Hungary, Slovakia, and Rumania-to whatever extent they were not already occupied.

The Russian victories in the south have had great political as well as military consequences. When Hitler occupied the Balkan countries, he had to send many divisions into them. This did not weaken his reserves as much as may have been thought, for the occupation troops were also used as fighting reserves. But of course these reserves are many miles away from the northern front and from France. The occupation, moreover, has weakened the position of Hitler's friends in the satellite coun-

tries. Hitler never had any sympathizers among the workers and peasants of the Balkans; now he is losing the nationalists and militarists too. It is quite possible that the nationalist officers of the Balkan armies will sabotage Hitler's war or even go over to the Russians with their troops.

What can be expected in the immediate future on the Russian front? The Soviet armies in the south will probably keep up their pressure, seeking to draw large contingents of Hitler's reserves down to the Black Sea. Meanwhile, the northern Russian armies are accumulating heavy siege material. Soon we shall see another drive in this sector, as they try to push on to the Baltic Sea, overrun the northern corridor, and isolate Finland. Heavy losses of men and material will be suffered, but there is no other way to win a war. The disappointing results of British and American operations in Italy have demonstrated that.

The landing at Nettuno, between Cassino and Rome, was intended to cut a railroad and encircle a large force of Nazis. But apparently the whole action was planned on a miniature scale, in order to risk as few losses as possible, and so it failed. It didn't even cause the Nazis to send a large number of troops into Italy. Such actions always fail if they are carried out too cautiously. In the east the war is being conducted on a large scale and with an energy that must be frightening to Hitler; in the west it is confined to local actions, on separate fronts, without coordination.

If the Western Allies attack France in the same cautious manner, Hitler will be able to stop them with occupation troops already there. But if they attack in great strength he will have to draw on his reserves elsewhere. At the same time he will have to use more occupation troops to guard against a French uprising, just as he has been forced to do in the Balkans. The Red Army is making it very difficult for Hitler to transport his reserves from one part of the eastern front to another. If a big second front should develop, he would be further hampered by the necessity of moving troops from Poland to France. Then the Red Army, in its accustomed manner, could force him to scatter the rest of his reserves, after which it would be in a position to liberate the Balkan countries.

The First World War was won only when the three fronts—in France, around Salonika, and in Palestine—were coordinated. And only by coordinating the eastern and western fronts can the Allies liberate the Bulgarians, the Austrians, and the wavering Turks from the Nazis. If, for example, the Allies gave Tito really substantial help, it would be possible to establish good coordination between east and west. But in order to bring this about we must get rid of the widespread delusion that Hitler's Wehrmacht can be defeated without serious losses on our side.

#### 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ANY PEOPLE UNDERESTIMATE the German Nazis. National Socialism represents much more than an anti-Jewish movement. Nazis are not mere "political gangsters and racketeers." They have principles. They even have a philosophy. . . . An official summary of [the Law for the Regulation of National Labor] states that "the basis of the new social constitution is the factory. The 'leader' (Führer) of the factory is the owner. He decides on all factory matters. . . . The following must show its leader the loyalty which is founded on the factory community." The manufacturer has become a Führer, and the workers are his faithful "following." This is the socialism of the National Socialists. It would not be very difficult to convert every capitalist in the world to such socialism.—LOUIS FISCHER, April 4, 1934.

FOR SOME ODD REASON, the activities of newspaper workers do not seem to constitute news of equal value with those, let us say, of newspaper publishers. Nevertheless, the American Newspaper Guild continues to grow with amazing speed.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, April 4, 1934.

THANKS TO THE INDISCRETIONS of Senator W. T. Thayer of the New York Legislature, it looks as if some of Governor Lehman's bills for the better control of public utilities might be enacted into law. Any legislator who opposes them will be in the unenviable position of having to explain to his constituents how much he got and from whom. . . . For years the legislative committees at Albany have been graveyards for measures intended to curb the rapacity of utility companies, and the fact that Mr. Thaver is a member-was until recently chairman-of the Senate Public Service Committee may be explanatory. It is a commentary on contemporary civilization that although the insignificant Thayer has been bombarded with questions and is threatened with impeachment, nobody has said boo to the Associated Gas and Electric Company. That it should be engaged in bribery and bilking the public seems to be regarded as normal procedure.-April 11, 1934.

THE PRESENT FRENCH internal situation is so much to the advantage of certain foreign powers that it would not be surprising if they had done something to foment the agitation.—ROBERT DELL, April 18, 1934.

IT IS GENERALLY CONCEDED that the swellest party of the year—indeed, the most handsomely mounted social event since the war—was the reception given by the Soviet Ambassador and his wife to the elect of Washington... If there was a delegation from the American Communist Party, it must have come disguised in tails and white vests, because its presence was not remarked.... The Czar's monogram commanded one room, the bust of Lenin another, and in between, the representatives of the people—of two peoples, in fact—walked about in tails and had a good time. No bombs were thrown.—April 23, 1934.

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### Yankee Dollars Fight Hill

BY EDGAR M. STEED

Montgomery, Ala. HE Democratic primary to be held in Alabama on May 2 to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate might be expected to be simply a family contest between conservative Southerners, with little or nothing of importance at issue. Yet the campaign to unseat Senator Lister Hill, the Democratic whip, by defeating him in the primarynomination being tantamount to election—is a complex affair involving Northern domination of Southern industry, the Farm Bureau's failure to represent small farmers, and the hope of racial cooperation in Alabama.

The current view of the South as the home of reaction is based upon the fame of the Harry Byrds, Cotton Ed

Smiths, and Lee O'Daniels—men who, outside the South, would be more comfortable as Republicans. It is not generally realized that these Democratic voices from the last century are opposed by other Democrats, such as Senators Lister Hill of Alabama and Claude Pepper of Florida, and Representatives Brooks Hays of Arkansas and Lyndon Johnson of Texas, whose records, in comparison with those of the total representation in Congress, classify them as liberals.

The junior Senator from Alabama is one of a dwindling number of members of Congress who have never apologized for the social advances of this country since 1933. Invited to address the Alabama Legislature in 1943 soon after Senator O'Daniel had spoken in the same chamber, Hill made a fighting speech in support of the original New Deal objectives and of the President. He is a long-time friend of the TVA, having worked closely with Senator Norris in bringing that old warrior's dream into existence. His latest service to the TVA was his leadership of a fight against the crippling proposals offered by Senator McKellar of Tennessee, who has long had a feud with TVA Director David Lilienthal, Supporting the aggressive program of the Rural Electrification Administration in Alabama, Hill earned the active enmity of the Alabama Power Company, a subsidiary of Commonwealth and Southern, and he has never asked for quarter. While he has not opposed the Alabama Farm Bureau, an organization dominated



by the Alabama Extension Service and chiefly representative of the larger landowners, he refused to help destroy the Farm Security Administration, the small farmer's hope, and thereby offended certain powerful figures in the Extension Service.

These farm-organization politicians have been courted assiduously in recent years by the Birmingham industrialists grouped in the Associated Industries of Alabama, for the definite purpose of breaking the succession of liberal state leaders—Hugo Black, the the late Governor David Bibb Graves, and Senator Hill. It has been the industrialists' idea that if the long-existing antipathy of Alabama farmers to the money dominance of Birming-ham could once be broken, the two

groups together could hold down labor, reduce to subservience the educated group, a powerful political factor in the state, control the legislature, cut corporation taxes, and generally make Alabama an even more profitable field of investment for Northern capital.

Whether or not this desired union has actually been accomplished, the two groups got together to produce a candidate to run against Hill. Many Alabamans, knowing Hill's sound record, his Senate prominence, and his great popularity with education and labor groups and dirt farmers, doubted that he could be successfully opposed. But the heavy industries of Birmingham, dominated by the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel, joined with the Roosevelthating Farm Bureau clique to put into the race state Senator James A. Simpson of Birmingham, a prominent corporation lawyer.

Simpson's interest in the office was nothing new, but he had hoped to run against some lesser man than Hill. His friends, however, insisted that he had a good chance in 1944, when they could back him with their warswollen profits and appeal to popular resentment against war-time restrictions and petty privations.

Jim Simpson is a big, hard-working, likable fellow, just the sort of man that smart business executives hire as their legal representative. He is only a mediocre speaker, but there is a solid sincerity in his manner that wins friends. In the state Senate he made himself known

as the advocate of a civil-service system and of other manifestations of "good government." He cannot compete with Senator Hill in personality, in record, or in state connections, and yet it must be admitted that he does have a chance. This chance is based on one ugly factor, as his backers well know.

In his opening speech on December 10 in Mobile Simpson gave a restrained forewarning of his campaign line by saying, "Alabama knows how to handle the racial problem and should be permitted to do so . . . just as New York and other states should have the right to take care of the problem in their own way." That was the start of an appeal to racial antagonisms that has developed more bitterness with each week of the campaign. By February 20 Simpson's big newspaper advertisements were shouting:

Delicate racial relationships peculiar to the South are being disrupted by radical agitators who are seeking to use the war as a lever to overthrow our social structure and ram social equality down our Southern throats... Mine will be a positive voice in the Senate that will stand guard, speak out, hold the line against troublemakers on the outside who seek to destroy our time-tested segregation principle and tear down established traditions.

Seeking by such implications to establish Hill as a supporter of the "radical agitators," the Simpson men with their plentiful expense money are riding the highways to get out the vote for their candidate. In March the Greensboro Watchman, a weekly published by a former Socialist who now bases most of his editorials on the experiences of Reconstruction, put out a big "special edition" containing pictures of Mrs. Roosevelt among Negroes and a preview of what an Alabama schoolroom would look like if Lister Hill, as the editor feared, was able to introduce mixed education into the state. Copies of this paper and others like it are being thrown into every crossroads store.

It is a nice paradox, this exploitation of racial bigotry by Yankee absentee ownership to defeat a genuine Southerner who thinks in terms of the present. Hill was born forty-nine years ago in Montgomery, the son of Dr. L. L. Hill, a physician known throughout the South. Though he advocates racial cooperation and fair dealing, the record reveals no variation on his part from Southern belief in the wisdom of segregation. His opponents can impugn his position on the race question only by attacking his loyalty to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his refusal to countenance any defamation of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Thus far Hill has declined to accept the Negro as a real issue in the campaign, but in the face of so well-organized and vicious an effort to misrepresent his views, he probably will answer, and he may give ground. If he is forced to descend from the high level to which he has held thus far, the part played by investment dollars from the "enlightened North," seeking still tighter control over Alabama's natural resources, should be understood and remembered.

### Five Against Pepper

BY ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE

Winter Park, Florida

PERHAPS the most crucial of the Southern Democratic primary campaigns is now being fought in Florida, where party members will go to the polls on May 2 to decide whether Claude Pepper, one of the few Southern liberals, shall have a third term in the United States Senate. They will also choose six Representatives, a Governor, and a host of lesser state officials, but the hottest fight centers around Pepper. In this fight the line between the forward-looking and the backward-looking is sharply drawn.

On the reactionary side, the League for Constitutional Government has placed five candidates in the field for the Senatorial nomination, believing that this will keep Pepper from getting a majority of the votes in the first primary and necessitate a run-off; all those who had voted for the four defeated candidates would then presumably unite behind Pepper's strongest opponent. Such strategy is a tribute to Pepper's strength and a real danger to his position. Pepper has charged that large sums of money have been sent into the state to defeat him.

Pepper's services to the industries of Florida have been considerable and are appreciated; at the same time, he is identified in the minds of reac-



Senator Pepper

tionary business men with government controls and high taxes, for which of course they can see no need. They

are obsessed with the idea that "bureaucracy" in Washington is the road to socialism, and they are throwing at Pepper all the clichés by which this idea is commonly expressed. A prominent member of the Democratic state committee has called him a Socialist-a word with sinister racial overtones down here. The Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case has strengthened the old fear of racial equality. The reactionaries are making poltical capital of the fact that Pepper once addressed a Negro meeting in Los Angeles and supported an antipoll-tax bill in the Senate. They are distributing a picture taken at the Los Angeles meeting. Pepper has parried this line of attack by denouncing the Supreme Court decision and avowing his unequivocal belief in white supremacy-a move which was not only an act of political self-preservation but doubtless an expression of his own convictions.

In Florida the international situation is relatively unimportant as a political issue. Even the most conservative groups here have generally supported the war effort from the beginning. A week before Pearl Harbor the board of directors of the Florida National Bank in Miami, one of the state's largest financial institutions, adopted a resolution urging Congress to declare war on Japan.

Pepper's record as an outstanding interventionist and internationalist, therefore, has been all in his favor. But undoubtedly the strongest factor on his side is the solid backing of organized labor. Despite his one slip in voting for the Smith-Connally Act, the South has no Senator more friendly to labor than he, and the working people of the state know it. The opposition to him is well-heeled and voluble, but Pepper has great strength and is a good campaigner; the progressive elements in the state are confident he will win.

The outlook for Florida's representation in the lower house is not so promising. Perhaps the most interesting of the six contests is that in the Fifth Congressional District, between Joe (self-styled "Little Joe") Hendricks, incumbent, and J. Reynolds Duncan. Hendricks is a young small-town lawyer who rode into office on the wave of Townsendism that swept this state in the early thirties. In that first campaign he showed himself willing to make promises which an intelligent man would have known could not be fulfilled and which a scrupulous man would have avoided. In the early days of the New Deal he followed the lead of the President because that was obviously the line of least resistance, but when the more backward Democrats of the South began to make common cause with the Republicans of the North he found it easier and more congenial to string along with them. More and more regularly he voted with the Republicans, or, when crucial measures were at stake, absented himself. He is a supporter of Martin Dies and exhibits all the attributes of the Texas mountebank except his showmanship.

Against Hendricks the Independent Democratic League, whose purpose is to improve the quality of the state's political representation, is backing J. Reynolds Duncan, a young man connected with the Florida Industrial Commission. Unfortunately he lacks political experience. The league had its origin last December in a meeting of a small group of college professors, labor leaders, social workers, ministers, and others, in Orange County, the heart of Florida. They were aware of the danger of political regression throughout the country, and they took steps to do something about it in their own territory. Their immediate objectives were to help Pepper and to get a progressive candidate to run against "Little Joe" Hendricks. In the six months since its organization the league's membership and its work have become state wide.

The progressive forces have encountered many difficulties. Florida is not an industrial state, and the C. I. O. unions here are largely confined to the citrus industry. Thus many of their members are Negroes, who cannot vote in the primaries. The A. F. of L. has a large membership in the building trades and other fields, but its leadership has shown little interest in politics. The Independent Democratic League planned to create a grassroots organization in every election district, but soon discovered that it had neither the funds nor the political experience that the task required. The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., the only constituent groups with mass backing, were prevented from providing funds by the Smith-Connally Act.

This month the Independent Democratic League was reorganized and renamed the Florida Voters' League, pledged "to promote the general welfare by furnishing information on candidates and measures." Its political creed is stated in four points:

1. That our nation and state must bend their energies, without reservation, to the winning of the war;

2. That the peace must be won by definite planning for it now, internationally, and also by immediate attention to the home front by nation and state. There must be no stampeding back to "normalcy," as in 1920, with the suffering which that reaction brought upon demobilized men and discharged war workers;

3. That government should be used, whenever general welfare demands, to the extent that private enterprise is unable or unwilling to act or to act adequately;

 That every public officer should be competent to deal with the problems he must face; he should represent all the people, not any group, groups, or special interests.

The league will undoubtedly have some influence in the present primaries. Even if up to now it has failed to create a widespread popular movement, its efforts have not been wasted. It has learned that the fight is not for one campaign but for the long future.

### Montgomery Ward's Private War

BY SHIRLEY KATZANDER

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has acted with decision to end the deadlock between Montgomery Ward and the War Labor Board, which involved the strike of more than 4,000 workers in Chicago. Local 20 of the Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees' Union (C. I. O.) struck when the company refused to comply with a WLB directive requiring it to extend its contact with the union. On April 24, in a telegram addressed to the company and the union, the President demanded the end of the strike and called on Ward's to comply immediately with the WLB directive.

Presiding over the vast mail-order empire is Sewell L. Avery, chairman of the board, who twice before has refused to comply with WLB rulings; recently he sought a permanent injunction against such rulings, on the ground that Ward's is a non-essential industry and therefore not within the jurisdiction of the WLB.

The fight between the company and the union is now four years old. Local 20 of the mail-order workers began organization proceedings in 1940. In February, 1942, the National Labor Relations Board certified the local as bargaining agent for Ward's employees, and the WLB directed the company to sign a contract. Ward's agreed to the pay increases ordered by the WLB but balked at inclusion of a maintenance-of-membership clause in the contract. Avery said he would sign only if the President expressly ordered it. The WLB then handed the issue to the President, and he ordered Ward's to sign. Avery stalled again. He took full-page advertisements in newspapers throughout the country-later reported at a stockholders' meeting to have cost \$400,000-informing the public that he was "under duress" and that he wanted this paragraph inserted in the contract:

The following paragraphs are not voluntarily agreed to by the company. In the company's opinion they are illegal and unsound. These provisions are copied verbatim from the War Labor Board's order of November 5, 1942, and are incorporated herein, on the company's part, under duress and only because the President of the United States as commander-in-chief in time of war has expressly ordered that they be included.

The union refused to sign a contract including that paragraph, and the labor, industry, and public members of the WLB denounced Avery's action. Dean Wayne L. Morse of the Oregon University Law School, member for the public, called the advertising campaign a "subterfuge." "I simply wish to say that I don't like welching or welchers," he said, "and I consider the present

position of Montgomery Ward a pure case of welching on an agreement which they entered into with the President of the United States." Roger Lapham, president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Lines and member of the WLB for industry, said, "Ward's has freedom of speech and the industry members of the board also have freedom of speech, and they intend to use it to tell the truth—and not a damn bunch of half-truths."

The case was again referred to the President, and he again ordered Ward's to sign the contract—without the "duress" paragraph. Avery signed. That was eleven months after the union was certified as bargaining agent.

In the year that followed, the union asked dismissal of only one man, charging him with violation of the union's constitution. Denying the violation, Ward's refused to dismiss him until a few days before the case came to arbitration. Then it fired him for "incompetence." Monsignor Reynold Hillenbrand, who acted as arbiter, found in favor of the union, stating that Ward's, in refusing to dismiss the man, had violated the contract.

In November, 1943, about a month before the first contract expired, Montgomery Ward filed suit for libel against the local's militant shop paper *Spotlight*, and against officials of the local and the international, seeking damages of \$1,000,000 and an injunction against publication of the paper. This last aroused the ire of newspapermen, who feared the precedent of such an injunction. The case is still under consideration.

Shortly after the libel suit was filed, the company informed the union that it did not intend to negotiate a contract for the two major departments in Chicago because it did not believe the union had a majority there. The union says that it organized the plant two and a half times over in 1943, that with 4,000 workers eligible for membership it collected 10,000 membership cards during the year. Organization was clearly keeping pace with turnover. Ward's ignored the union's figures, and in January, 1944, the company and the local again appeared before the WLB. This time the WLB ordered another NLRB election and directed Ward's to extend the contract pending the decision. Ward's refused to extend the contract. On April 12 the union struck.

The local charges that between the expiration of the contract and the start of the strike the company went on an anti-union spree, discharging and demoting active union members. On March 29 the WLB held a compliance hearing. The union charged that the company had refused to comply with the WLB directive, and the com-

pany charged that the union had not proved a majority. On April 17 Ward's charged that the WLB had "illegally ordered" the company to extend an expired contract, and said that it "stands ready to recognize the union when proof of its representation has been presented."

On April 24, in his telegram replying to the President, Samuel Wolchok, national head of the union, said that the workers would return to their jobs. He charged the company with provoking the strike "by its arrogant refusal to comply with the directive of the WLB and its consistent acts in brazen disregard of the most elementary rights of American workers."

Ward's handling of its labor relations seems to have set a pattern for other firms in the Chicago area. In March the Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Company defied a WLB order to include a maintenance-ofmembership clause in its contract with Local 2928 of the United Steel Workers of America (C. I. O.), and it has since filed a libel suit for \$1,000,000 against the local union paper, Keel. In February the Chicago Transformer Company appeared before the WLB to demand another NLRB election, charging that the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers' Union had no majority in its plant. In March the Mills Novelty Company, Chicago, demanded the same thing in regard to the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (C. I. O.). The United States Gypsum Company, of which Avery is a director, defied the WLB's ruling that a maintenance-of-membership clause be in the company's contract with the union.

Sewell Avery is known among business men as the Tom Girdler of the Midwest. He is tough, and he is determined to spare no expense to establish his position. In addition to the \$1,000,000 libel suit against Spotlight he has brought a damage suit for almost \$5,000,000 against the Santa Fe, the Southern Pacific, and the Western Pacific railroads, the Railway Express Company, and I long list of motor-truck operators, for their refusal to handle merchandise during a strike by the A. F. of L. Retail Clerks, Teamsters, and Warehousemen. He has also filed suit against the printing-trades union for failure to print Ward's catalogue during a work stoppage. He even filed suit for \$1,000,000 against the magazine Business Week for its description of Bishop Haas's efforts to settle the dispute between Ward's and Local 20. This suit was dismissed by the judge as "absurd, simply absurd."

As an executive of Ward's, Avery has a good dollarsand-cents record. When the company appeared to be going under in the early 1930's Avery took over as manager at a salary of \$100,000 a year and with an option to buy 100,000 shares of common stock at \$11 a share. That stock today is worth more than \$4,000,000, and last December Avery exercised his option to the extent of 50,000 shares. In addition to being chairman of Montgomery Ward's and a director of United States Gypsum, he sits on the boards of Armour, United States Steel, Pullman-Standard, the People's Light, Gas, and Coke Company, the Northern Trust Company, and the Pure Oil Company.

Sewell Avery apparently feels it incumbent upon him to maintain "free enterprise" and keep the "pioneer spirit" alive by his own efforts. He is reported once to have said of his caddy, "I fired him. He bothered me forever wanting to carry the clubs."

#### In the Wind

THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF INFORMATON, like the OWI, is considered fair game by wisecrackers. They are now saying in London that its motto is, "Give us a straw and we'll drop the bricks." . . . And the Ministry of Reconstruction, it is alleged, has as its theme song, "We're dreaming of a White Paper."

BUSINESS ACTION, the weekly bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, offers this cheery note: "Annual Meeting Postponed as Contribution to Victory."

THE BRITISH PIANOFORTE Manufacturers' Association is preparing for a boom after the war.

IT SEEMS THAT AXIS AGENTS in South Africa have been spreading a rumor that the United States plans to take over South Africa through Lend-Lease operations. The South African Forum asked Herbert Hoover to comment on it. This is what he said: "It seems to me almost childish to reply to the charge. . . . Lend-Lease comes out of the pockets of the American taxpayer, and the less we lend the better we like it."

FROM A NEWS STORY in the London *Evening Standard*: "One of the eight men under the spotlight was asked: "Why are you a Tory?' He replied: 'Because I hate class distinctions.' That is the spirit of the new Tory democracy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi Department of Price Administration in western Poland has decreed that certain Germans may obtain rent reductions "as indemnity for living in a Polish neighborhood." . . . A former tuberculosis sanatorium in Czechoslovakia has been converted into a school where German boys fifteen to eighteen years old are trained in street fighting. . . . Dutch-Nazi mayors of several municipalities in northeastern Holland have been ordered to prepare lists of houses from which the Dutch occupants will be evicted to make room for Germans from bombed-out cities in the Reich. . . . A man released from a Nazi prison camp in Holland greeted his friends thus: "At last I feel like a good Dutchman, for I have been in jail." . . . A pamphlet of nearly 100 pages entitled "How to Grow Parsley" has had tremendous sales in Poland. It contains speeches by Roosevelt, Churchill, Sikorski, and others. This can be revealed now because the Nazis have already discovered it.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

### Restaurant in Algiers

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Algiers, April 2

LGIERS is a poor symbol of the France that did not give up. London, blitzed and beleaguered, was far more akin to the spirit of the Fighting French when it served as their headquarters. Yet Algiers, though soft and complacent, is still a French city, the greatest outside continental France, and thus the only possible seat of the Committee of National Liberation. But if Algiers is the capital of France at war, it is not France, and good note should be taken of the difference. Its strangely mixed population has an ungenuine, an unheroic quality that repels the visitor. Over the years, thanks to a generous hinterland, the city has grown fat and rich. And the people, unlike the population of metropolitan France, have not been hardened in the crucible of Nazi occupation. They easily accepted the regime of dishonor and now are on the whole reluctant to follow General de Gaulle in the path of sacrifice. Algiers would like to remain as it was-safe for the vested interests of its "fifty families."

The slightly equivocal attitude of the city became particularly evident during the trial of Pucheu. Opinion in French circles was divided; it was not really very bon ton to be in favor of the death sentence. Dinner-table conversation turned on the excellence of Pucheu's defense, the exceptional qualities of the man himself-intelligence is a quality which never leaves the French indifferent—the international aspects of the case, which made the trial impolitic at the present time; after all Pucheu was a minister in a legal government recognized by our ally, the United States. I recall that on the last day of the trial I lunched with five Frenchmen of whom three were against and two for the death penalty. This division was perhaps a fair sample. The De Gaullists, of course, particularly the Fighting French troops—as opposed to the North Africans-looked upon Pucheu simply as a traitor who, without a particle of doubt, should suffer a traitor's death.

The trial revealed a man of rare ability who had calculated his own interests too cleverly. He had taken all precautions. He had had his anchor to windward. He had, "in the interests of France," played a double game with the Germans, and when the direction of the wind changed, he had set his course accordingly: he had come to North Africa early, under the high patronage of General Giraud himself. The career of Pucheu appeared as a masterpiece of calculation; the verdict proved that it was too perfect.

In this French city the volunteers of General de Gaulle's heroic little army almost seem to be foreigners. What, indeed, has a young major in the First Fighting French Division who has already commanded his men in three campaigns got in common with Giraud's elderly officers who have comfortably sat out the war in North Africa? The young men who went through the Ethiopian, Eritrean, Syrian, and Libyan campaigns, or who crossed the burning sands of the Sahara in the Colonne Leclerc, fought not because the manual of regulations obliged them to but simply because they wanted to rid their country of the Boches. The members of one Fighting French brigade have refused to wear any decorations until they are permitted to place the "Syria pin" on their Colonial Medal. This gesture reveals their attitude: the Syrian campaign was fought against the troops of Vichy.

In Algiers, in short, one has to look for the spirit of French resistance in order to find it, but it is there. Many individuals in the civilian population, as in the Committee of National Liberation, the Consultative Assembly, and the army, feel intensely their identity with the resistance movement within France. Perhaps it is the Consultative Assembly, with its thirty-four representatives of the underground, some of them newly arrived from France, which most faithfully reflects the temper of the French people. In the Assembly Hall, covered with the symbols of the Republic, in the lobbies, and in the committee rooms the national will, in so far as circumstances permit, is given expression and a legal existence.

To get an intimate view of the Consultative Assembly, one must dine at the Brasserie Suisse. This modest establishment—on Liberty Street!—is the official restaurant of the delegates, the counterpart if you will of the old Buvette de la Chambre in Paris. The little sign on the door is non-committal; it reads: "Requisitioned. French Club. Private." Inside, the potted palms, the harassed waitresses, the crowded tables are ordinary enough. But the guests—the elderly White Friar, the bewhiskered jurist, the majestic turbaned Negro, the unimposing man with the green ribbon of the Compagnons de la Libération in his buttonhole, the prosperous-looking general—these are not the clients of just any restaurant. The White Friar, indeed, is R. P. Carrière, delegate

BURLINGAME PHOLOS

of the French colony in Egypt; the jurist is René Cassin, former Commissioner of Justice and professor at the Sorbonne; the magnificent black is Ely Manel Fall, delegate from Senegal; the man with the ribbon is M. ——, hero of the underground; the well-fed general is General Chadebec de Lavalade, connoisseur of Portuguese literature, author of a book entitled "Pétain?" and one of the judges of Pucheu. At every table are men sent to Algiers from resistance groups all over the empire.

As a guest of one of the delegates, I dined several times at the Brasserie Suisse. My host willingly pointed out a few of his more interesting colleagues and told me something of their stories, omitting names and details that might be dangerous to persons still in France.

"That man," he said of a middle-aged man at a nearby table, "was an employee in a little city in the center of France. He is neither athletic nor bellicose. Yet for months he moved about the country under false names, seeking out his old friends, bringing them together, grouping them locally, then by departments, reconstituting the party to which he had belonged within the framework of the resistance movement, distributing pamphlets and clandestine newspapers. This political activity, however, was not all. He began to collect military information that might be useful to the Allies. Soon he became n specialist in collecting information, acquired confederates to help him, got in touch with other similar organizations-in short, created a smoothly functioning intelligence network. He is a little ashamed of never having been arrested.

"That younger man was a lawyer. He began the war as a captain and after the armistice determined to continue the struggle in the underground. He joined a resistance group and participated in a few sensational coups de main. One day he was caught, under a false name, by the Vichy police. At the same moment both Vichy and the Gestapo were searching for him under two other false names for serious affairs. He was done for if the Vichy judge discovered all his identities; so his friends decided to rescue him.

This was not easy. Every day he was taken to the courthouse in a police wagon. The hearing dragged out. Soon the gasoline shortage made it impossible to transport the prisoners in the police wagon, and the judge ordered them brought to court on foot, handcuffed, each between two gen

darmes. This provided the long-awaited opportunity. It was no difficult job for the organization to get hold of several gendarme uniforms and to find men with sufficient pluck to play the part. One morning our friend was summoned a little earlier than usual to the registry and led off by three phlegmatic gendarmes who had firmly clamped handcuffs on him. The rest can be imagined—a waiting car, a rapid change of clothes, then another car, prearranged hiding places, finally arrival in England.

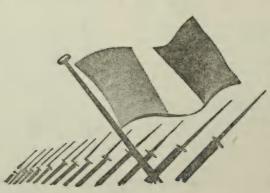
"The bearded schoolmaster over there with the archaic collar had never stirred from his library and his class-room. One day, however, he realized that his respectable white beard might be put to use. He bought a goat and after school hours led his goat out to graze—usually on the good grass bordering the airfield. No one paid any attention to the eccentric old gentleman with his browsing goat. But he saw many things, took note of them, and finished by being sent, a little bewildered by it all, to Algiers as a delegate of the underground.

"Beyond him is a man who represents one of our distant colonies. In August, 1940, he attempted to rally the colony to De Gaulle but failed. Arrested by Vichy, he was flown three thousand miles to France, where a military court condemned him to hard labor for life. He escaped—I cannot tell you how—but remained in the country, where, although hunted by the police, he carried out important missions for De Gaulle. The Vichy net closed in; he was forced to flee France.

"At the next table you see an old political militant. When the armistice was concluded he at once undertook three tasks—the rebuilding of his scattered party, the organization of an underground railroad to bring men to England, the gathering of information. His efforts saved hundreds of Englishmen, but he was finally smoked out of the Channel region and forced to transfer his activities to the Swiss border.

"That very young man in the corner has just arrived from France, sent by the underground to replace one of their delegates who became a minister. Three weeks

> ago he was still living the heroic life of the maquis. He brought with him a movingpicture film taken in the maquis. With what emotion we looked upon these recent pictures of our native land! Our hearts beat fast to see men standing at attention in a forest clearing before the colors and the Lorraine cross, to see others



training in the use of mechanized arms, and still others maneuvering in mountain snow. The film bore this dedication, 'A l'invaincu, les vaincus qui vaincront. . . . ""

Here, in this little restaurant, were the men who speak for France, that France which, though vanquished, is invincible.

### Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

VITHOUT any doubt the food situation in Germany is becoming decidedly unpleasant. Among the contributing causes one of the most important is of course the loss of the Russian agricultural regions. But other factors are also operating. In spite of all the foreign workers, there is a great shortage of farm labor. The fertilizer supplied to farmers has been reduced to a fraction of the normal amount. All means of transportation are so overburdened that foodstuffs cannot be properly distributed. The importation of vegetables and fruit from Italy has almost stopped. Then in 1943, added to these constant and progressive causes, came the appalling failure of the potato and vegetable crops.

The severity of the crisis is well illustrated by two small changes in the rationing system. Although all kinds of food, without exception, are rationed, and even in restaurants guests must give points for every dish, the Nazi authorities have tried to leave a few small loopholes for the individual consumer. Anyone who raised rabbits, for example, was allowed to buy some food for them, and to eat them, without giving up any points. In consequence, even in the big cities people kept rabbits in every court and on every balcony. Now, however, the supply of fodder has been cut off, and a decree issued April 3 forbids private rabbit raising and orders the slaughter of all the rabbits in the country.

A second loophole was provided by the Stammgericht served in restaurants, which can be translated roughly as "basic dish." Up to now every restaurant has received the material for and been allowed to sell one dish each day for which no points were required. As a rule this was a watery mixture of potatoes and vegetables, containing no fat or meat, and it was usually all sold in half an hour. But meager as it was, it was one way of getting more to eat than rationing permitted. If you were clever you ate the Stammgericht in one restaurant and then went to another for a regular meal on points. Now the stringent food situation is putting an end to this practice. The new regulations vary in different places, but everywhere the Stammgericht is being curtailed or discontinued. In many cities it has been absolutely forbidden. In others it may be served only to a worker doing "heavy" labor and possessing a special certificate to that effect, which must be punched after he has eaten. The city of Cologne charges restaurant keepers with the duty of judging whether a guest "may reasonably be expected to have his own household and to eat at home," and directs them to refuse the Stammgericht to customers who seem to have other resources.

Every time the German people have vielded to a particularly gloomy mood, Nazi propaganda has tried to raise their spirits by a strong dose of anti-Semitism. At the moment the newspapers are again printing a large percentage of articles unmasking the crimes of the Jews from Adam on. And various lecturers, preferably socalled scholars or scientists with the title of professor, are traveling around the country discoursing on the theme that "the wars of all times have been caused exclusively by the Jews." The Jew has even been mobilized in the hopeless struggle to keep people from listening to the enemy radio. "Flüster Cohn" (Whispering Cohn) is now the official name for the British radio. Newspaper cartoons and gigantic posters on the advertising pillars depict him as a horrifying apparition and warn people

to keep clear of him.

But if for no other reason, the anti-Semitic theme has become stale and uninteresting because there are no Jews left in Germany. The last one was shipped off to Poland long ago; and how can passions be inflamed against an abstraction, a foe no longer present? To make up, apparently, for this lack, Mischlinge (persons of mixed Jewish and Christian blood) are now made the object of attack. Previously they had been left relatively undisturbed, and as there are many hundreds of thousands of them, their situation, in a time of intense manpower scarcity, seemed fairly safe. Recently, however, a vigorous propaganda campaign against the pestilential Judenbastarde (Jewish bastards) who befoul German soil was started by the press and radio. Official measures have also been taken against them, according to a detailed report in the Svenska Dagbladet for March 30.

"In principle," says an order of the Nazi Office of Racial Policy as quoted by this paper, "Mischlinge must now be treated as Jews." For example, those of military age will be taken out of the army and put in labor battalions, where they will not wear the army uniform. According to the official in charge of deportations, "these formations will be sent to Poland." Mischlinge whose dwellings have been destroyed by the bombardments may not move back into them after repairs have been made. The form sheets on which bombed-out persons apply for permission to buy clothing, linen, and household articles now include the question: Are you a Mischling? Questionnaires have been sent to all employers asking how many Mischlinge they employ and how soon they can replace them with "Aryans." "Strong opposition" to this new policy, the Swedish paper says, "is being shown in Germany."

### BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Holmes—a Family Portrait

YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS: JUSTICE HOLMES AND HIS FAMILY. By Catherine Drinker Bowen. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

O MANY books have been written about Mr. Justice Holmes that the first question about a new one is what is new about it. Mrs. Bowen answers by saying: "This book is a picture and a translation, an attempt to bring Justice Holmes out of legal terms into human terms." This she has achieved, and superbly, while also giving enough of the legal to make clear its essential core. What Holmes left in judicial opinions and in his other writing was so much the fruit of his distinctly personal thinking that the legal was but an expression of the human. The legal does not need detailed elaboration to round out the picture. Mrs. Bowen gives enough to make its central ranges stand out in clear relief.

The other novelty is that this is not a study of Holmes alone. The first quarter is concerned with Grandfather Abiel, the Calvinist minister who lost his charge when Unitarianism rocked Cambridge, and with Dr. Holmes, the far from Calvinist physician and teacher and the ready writer. In these and later pages there is much about family and cousinly relationships, about Harvard and Cambridge and Boston, with enough of the currents of thought and emotion and action in the American hinterland to make the region around the Charles seem part of a larger whole. At least the United States becomes a part of Boston. Mrs. Bowen is not always kind to the pressures and resistances of either. She is adept at subtle or pointed shafts at Mammon, One sample must suffice, though there are many and the range is wide. When writing of Jefferson's embargo she remarks: "Touch a Massachusetts man in his pocket and the thrust went through to the heart and was immediately defended in terms of great principles."

The delving into genealogical roots is welcome for its own sake, both as biography and as social history. Yet one fails to see the influence of ancestors from the patrilineal side unless the effect was one of aversion and rejection. Not enough is given of the distaff lines to know whether we should there find persisting strains passed on. Mrs. Bowen essays little or no explicit tracing. Uncle John, the Doctor's brother, was an individualist who of all the family seemed to have some traits most congenial to his nephew, different as they were in practicing the gospel of effort. He was a blunt engaging figure, gifted at being himself. One of his ministrations was to bring forcibly to nephew Wendell's consciousness the realization that he had long been in love with Fanny Dixwell and the intimation that he had long been equally unmindful of her feeling for him. As a whole the book can hardly be regarded as an exercise in psychological genetics unless to bring out that the biologists have to recognize "sports" as all classifiers need the category of miscellaneous

One way in which Mrs. Bowen makes Holmes and her other figures human is by assuming the role of the novelist. At first this brings something of a shock, How does she know that Abiel's quill had "gone dry above his paper with thinking," that he took "three steps in a highly unministerial bound" and "felt his heart pound pleasantly in his breast"? How does she know that "Oliver heard from far off the rumble of waves on beaches ten miles to the eastward," or that at a later time he "felt the hackles rise on the back of his neck"? There is a good bit of venturing beyond the record all the way through. Yet from such resort to the device of fiction comes much of the compelling power of the book. Amazingly the privacies of solitary feeling and of confidential exchange that could never be footnoted seem all in character, and of course for many there was enough of oral tradition to let us say in the phrase of Renan that the thoughts were in their hearts if not on their lips. Much that might offend the canons set by what calls itself scientific scholarship is a triumph of art in telling essential inner truth.

Less than a sixth of the book is given to the crowning years in Washington, though without these Holmes would have left but a tithe of his legacy to posterity, generous as is such lesser moiety with its wealth of insight into the long course of the common law. There is no evidence that Holmes was a greatly interested follower of judicial and other doings in Washington while he was sitting on the Supreme Judicial Court in Massachusetts, though he had lectured on constitutional law at Harvard. To much if not most of what went on outside his own pursuits he was oblivious. Newspapers and politics were of slight if any concern. He was a man of books and ideas. Brandeis told Mrs. Bowen that Holmes's remoteness from political life, far from making his horizon narrower, had somehow given him a broader vision. The genial Taft who wrote peevish letters to his children when colleagues disagreed with him complained that Holmes had no conception of statesmanship. Yet the Holmes who slighted the newspapers, who was not concerned with politics, who was a book man and an internal thinking man has proved himself in the long run to be a far greater judicial statesman than the critic who had the chance to profit from long experience in public affairs.

Holmes is such a fascinating and dominating figure that reviewers are inevitably tempted to write about him instead of about a book about him. The allotted space is all too short to write half enough about either here. When one says that the book is worthy of the subject, this should start a trek to the bookstalls. There are words echoed from Civil War bivouacs that may not yet be heard in Boston drawing-rooms, but it is not anticipated that the book will be banned even in Boston. If the Autocrat survived as a giant, there might be regrets that the Captain for whom he searched in Maryland and in the pages of the Atlantic did not find him such. There is a poignant contrast between the literary Doctor's light volubility and the quiet inner vividness of the unique discerning lady who, as Holmes wrote Pollock after her death, for over



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fifty years had made life poetry for him. It is good to have her remembered here. Of her wisdom and her raciness still more deserves to be told.

Mrs. Bowen translates all her characters into human terms. She touches on intimacies with a delicacy that makes it fitting for the world to share them. She tells of occasions of tenderness that move to tears. Holmes had deeps of sentiment, though he wore them far from his sleeve. Above all he was stalwart. He often spoke of life as a struggle, and so it was for him, though far from the market-place. He was a soldier from a sense of duty, not from an instinct for fighting. In the drab days at the bar only his self-chosen study and writing captured absorbing devotion. Independence of household living was long postponed. Recognition came late. He knew loneliness of spirit. With all his powers and talents and with all his firm convictions, he was humbly eager in pursuing the paths of thinking that others had traced. His nature was not a simple one, and Mrs. Bowen has not sought to make it such. She has translated him into human terms as she set out to do, if translation is the word for her achievement. At any rate she has the gift of the good translator in fidelity to the original when gloss would only mar.

THOMAS REED POWELL

### Pierre Cot Answers the Vichy Thesis

TRIUMPH OF TREASON. By Pierre Cot. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. \$3.50.

THE abortive Riom trial was one of the decisive episodes in the great drama of our times. It disposed of two great issues by the simple fact that it shrank from them. The first was Hitler's thesis: the war had been forced upon innocent Germany by the Judeo-Bolshevist coalition in control of the French government. The second was that the crushing defeat of 1940 was due to the criminal incompetence of leftist politicians.

Hitler's preposterous contention was immediately ignored. Scapegoats had to be found, not for the folly of starting the war, but for the crime of losing it. We must not forget, however, that Hitler's thesis is the foundation of the Flandin-Laval policy of repentant cooperation. Dismissing it meant rejecting the French Quisling, that Pierre Laval of whom Marshal Pétain said, "He and I are one."

The second issue was debated at length: who was responsible for the military débâcle? In the course of the trial the answer, incomplete, complex, and confused in details, became irresistibly clear; so the case—far too late for the Vichy men—was suspended sine die.

The Vichy thesis was: The glorious and patriotic French army was starved, disorganized, and demoralized by the partisanship and corruption of the Front Populaire. With no regard for the country's pressing needs, the reds indulged in a carnival of demagogic reforms—forty-hour week, paid vacations, organized leisure, socialization of war industries. The men who performed the miracles of Verdun and Warsaw could not repair at the last moment the harm done for several years by the rabble rousers. The collapse of 1940 was the incluctable consequence of the leftist victory in

1936. Among these criminals Blum stands out in smister eminence; but Pierre Cot, Minister of Aviation in the Popular Front Cabinet, was even more virulently denounced. If there were no French planes to beat off the German swarms, the all-sufficient explanation is found in two short words—Pierre Cot.

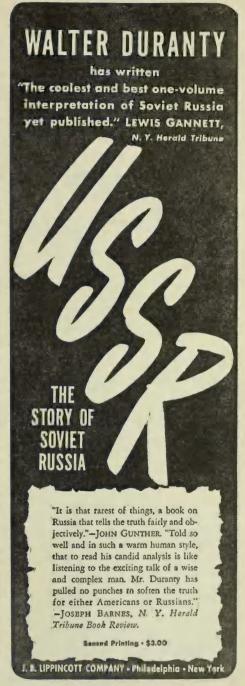
Cot properly declined to submit himself to the Riom judges, an exceptional tribunal offering no guaranty of freedom or fairness. He presents his case in this very substantial volume. The case is irrefutable; but it is not the defense of one man that matters, and Cot knows it. There is no egotism in those four hundred compact pages. Cot is defending French democracy—world democracy—against an audacious perversion of the truth.

The issue is of commanding importance to us in America. Innumerable well-meaning citizens, violently opposed to Nazism, still accept the Vichy thesis. Refugee literature has rather deepened the confusion: by insisting on personal scandals, it has confirmed the impression that the Third Republic was rotten to the core, "and the more republican the more rotten." We cannot quite cure ourselves of the delusion that Vichy represents a belated rebellion of the "sound" elements in old France. Hence the persistent anti-Gaullism of our foreign policy. When it comes to French affairs, official Washington professes the purest Hooverian orthodoxy: a New Deal, a Popular Front, inevitably means waste, muddle, corruption, and chaos.

Cot's plea is restrained, and irrefutably supported with facts. He writes well, but the book is too heavily documented to be easy reading. Journalists will barely glance at it, but historians cannot afford to ignore it; and I believe that Cot could confidently adopt the title of Blum's book, "L'Histoire jugera."

His own title, "Triumph of Treason," goes a little beyond what he has set himself to prove. In his counter-offensive he establishes the fossil character of the army which, for two decades, had been prepared by Pétain and Weygand. He also shows the political bias of the Pétain clique, its hatred of democracy, its admiration for Mussolini and Franco. But he does not charge downright treason in the legal sense of the term. Cot made me realize that Guedalla was pretty close to the truth when he bracketed together Bazaine and Pétain. The surrender of Metz was a trifling affair compared with the wholesale, almost eager capitulation of 1940. But neither marshal was sold to the enemy in terms of pelf. In both cases incompetence, sluggishness, timidity, defeatism were to blame. Pétain will be remembered as the man who said, "They shall not pass!" and rushed to open the gate.

Cot has fully rehabilitated himself and his associates in the Front Populaire in the eyes of careful students not blinded by anti-democratic prejudices. The brief conclusion is extremely interesting but far more controversial. I cannot agree with Cot's Jacobin doctrine, "the dictatorship of the majority," for it leads to the single-party system. The misgivings he expresses about Algiers are already dated. It is appropriate that Cot, the great advocate of a close military alliance of France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviets, should have been sent on a mission to Moscow by the Committee of National Liberation.



# The Prospects for Food

FOOD "CRISIS." By Roy F. Hendrickson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

FOOD. By Frank A. Pearson and Don Paarlberg, Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

THE early panic over the possibility of a "famine" in the United States has largely subsided, and most Americans once more take it for granted that they will be able to eat as usual for the duration. Mr. Hendrickson, director of the United States Food Distribution Administration, suggests, however, that our present complacency is perhaps as unjustified and dangerous as the extreme statements of a year ago when the "food crisis" was first discovered.

Our present favorable food situation is due to two factors: (1) a continuation of favorable crop weather in 1943 after several previous years of unusually good growing conditions; (2) an unusual supply of meat due to light slaughtering last year and exceptionally heavy slaughtering this year following the depletion of feed reserves. This situation is likely to be short-lived. The demand for food is bound to grow as further areas are liberated from Axis rule, while the chances are against the continuation of above-average crop weather. As a consequence, the American people must make some changes in their food habits if they are to be as well nourished as they were in peace time.

On this general diagnosis Mr. Hendrickson, speaking for the administration, agrees with Messrs. Pearson and Paarlberg, who are highly critical. Mr. Hendrickson emphasizes

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the need for making greater use of potatoes, cereals, peas, and beans, and relying less on meat—which is a relatively uneconomic food. Fruit and vegetable consumption should remain at about the pre-war level. While the total amount of food, measured in pounds, will probably not decrease, there will doubtless continue to be, as a result of rationing, a leveling-off in food consumption. Pearson and Paarlberg also advocate less reliance on meat, and point out that it is far more efficient to eat cereals as such than to use them as feed. It is possible, through the enrichment of bread and flour and possibly other products, for the average person to obtain as nutritious a diet as in the days of food surpluses.

But all of this rests on the assumption that the American people will make an intelligent adjustment in their diet. The American housewife must learn such simple things as how to conserve vitamins through proper cooking methods, how to cut down waste of all kinds, and how to make use of such foods as skimmed milk, soy beans, lentils, and wholegrain breakfast cereals. And farmers must be encouraged to adjust their production to these more nutritious and economical foods.

Mr. Hendrickson shows us how Great Britain and Germany have dealt with their far more acute problems without undermining the health of the British and German peoples. He also takes up in some detail the difficulties we face in the readjustment of agriculture in the post-war period. Chief among these is the question of government price support for farm products. While approving in principle the suggestion that "parity" prices be scrapped in favor of a program of "necessity" prices—the amount of guaranteed return to the farmer to be determined by the amount needed to induce adequate production rather than by some past price relationship—Mr. Hendrickson is frankly pessimistic about the possibility of developing such a program free from political or bureaucratic obstacles.

Pearson and Paarlberg, on the other hand, are extremely critical of managed prices of any kind. They insist that we do not yet possess the wisdom to administer a controlled economy on the scale that we have undertaken and that we should abandon the effort, letting prices serve as the regulator of food production and distribution in war time as well as in normal times. It is easy, of course, to point out the weaknesses and difficulties inherent in war-time controls. It is easy, also, to say that the problems are too big for any administrative agency to handle. But the blunt fact is that, despite errors, the controls have worked more successfully than anyone would have thought possible a year or two ago -and they have worked despite the failure of Congress to provide adequate funds for enforcement or subsidies and despite its flagrant neglect in the sphere of taxation. Doubtless Pearson and Paarlberg were sincerely troubled when they wrote their impassioned indictment of the Administration's food policies six months ago, but many sections of the book make odd reading today in view of the unquestioned success of the 1943 program. The prospects may not be so good for 1944, but a comparison between the farm situation today under strict government control and that of 1918, when prices represented the chief controlling factor, should enhance our faith in man-made controls.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

# Poetry in Review

UNSTAN THOMPSON'S "Poems" (Simon and Schuster, \$2) contain some very bad poetry, but what is important is that even at his worst Mr. Thompson writes poetry: "Not you nor I are drawn by dawn, who sight/The bright before the morning moon of sorrow." That is more than can be said of the best efforts of most of the other poets I have read recently. Moreover, this is Thompson's first book. It shows him to be so immersed in English poetry of all periods that on several occasions he must have barely escaped drowning, or at any rate dissolving himself poetically. The plunge was all to the good, however, for he has learned how to use the poetry of the past to express his own feelings. He has learned how to make poetic technique serve as the "confining form"—to use Coleridge's term—within which he can convey the turbulence of his active experience.

Although his judgment is at times deficient, he is technically skilful. He uses clusters of sound with a lavish exploitation of his medium that reminds one of abstract painting. Yet he is correspondingly true to his medium; rhyme is as necessary to his poem as cement is to the mason. Thompson explores various styles, from simple to close harmony, and it is a pleasure to see him endeavoring to correct a tendency toward over-facility even at the risk of strangling his verse. The physical luxuriance of the images, especially in the longer poems, recalls such Elizabethan erotica as "Venus and Adonis" and "Hero and Leander." (Ganymede is present as bellboy, page, groom, sailor, and acolyte.) He also makes great raids on the war for material to enrich his poetic mythology-a special augury of his successful development. The influence of modern poets, particularly Hopkins, is not as felicitous-it never is-and nowhere less so than in the somewhat pat generalizations of last lines and stanzas. Thompson belongs with the Spender-Barker-Dylan Thomas school of English poets, and is perhaps their first American ally. Like them, he revolts against all knowledge that does not come from personal experience, and he cannot make convincing poetry out of what he has not himself felt.

More often than not Thompson's poems are self-indulgent, verbose, and full of private symbols. Yet above all the confusion there rings out the sound of his furious battle to find his own true voice. The violence of his vision of the inner world, compounded of war, death, incertitude, isolation, reflects the cataclysm which traditional modes of thought and feeling are undergoing in the world today. Poetry, which bridges the inner and outer worlds, has had to abandon the concepts of religion, nature, social progress, and the dignity of man, and is now confronted with the breakup of one of its last great metaphors, idealistic love. Certain modern poets are therefore employing a world metaphor of sex, not because they are more exclusively concerned with the physical fact of sex, but because, being a physical fact, it seems one of the few constants left which are both objective and subjective enough to relate the individual to the world outside. The awareness of some such situation accounts for the symbols with which Thompson's myths are constructed; and that is also why his chief subject—the refusal of the lovesick to surrender to passion-is enough to provide him with a general means of communication



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Thompson's best work is found in two of his longer poems, Largo and Images of Disaster, but they are not as easily quotable as this stanza of a shorter poem, Tarquin, about the rape of the limbo lad:

What daring could not do, the drinks have done: The limbo lad communicated one Last sacrament, and, fast as falling, heaven No longer held a stranger to emotion, Who, like a star, unsexed, unashamed, unshriven, Was hurled, a lost world, whirling past damnation: Circled by chaos but by eros spun, The devil burned much brighter than the sun.

Robert Fitzgerald's new book "A Wreath for the Sea" (New Directions, \$2.50) brings up the central heartbreaking problem of American writing-the lack of a homogeneous cultural tradition which the writer can take for granted and in terms of which what he has to say will have more than an isolated meaning. Fitzgerald's struggle between the "brutal present and the soft past" is implicit in the general predicament, which is stated in the opening line of the poems: "Whom should I consult?"

Poetry has been propounding that question ever since Eliot's "Waste Land." It has never been answered, and it has by now lost all content. It is merely a convenience on which to string a diminishing series of negatives. The cry always meant more than any possible answer, for it was uttered in the context of the helplessness of personal emotion to accomplish anything save to reject the world. Fitzgerald is a descendant of the Eliot line. Eliot is the only survivor; his

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influence no longer nourishes modern poetry. That is hardly surprising when one considers that rejection of the world requires such an expenditure of energy that it is liable to impoverish the poet to the point of depriving him of his powers of communication, Fitzgerald, rejecting the present emotionally, is unable to express his feelings about it. He is consequently forced to repeat those of other poets. The poems dealing with the chaos of the present are not only derivative but lifeless and inarticulate. Personal experience is not fully communicated within the frame of the poem. In Quo Dolore Contenebratum Est Cor Meum the grief is not expressed in the refrain of "No. No./And the alleys offered their sorrow,/The gutters their cold tears." When in his search for order he turns back to his childhood, or to the past of history, in the typical American attitude of retrospection, he presents a chain of disconnected images, sensations, and suggestions—the raw material of poetry, unorganized and unassimilated, as in Cobb Would Have Caught It. Sometimes, as if he were wringing the last ounce of disorder from his memory, he will indulge in euphuisms such as "That dun, worn, airy to-be-bounced/Treasurable and humble dweller in closets" for a lost tennis ball.

Georgic, a translation of the first book of Vergil's Georgics, is, significantly enough, Fitzgerald's best poem. It is magnificent, one of the best modern translations I have ever read. Indeed, it sounds almost as if it were an original poem, fulfilling as it does Fitzgerald's need for a cultural setting, a world at rest, from which the "brutal present" is heard only as a far-off echo. The verse becomes incantation and lament, as in the pure beauty of "Let first the Pleiades and Hyades be hid/And Ariadne's diadem go down." Fitzgerald possesses the rare gift of being able to translate poetry into poetry. That is where his great receptivity is fully realized. In translating Vergil he creates the emotional equivalents, especially in sound, necessary to carry over the feelings of Vergil's age into those of his own.

The need always determines the form. Not only in his translations but in his own poems as well he recreates a farewell world, a haven of refuge, using as framework the earth and the sky, the seasons, the four directions, pastoral occupations, and growth and decay. He tames the elements, domesticates chaos, and produces a twilight universe, a shadowy middle state reminiscent of Tennyson's, as in Soul's Lake. Here are a few lines of one of Fitzgerald's best poems, Figures in an Advertisement. He is speaking of consulting the philosophers, "happy in their homes and seminars:"

> Hear the chalk splutter, hear the groping voice: Conceive the demiurge in his perpetual Strife with the chaos of the universe. That humming equilibrium of creation Pure and enormous, crossed by the constant Light of unimaginable combustion: Teems, how it teems. An elm tree sighs Beyond the dusty windowledge of June. As in the mind the notes of a melody Vibrate when vibration's gone, a series Generated by a decimal has no end; Observe it closely, though; it stops when it stops. The frail spectacles are bedimmed with spring.

A note about a book bargain. The Penguin Book of Sonnets, edited by Carl Withers (Penguin Books, 25 cents), contains all Shakespeare's sonnets and some 250 more by Spenser, Sidney, Donne, Milton, Wordsworth, Keats, and others, including a few modern examples.

H. P. LAZARUS

# DRAMA

HREE plays have burgeoned on Broadway in the past two weeks which made me feel as if I were witnessing the season of the Elocution and Dramatic Society of Deep Woods, where a number of very good actors happened to be spending their vacations. The plays I have in mind are "-But Not Goodbye" (Forty-eighth Street Theater), "Pretty Little Parlor" (National Theater), and "Sheppey" (The Playhouse). All that is missing in each case is a little announcement by the leading citizen that the proceeds of the performance will go to meet the deficit of the Garden Club.

"-But Not Goodbye" is the best of the lot because it is so very unassuming. It will probably have a good run. It doesn't invite criticism and I shan't intrude. After all, critics should know their place, and there is no place for critics at "-But Not Goodbye." It is well acted by a cast which includes Harry Carey, Elizabeth Patterson, and J. Pat O'Malley, and I shall remember the line, "You've only been dead two hours, and you already think you know everything."

In the case of "Pretty Little Parlor" the society went a little berserk. Again the stage is overrun with good actors-Stella Adler, Sidney Blackmer, Joan Tetzel, Marilyn Erskine -but what goes on here is not so much a play as a series of impersonations. The principal one, that of the dominating woman, is written and acted with such single-minded zeal that it could pass for satire. The trouble is that it isn't intended that way. The other roles are only less hard ridden.

Playwrights take vacations too, and one can't help feeling that W. Somerset Maugham wrote "Sheppey" especially for the Deep Woods group. It seems unlikely that he would dare offer so blatant a collage of warmed-over clichés-of situation, characterization, and dénouement-except to an audience that was 'way off the railroad. There is a leading character who wins a sweepstake and who decides to use it up acting as Jesus would have done. Need I say that he introduces a tart and a petty thief into his home to the consternation of his family? The tart, you will no doubt remember, goes back to her trade because she's bored with the virtuous life. The petty thief tries to steal his benefactor's favorite knick-knack but is thwarted by the tart. And so on-and on.

The first act of "Sheppey" is good and might have led to something interesting, Mr. Maugham's talents being what they are. But it leads only to an interminable second act in which all the old material is gone over with a fine-tooth comb of dialogue that leaves no triteness unturned. Finally we are served the cliché to end all clichés. Death appears in the guise of a woman in a nifty trench coat-she has come to take Sheppey away just as he is about to be confined to . lunatic asylum because, of course, everyone thinks he's crazy -and she is actually permitted to tell the one about an appointment in Samarra.

The cast, which is headed by Edmund Gwenn, deserved something better. MARGARET MARSHALL

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# MUSIC

OTH the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and the Ballet Theater have completed their first week in New York as I begin this article; and I can say something about the Monte Carlo performances I have attended. I saw first a "Swan Lake" which was made unforgettable by Danilova's fluent grace and sovereign presence. With her was Youskevitch, who seems to me now to be the most brilliant dancer of his type; and Danielian, who has great agility but whose appearance and gestures and pantomime are destructive to a performance. After this came a new ballet, Nijinska's "Ancient Russia" to Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1-a feeble piece with a couple of good solos for Youskevitch. And then Massine's "Beau Danube," still charming even in its present shabby state: Danilova was in her old part of the street dancer; but for the hussar there was Franklin, who is engaging in his own way but lacks the Massine style for the Massine part; Danielian was the dandy; and one of the principals had a new costume in an intense blue that stood out among the original delicate pastels.

The second time there was Balanchine's "Serenade," its first part a fascinating progression of intricate pattern of bodily movement in stage space, its second part an equally fascinating progression of slow movement creating a sort of abstract emotional rhetoric. In the first part the patterns that needed to be so precise and sharply defined were blurred and smudged by the ragged performance; and the second part suffered from Danielian as the leading male dancer. Then came De Mille's "Rodeo," one of the outstanding works in the Monte Carlo repertory, and-with Franklin and Kokitch in their original parts-one of the best performed, even with Etheridge hamming the cowgirl where De Mille had made her points with finesse. Then "Pas de deux classique," with more of the exquisite classical dancing of Danilova and the brilliant dancing of Youske-

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vitch. And finally Massine's "Gaité parisienne," with the Massine role poorly done by Starbuck, but with Danilova and Franklin delightful in their

original parts. Watching "Swan Lake" I suddenly realized that part of my intense pleasure was coming from the fact that I was being allowed to keep my eye and mind on the performance without interruption. And I salute publicly whoever at the City Center had the good sense to decide not to allow latecomers to spoil the performances for the people who had arrived on time. My emotion is the stronger because of my experience at the Metropolitan. Even seated in the center section, in the past, I have had the opening ballet repeatedly blotted out by people getting up for latecomers; but last week, seated in the side section, I had between the opening ballet and myself a wall created by the unending procession of people down the aisle; and the later ballets were obstructed by these people straggling in from the buffet and lobbies. I was therefore unable to get any reportable impressions of the Ballet Theater's performances.

There is, I am sorry to say, very little on Victor's April list that I find interesting. The feature set (963; \$3.50) offers several of Stokowski's transcriptions which he recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra before he left it. The pieces are Bach's Chorale Prelude "Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu" and the aria "Es ist vollbracht" from his St. John Passion, both of which Stokowski recorded once before; No. 3 of Bach's Eight Little Preludes and Fugues for organ; the first movement of No. 1 of his Six Sonatas for pedal clavier; and Palestrina's "Adoramus Te"; and while some of this music is wonderful I can't take what Stokowski makes of it. The performances are recorded with impressive fidelity, clarity, spaciousness, and brilliance, and almost overpowering sonority at moments. The surfaces of my copy are noticeably noisy; more so with wide-range Brush pickup than with a limited-range Astatic; and that, I might add, is true of the surfaces of most of the records I have received from Victor this month.

Another set (962; \$2.50) offers Foote's Suite in E major for strings. Koussevitsky likes to exhibit his strings at the beginning of a concert; and this is one of the pieces he has long used for the purpose. It is an academic product which sounds now like Brahms, now like Tchaikovsky, now like Wagner; but the playing of the Boston Symphony strings is superbly recorded.

Then there is a set (965; \$3.50) of Welsh traditional songs sung by Thomas L. Thomas, baritone, with harp accompaniments by Edward Vito. I haven't the feeling for this type of music that many other people have; and I am therefore unable to say how good these songs are of their kind, or how-good Mr. Thomas's sonorous performances of them are.

On a single disc (11-8575; \$1) is "Nigun," No. 13 of Ernest Bloch's "Baal Shem"-an impressive piece of declamation, well played by Elman (I haven't been able to compare his performance with Szigeti's in the Columbia set of the entire work). On another (10-1071; \$.75) is Griffes's "Auf geheimem Waldespfade," one of his earliest published songs, a competent and agreeable product without any marked individuality, well sung by Eleanor Steber; on the reverse side is the even less consequental "Rapunzel" of John Sacco. Still another single disc (11-8570; \$1) offers Schubert's "Ave Maria" sung by Richard Crooks with a monstrous orchestral accompaniment; on the reverse side is a terrible piece, "How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings," by Samuel Liddle. And another (11-8569; \$1) offers from the past a not especially distinguished "Sempre libera" from "La Traviata" sung by Bori, and Caruso's acoustically recorded "Racondita armonia" from "Tosca" dubbed onto . present-day orchestral accompanimentjust why, I fail to understand.

A special release to honor Rachmaninov was a single disc (11-8593; \$1)
with his incisive performances of the
Schumann-Taussig "Contrabandist" and
Chopin-Liszt "Maiden's Wish" and
"Return Home." I suggest honoring
Rachmaninov by reissuing his performances with Kreisler of the Beethoven
Sonata Opus 30 No. 3 and the Schubert
Sonata Opus 162, which were among
the finest things ever issued on records.

B. H. HAGGIN

Coming Soon in The Nation

Edward M. Maisel's "Charles T.

Edward M. Maisel's "Charles T. Griffes: The Life of an American Composer," reviewed by B. H. Haggin.

Virginia Woolf's "A Haunted House and Other Stories," reviewed by F. W.

Hans Kohn's "The Idea of Nationalism," reviewed by Rustem Vambery.

James Agee's column on films will

appear next week as usual.

# Letters to the Editors

### Mr. Van Doren Wonders Why

Dear Sirs: I cannot understand why you printed Irwin Edman's poem about Mortimer Adler's book, "How to Think About War and Peace," in your issue of April 8. The poem cleverly misrepresents the book, but I didn't know that you were for cleverness at all costs. The cost in this case is that some of Mr. Edman's readers will never know that Mr. Adler, far from being indifferent to the present agony of the world, takes his start from the most serious concern about it of which he is capable. He wants world peace as soon as possible, and he asks us all to reflect upon the necessary conditions of its being. To do so, he says, requires both the long view and the short view: the long view, so that our end will be clear, and the short view so that proposed means-expedients and truces-can be intelligently compared. Mr. Edman can scarcely mean that the plans he mentions (Mr. Adler mentions many more, and studies them) are of equal value because equally sincere. Yet that is what he implies; whereas Mr. Adler has done his best to provide a standard by which any such plan might be measured in terms of its probable success.

Mr. Adler's book is said to be hard to read. I have not found it so, but there must be something in the legend. Clifton Fadiman contributed a preface in which he warned the reader that he would be expected to think; and Walter Millis, reviewing Mr. Adler in the New York Herald Tribune, complained of his formidable manner. Both Mr. Fadiman and Mr. Millis, however, went on to discover a responsible content of unique value. I find no evidence in Mr. Edman's poem that he went on; none, even, that he read the first page. Mr. Adler is not charming as Mr. Edman can be charming, but I should expect one philosopher to be capable of reading another, at least if he contemplated a public report of the other's thought. I am not forgetting that the report in this case is a poem, and a light one. I am merely wondering whether you think poetic license is a license to be false. Mr. Edman would be ashamed, I suspect, to say in prose what he has said here in verse-namely, that he could not read certain very serious book about

war and peace. I am not saying he should have agreed with it. His privilege was to prove it anything he liked—for instance, wrong or superficial—in whatever way verse can best prove such things. What he did was to set a new record for cynicism and superficiality. And in *The Nation* of all places.

MARK VAN DOREN

New York, April 8

### Mr. Edman Elucidates

Dear Sirs: Only the editors of The Nation can answer Mr. Van Doren's question as to why they printed my poem.

But I can and must answer Mr. Van Doren's insistence that I should not have written the poem, that the poem misrepresented the book, and that I had not read the book I was satirizing. I gather I should not have written the poem at all because Mr. Van Doren thinks "How to Think About War and Peace" a good book and therefore exempt from satire. My alleged misrepresentation of the book is based on the fact that the points I stressed are not those that impressed Mr. Van Doren. The conclusion that I had not read the book comes from the fact that I found in it things that Mr. Van Doren did

I did indeed read the book, six weeks before publication, in proof, thanks to an intended kindness on the part of the publishers. I did not find in it any meaningful standards by which to measure the relevance or usefulness now of those plans which Mr. Adler examines and haughtily disposes of. I did not find any contribution to a "long view." Nor did I find any sense in taking as a criterion for plans for the immediate present or even the long present absolute peace defined in terms that make that peace five hundred years away in a formula. I did not find and nowhere suggested that I found the book hard. I found it easy to see and to see through. I found it pretentiously verbal, and as a technique for understanding, useless. I found no responsible content of unique value. I found the use of a dubious method of empty dialectic ... a substitute for responsible empirical inquiry. I found Mr. Adler's "long view" so long that it seemed irrelevant to any conceivable span of human foresight and contrivance. I found "wrong" and "superficial" the assumption that unless you posited an absolute end, absolute peace, you could have no significant ends whatever or relevant means.

I am not the first in history to use satire to puncture what seems to him pretentious, verbalistic, and dogmatic, Mr. Van Doren, as the author of an admirable book on Dryden, should know this even better than I. It is not superficial or-in a democracy-lèse majesté to satirize a book for what seems its emptiness and arrogance, especially when it is on the most serious of themes. Nor is it cynical to expose the cynicism implied in putting any criterion of human betterment dialectically beyond human ken, to judge issues whose character is shaped here and now by a remote definition of a remotely possible peace.

Mr. Van Doren's letter finally suggests, quite apart from Mr. Adler's book, some sinister notions about freedom of expression. Is no satire to be permitted of any book that anyone thinks good, no matter how poor the satirist thinks it to be? As for "proving" my points in verse, must a poet hereafter submit a brief along with his poem? As for poetic license to be "false," who is to issue the licenses? Who is to decide whether the poet is true or false? Mr. Goebbels? Mr. Van Doren?

Mr. Van Doren can also be very charming. But his letter is a new high in totalitarianism and intolerance. And this from a former literary editor of *The Nation*, too! RWIN EDMAN Cambridge, Mass., April 14

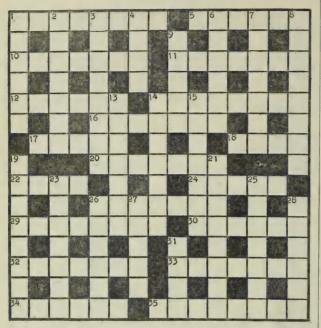
### Dignity and Filibusters

Dear Sirs: It is fairly safe to say that human dignity is not attained by sulking. Neither is it to be won by calling attention to the important work that is the responsibility of any group. In fact, dignity is not a necessary prerogative of position, however exalted. It is the offspring of behavior, and no protestations or wails of indignation are substitutes.

Of course my remarks are aimed at the late exhibitionism of the Senate of the United States. There is always something funny in a solemn assertion of one's dignity—because it is so simple to earn a recognition of one's dignity, by acting in a dignified manner.

# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 61

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 It is a double pleasure to deceive him!
- 5 Likewise Tally-ho
- 10 It gives a fair illumination
- 11 A U. S. salt makes a sudden attack
- 12 Exact, but by no means precise
- 14 A hot spell (hyphen, 4 and 4)
- 16 One envies them in a 14 Across
- 17 My gardener hates growing it 18 You'd naturally expect an emperor
- to appear in fine robes 20 In this case a printer's error would be correct
- 22 A short distance from the chin
- 24 No, Robert; a man of great wealth
- 26 Reel back from Art's egg 29 No skipper would care to venture
- into this Sea 30 By the man in it you don't mean the expert
- 32 How one sat, maybe, to ride
- 33 Charge made by a mad neat (bull, that is)
- 34 A "Don't" of our childhood days
- 35 Put up to be knocked down

### DOWN

- 1 Fellow riding a donkey
- 2 An optical allusion
- 3 Prisoner-of-war, perhaps
- 4 Dash out of Melanesia
- 6 Attacks made with stones

- 7 Has been described as "the complexion of virtue"
- 8 An instigator (two words, 6 and 2) 9 Apron strings
- 13 Where the big guns congregate
- 14 "I'd go, Hal" (anag.)
- 15 Makes musical
- 19 Was it this old officer's duty to reward the servants?
- 21 Trim, neat and a strict disciplin-
- 23 Artery-and you get it in the neck 25 Useful when there's dirty work to
- be done
- 26 Swift was a master of this
- 27 Awry, as the seventeenth letter
- 28 Potential beef
- 31 To run this is to be in a state of murderous frenzy

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 60

ACROSS:-1 TOMATO: 4 SCUTTLED; 10 MONOCLE; 11 AVENUES; 12 U-BOAT; 13 ILK; 14 EAGER; 15 TASSO; 17 ANOTHER I; 21 QUARRELS; 23 WATER; 26 OAKUM; 28 AIL; 29 AREAS; 30 MOMENTS; 31 TEA-TIME; 32 NOTARIES; 33 STAGES.

DOWN:-1 TIMBUKTU; 2 MINIONS; 3 TACIT; 5 CRACK; 6 THEME; 7 LOUNGER; 8 DESIRE; 9 CELIBATE; 16 OAR; 18 OBSO-LETE; 19 HOW; 20 BRUSSELS; 22 UN-KEMPT; 24 TEEMING; 25 DOLMEN; 27 MANOR; 28 AISLE; 3 ABAFT.

Now I ask how is it possible to think of the United States Senate as a dignified body of legislators when it permits -at times encourages-its members to hold up important legislation by reading aloud the Declaration of Independence, excerpts from "Alice in Wonderland," or the telephone directory of some large city? I have heard it stated that it is not commensurate with the dignity of the Senate to cut off any Senator from expressing his convictions concerning a bill. Granted. But does that really mean that he must be free to stand up and discuss any subject however irrelevant, and at any length he desires? I understand that other free nations have succeeded in heading off filibusters. It seems to me that now, when we are hearing so much of the dignity of the Senate, is a fine time for that body to set about reforming itself, compelling the nation to respect rather than laugh at it.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER

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LUDWIG RENN was an officer in the German army during the First World War. He left Germany when Hitler came to power, and fought on the side of the Loyalists during the civil war in Spain. His novels, "Death Without Battle" and "Before Dawn," won him an international reputation. He is also the author of "Warfare: The Relation of War to Society."

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Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestle:
One year 85; Two years 85; These years 81;
Canadian, 81. The Nation is indexed in Readers'
Guide to Periodical Literature. Book Review
Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs
Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks'
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LEADING WEEKLY AMERICAS SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MAY 6, 1944

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vessy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act

# The Shape of Things

IN THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES OF WESTERN Europe, the Nazis are intensifying their drive against the resistance front in their rear. They know how dangerous the ill-fed, ill-armed patriots of the underground are likely to prove at the moment of invasion. And to the best of their vicious ability they are striving to hamstring the resistance movement by arrests, deportations, and executions. We hope the Anglo-American High Command is equally aware of the potential value of these waiting allies and is doing everything possible to aid them. We are, it is true, supplying them with constant encouragement and advice, but we should remember that an ounce of dynamite is worth a ton of exhortations. We should remember, too, that we are calling on the peoples of the occupied countries for great sacrifices. Their hour of liberation will be a bloody one. They will not shrink from the ordeal, but they will expect, and expect rightly, to be treated as full partners. They have suffered greatly during the occupation; they face the prospect of devastating material losses in the course of the invasion. But they retain their dignity as human beings. Have we the imagination not to affront it?

ONE OF IZVESTIA'S "ILL-BRED TAUNTS" GOT under the skin of the International Labor Conference last week. For some months the Governing Body of the I. L. O. has been making every effort to persuade Russia to rejoin the organization, from which it withdrew in 1939 following its expulsion from the League of Nations. When the Philadelphia conference opened, Moscow was still maintaining a stony silence, but hope lingered for the designation, at least, of a Soviet observer. This hope was dashed by the cabled report of an article in Izvestia in which the I. L. O. was described as a "bankrupt organization" which had "invited one or more fascist countries to participate" in its deliberations. Russia, it was indicated, would remain uninterested in membership unless ties with the League were severed and the I. L. O. recreated as an organ of the United Nations. These criticisms evoked rather peppery retorts from some delegates, including Miss Perkins and Robert J. Watt, A. F. of L. representative. However, after a cooling-off period, Walter Nash, deputy Premier of New Zealand, who presides over the conference, renewed the invitation to Russia to come back. The full text of the Izvestia article, he said, showed that it was less hostile than the cabled summary made it appear. Nevertheless, he admitted the improbability of Russia's return so long as the I. L. O. was tied to the League. That the I. L. O. cannot function effectively without Soviet participation is hardly a matter for debate. Indeed, Russia's continued absence may be the real reason for proposals by the British and Canadian governments which would serve to postpone decisions on the future status of the organization until its next conference. These governments, it is surmised, may be hesitant to commit themselves to new obligations to which Moscow is not a partner. But whatever the reason, their proposals are bitterly resented by the workers' group at the conference.

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WE MAY ASSUME THAT MONTGOMERY WARD and Company, when it was filing 36,000 applications to the War Production Board for preference ratings on supplies, would have been both mad and hurt if any New Deal bureaucrat had dared to suggest that its activities were not essential to the war effort. But when, as a result of the company's refusal to comply with an order of the War Labor Board, the President directed the Army to take over the Ward plant in Chicago, Sewell Avery, chairman, declared that his company was a "non-war business" and insisted on being ejected from his office by force, to the tune of a great deal of publicity and loud cheers from the stalwarts of free enterprise. We don't see how Ward's can have it both ways -but that of course is the nub of the "philosophy" known as free enterprise, of which Mr. Avery is so eloquent an exponent. He wants priorities from the WPB but he is outside the jurisdiction of the WLB. We are sure he approves of labor's no-strike promise but he doesn't believe in umpires and he objects strenuously to such concessions as the maintenance-of-membership clause which labor has claimed as a substitute for the strike. He is said to feel it incumbent upon him to keep the "pioneer spirit" alive. But, alas, he is breaking a trail back to a promised land that died of drought and erosion in 1929.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT BIG BUSINESS HAS moved in and captured the chief federal agencies dealing with production, contracts, and the financing of war plants, or that it has then blamed the weaknesses of those agencies on the "New Deal" and the President instead of on its own inefficiency and greed. No, the effrontery of big business goes well beyond these tactics of grabbing power and dodging responsibility. Its further aims are well defined in a recent attack on the

Department of Justice in the NAM News, organ of the National Association of Manufacturers. This journal charged that the department had at first tried to prevent the oil industry from setting up its own advisory committee to take part in the discussion of a world oil agreement. Only under pressure, said the NAM News, was the ruling modified to permit three oil men to attend the talks if they took no part in them. Mr. Biddle, flatly denying the charges, took occasion to repeat the government's policy as laid down in previous similar cases. Abbreviated, that policy provides that consultation with private "technical experts" is permissible under the antitrust laws so long as such persons have no hand in the making or carrying out of public policy. "That authority should be vested exclusively in public officers who are responsible to the President and Congress." And the department adds the warning that while "advisory committees representing private interests are one valuable source of information and advice . . . provision should be made so that any group [our italics] which feels that its interests are being neglected may present its grievances or suggestions to the government." It is hard to see just what objections the oil industry or the NAM can offer to such a ruling, except that it fails to turn over to private interests the power to control directly through their own agencies the economic policy of the government.

MR. DEWEY'S VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY have been a long time coming. Unkind critics are bound to ask: Where were you when the battle was thickest, when the lines were being drawn? And consulting the actual record it is not a little amusing to listen to Mr. Dewey's perhaps autobiographical account of the great American awakening: "First came the Republican Mackinac Charter, then the Moscow Charter, then the Fulbright and Connally resolutions." But Mr. Dewey is a bold historian. With a disinterested warning note for our own times-1944 in case we've forgotten-he suggests that the last post-war settlement failed because "those who drafted the treaty were tired war leaders. They could not find within themselves the physical and mental strength to make the peace a living reality." Well, the bright, fresh, unwarwearied Republicans of 1919-1920 did their best to redress Mr. Wilson's doddering efforts to set up a decent world order. But these, perhaps, are minor points. Of greater significance is the fact that through his brief political career Mr. Dewey has shown himself to be a cautious and fairly accurate opinionsampler rather than a decisive leader. And if he says to the publishers, in his clear, ringing voice, that American objectives "are to organize in cooperation with other nations a structure of peace backed by adequate force to prevent future wars" then it probably means that the American people are fairly solidly behind the policy that Mr. Hull and Mr. Roosevelt have been proclaiming for many years. It means that not many of them like the tune Col. McCormick plays and that the isolationists who are backing Dewey will have to pipe down for the time being. Whether it means that the internationalists, leaving the President and the ghost of Mr. Willkie, will climb on the shiny, new Dewey bandwagon that now plays the Hull-Roosevelt marching song is another question.

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THE REPUBLICAN PRESS IS SO BUSY THESE days describing Mr. Dewey's immense popularity and stressing the "ground swell against the New Deal" that it seems to have missed one item in the returns from the recent primary election in Pennsylvania. This is that a "write-in" candidate named Franklin Delano Roosevelt ran third in the Republican primary, well ahead of Pennsylvania's favorite son, Governor Martin, as well as other leading G. O. P. contestants such as Governor Bricker and Lieutenant-Commander Stassen. Mr. Roosevelt ran close to General MacArthur, who was second to Dewey. In addition to his surprising showing on the Republican ticket, President Roosevelt rolled up nearly twice as many votes in the uncontested Democratic primary as all the Republican candidates combined. Lest the Republicans may have forgotten, it might be added that Pennsylvania has thirty-six votes in the Electoral College, second only to New York.

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WE GREATLY REGRET THAT MAYOR LaGuardia has chosen to associate himself with Governor Bricker of Ohio and Governor Edge of New Jersey in opposing the relocation in the East of loyal Americans of Japanese descent. The New York Mayor does not even have the excuse of economic self-interest which moved a group of New Jersey farmers to protest against the placement of Japanese Americans in their area. He is reported to have based his objections to relocation in New York on the ground that it held "potential dangers" to an area covered with military installations, war plants, and shipping facilities. In so doing the Mayor completely ignored the fact that only men and women who have proved their loyalty beyond question are being relocated. More than 20,000 have been placed in the two and a half years since Pearl Harbor, and not a single case of disloyalty has arisen. There has not been in fact one proved case of sabotage on the part of a Japanese American, either in this country or Hawaii, since the beginning of the war, even taking into account the so-called disloyal elements held by the FBI or at Tule Lake. This being the situation, Mr. LaGuardia should not encourage the fanatics and racial bigots in New York by taking fright so easily.

# G. I. Enemy No. 1

JOHN E. RANKIN of Mississippi has become the Enemy No. 1 in Congress of the service man. After succeeding in depriving many soldiers of their right to vote, he is now blocking their right to unemployment insurance and other veterans' benefits. The so-called "G. I. Bill of Rights" was unanimously passed by the Senate on March 24 but is still bottled up in the House War Veterans Committee, of which Rankin is chairman.

The "G. I. Bill of Rights" is indorsed by both the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and by labor organizations. It is an omnibus measure providing veterans of this war with hospitalization, education and vocational training, loans for homes, farms and businesses, employment service, and unemployment insurance benefits. It would give the Veterans' Administration an appropriation of \$500,000,000 to provide additional hospital facilities for veterans. It would make them eligible for a year or more of additional education, allowing them \$500 a year for tuition and \$50 a month subsistence. It would authorize 3 per cent loans up to \$1,000, which a veteran could use to build a home or buy a farm or set himself up in business. Most important of all, perhaps, is its provision allowing veterans a maximum of \$15 a week in unemployment insurance for a maximum of fifty-two weeks in a period of twenty-four months after demobilization.

Unemployment compensation of this kind is essential, since soldiers earn no credit toward their unemployment insurance. Without such special provision, as Warren H. Atherton, national commander of the American Legion, said at a press conference in New York City, "should there be scarce employment [after the war], we will have two persons standing side by side, the war worker and the soldier, and the soldier will get nothing." But according to Atherton, Rankin is blocking the "G. I. Bill of Rights" because of this very provision. The head of the Legion told the press that Rankin informed him that he was opposed to all unemployment insurance. "If Mr. Rankin means that he wants to deny unemployment insurance to the men now carrying the bayonet for Uncle Sam," Atherton told the press, "the veterans of the American Legion intend to fight him right down the line and take the issue to every voter in the country."

Rankin attacks the Service Men's Aid Act of 1944, as the "G. I. Bill of Rights" is formally known, on the ground that it is "half-baked." But the measure has been in his committee for four months. It was unanimously reported out after full discussion by the Senate Finance Committee, one of the most conservative and careful committees in the Senate. "If it can't be baked in four months," Atherton said, "we need a new baker." A more likely objection on Rankin's part is that the bill

embodies the recommendations on veterans' aid made by the President in special messages to Congress last October and November. In this case, as in that of the soldiers' vote bill, Rankin and his Southern Democratic bitterenders hope, in alliance with the Republicans, to inflict another defeat on Mr. Roosevelt. They will not find it easy this time.

Behind Rankin's fight against the G. I. Bill of Rights is the desire of the sweatshoppers whom he represents to have an ample supply of cheap labor after the war. If veterans are guaranteed \$15 a week unemployment insurance for fifty-two weeks, a floor is automatically put under wages. The task of driving down wages will be especially difficult for Rankin and his kind if Negro as well as white soldiers have this protection, and it thus becomes impossible to use cheap Negro labor to beat down the wages of white.

There is good authority to back this theory. On the floor of the Senate last week Bennett Champ Clark, Democrat, of Missouri, attacked Rankin for blocking aid to veterans on racial grounds. Clark said that Rankin and his supporters "are so unwilling to let the Negro troops have the unemployment insurance to which they are entitled that they would be willing to withhold deserved benefits from all our troops." But the results of Rankin's policy would be even more vicious and complex than Senator Clark implies. For his animosity toward the Negro is calculated to deprive all soldiers of unemployment protection and thus ensure a large supply of labor at distress wages in the event of a post-war depression. White soldier as well as black, like white worker and black, have a common interest in fighting this rancorous expression of all that is most vicious in our national life.

# New Hope in China?

CEVERAL of the recent dispatches from Chungking Dappearing in the New York Times probably came as a considerable shock to the average newspaper reader because they ran directly counter to the prevailing highly censored view of China. Persons accustomed to read of China's great progress in recent years were hardly prepared, for example, for the flat admission by Sun Fo. president of the Legislative Yuan and son of the founder of the Chinese Republic, that "we [the Kuomintang] ... assumed the attitude and habits of a ruling caste ... suppressing outside criticism . . . and withholding from publication criticism within the party." Even more striking is the assertion of another prominent Kuomintang official that "village government has been for a long time the private preserve of the corrupt gentry and rapacious landlords [and] . . . since the war . . . these local despots have increased their power for evil-doing at the expense

of our helpless peasantry." The same official added that "if a truly democratic government is to be built up in this country, these corrupt oppressors . . . must be deprived of their power."

It would be a mistake, however, to interpret these dispatches as an indication of a sudden deterioration in the Chinese political situation. Regular readers of The Nation have for many months known all the facts revealed in these reports. The one new development in the situation, and that an astounding one, is that prominent leaders in the Kuomintang should now be voicing criticisms which were vehemently denied by all Chungking officials only a few weeks ago and that the censor should permit such criticisms to reach this country. This suggests that some change of considerable importance may be brewing. Just what it may be, we are not told. But there are at least two possibilities. One is that the progressive elements in and out of the Kuomintang have at last got together and are on the verge of achieving a long-needed reorganization of the Chinese government. The fact that criticism of the reactionary tendencies within the Kuomintang was first voiced by Sun Fo, a leader of the liberal wing of the Kuomintang, would seem to support this hypothesis. Against it, however, is the fact that T. V. Soong, long regarded as the one man capable of leading China on the path to democracy, has only recently been stripped of his post as director of the Bank of China and is believed to have lost a large part of his influence in Kuomintang and government circles.

The second possibility is that the government itself, under its present leadership, is contemplating drastic "reforms" as an answer to the criticisms of the Kuomintang's totalitarian tendencies that have been aired in recent months in both Britain and America. This would relegate Sun Fo's statement to the category of a trial balloon. Although there are no official indications that such reforms have actually been decided upon, some of the dispatches hint at a lifting of the present drastic restrictions on the domestic press. This would be in line with the modification in censorship policies that apparently have already taken place. Such changes obviously are desirable. But it is doubtful whether in themselves they would go very far toward alleviating the anxiety of Western critics regarding the Chinese situation. For in their view the root evil is the feudal landlord system, which prevents China from developing an all-out war effort either in the economic or in the political sphere. This situation, as the Chungking critics now admit, has become worse as the government has retreated into the interior. Freedom of the press would ultimately aid in dealing with the problem. But there obviously can be neither true freedom of the press nor fundamental economic reforms without some shift in the orientation of political power.

# Realism at the I.L.O.

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Philadelphia, April 26

I HAVE been listening to a three-day debate on post-war social and economic problems in which none of the speakers that I heard so much as mentioned "private enterprise." This, I am sure, will shock a great many people in this country and may suggest to them that there is something Bolshevist about the International Labor Conference, now holding its twenty-sixth session here. Let me hasten to add therefore that I haven't heard anyone mention the word "socialism" either. The busy delegates—a distinguished cross-section of the statesmen, government officials, labor leaders and business men of forty-one nations—have no time to indulge in academic debate. They are facing problems too vast and pressing to be fitted neatly into ideological frames of reference.

The pragmatic approach to economic questions which is being forced upon European statesmen was reflected in a brilliantly lucid speech by André Tixier, representing the French National Committee of Liberation. The occupied countries of Europe, he pointed out, would be concerned after liberation not merely with the task of reconversion but with the necessity for total reconstruction. While no one could tell just what conditions would exist after the Germans had withdrawn, it was certain that the immediate prospects for economic activity would be extremely limited. Factories and communications would be badly damaged if not totally destroyed; machinery worn-out or transported to Germany; raw-material stocks exhausted. And with economic life at a standstill the French government would immediately have to tackle the huge problem of repatriating and resettling millions of war prisoners and deported workers.

Under these circumstances, M. Tixier said, any suggestion that liberation would bring automatic recovery was a dangerous illusion. So long as total supplies were inadequate, the state would have to control and plan distribution and production, operating a strict system of priorities for labor, materials, and investment. It would be a severe regime, embodying the principles which the United States and Britain had been compelled to adopt in their war economies. "It has not been chosen," M. Tixier added, "in the light of doctrinal, social, and economic preferences, but under the pressure of immediate and practical needs, in so far as we can foresee them."

Probably not even the most rugged of individualists would deny the inevitability of government intervention in the case of France and other occupied countries, which means most of Europe. But the International Labor Organization is looking beyond the immediate period of reconstruction, and the program it is considering at this time implies a large and permanent degree of plan-

ning, national and international. The main object of the present conference is to adapt the structure and policies of the I. L. O. so as to enable it to play its part in implementing the social provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

This is leading the organization into fields where it never ventured in the first twenty-five years of its existence. But most of the delegates here seem to feel that the I. L. O. can no longer confine its work to questions of hours, accident prevention, protection of women and children in industry, and the like. The Atlantic Charter pledges "improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security" for all—ideals which can hardly be reached unless there is international cooperation in promoting full employment and a rising standard of living.

If, however, full employment is to come within the purview of the I. L. O., it cannot ignore such questions as monetary stabilization, international investment policies, raw-material controls, and the regulation of cartels. Policies on these matters will no doubt be constructed by meetings of governments or by specially created international organizations. But it should be the function of the I. L. O., as guardian of the social conscience of the world, to "scrutinize" international economic policies and point out their social implications.

This, very briefly, is the purport of the first two resolutions on the conference agenda, and it must be admitted that they cover a large amount of ground. Robert J. Watt, A. F. of L. representative, suggested that it was too large. The I. L. O., he said, should restrict its efforts to the promotion of economic democracy; social justice would follow in due course. More violent criticism came from Colonel Chapa, Mexican employer delegate, who attacked the resolutions as inadmissible interference with national sovereignties.

His point of view, however, seemed to attract singularly little support. The majority of the delegates appear quite prepared for large measures of international planning, while they take government intervention on the national level for granted. Nor is this hard to understand. The European nations face a condition, not a theory-a condition of economic chaos which will not yield to the profit motive. As for the extra-European nations represented at the conference, they are mostly semi-colonial countries seeking, in the words of Lombardo Toledano, "to emerge from the historically backward period in which we live and to become a part of modern society enjoying the benefits of civilization." The spirit in which the I. L. O. is approaching these problems seemed to me far more realistic than that animating current economic discussions in the United States. Here we are assiduously cultivating the mystique of private enterprise; abroad, pragmatism is the order of the day. Can there, one wonders, be tolerance and cooperation between these two philosophies?

# Sedition and Circuses

BY JAMES WECHSLER

Washington, April 26 S THE nation's biggest war-time sedition trial gets under way in the crowded District courtroom here, an atmosphere of sickness and unreality envelops the whole proceeding. Seldom have so many wild-eyed, jumpy, lunatic-fringe characters been assembled in one spot, within speaking, winking, and whispering distance of one another. People who have read some of their more frenzied works and who remember their wackier public performances find it a trifle difficult to spend the day in their company without feeling jittery by nightfall. They cease to be comic figures. They jabber to each other about the Jews on the prospective jury; they cast suspicious glances at both innocent bystanders and their fellow-prisoners; they are firmly convinced that no man who ever voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt could possibly give them a fair trial.

In effect the thirty defendants—twenty-eight men and two women-are accused of conspiring to incite mutiny in the nation's armed forces and of acting as full-fledged partners in a worldwide Nazi campaign to divide and conquer democracy. O. John Rogge, directing the government's prosecution, has emphasized that he does not propose to use the trial as a forum against conventional isolationists. He has promised that he will show the defendants did more than oppose American preparedness, more than question our war aims, more than echo the arguments of the Berlin radio. What he proposes to demonstrate is that their shrill cries for peace, their Jewbaiting, their passionate Anglophobia were deliberately linked to the propaganda program fashioned by the Nazis, and that the connection between their views and those voiced by the Axis was not accidental. On the basis of this pledge the Civil Liberties Union and similar agencies have refrained from any intervention in the trial. But while awaiting the presentation of the government's case, they reserve the right to object later if the essential evidence is not brought out.

With the trial in progress for less than a fortnight, it has already become clear that neither the defendants, their counsel, nor the Patterson-McCormick press will permit any temperate weighing of the issues. A succession of incidents has quickly proved that for many of the defendants this is the propaganda chance of a lifetime, and several of the attorneys have been less than judicious in helping their clients to use the courtroom as a sounding-board. Most conspicuous in this role have been James J. Laughlin, representing Edward James

Smythe; Ira Chase Koehne, speaking for Lois de Lafayette Washburn, the over-eager lady who gave the Nazi salute to photographers on the opening day of the trial; and a few other lawyers whose pronouncements, in and out of court, have borne a striking resemblance to the pamphlets the defendants used to issue before they were indicted. The first court sessions have been largely taken up with orations designed to prove that the only issue is whether these good men and women should be penalized for exercising the basic American right of disliking Jews. Defense attorneys ask about the ancestry of all talesmen. They ask whether government employees on the panel are subordinate to Jewish officials. They want Justice Frankfurter, Bernard Baruch, Samuel I. Rosenman summoned to testify. They snicker when a juror confesses that he was born in Minsk. It is often difficult to tell the defendants from their lawyers without a scorecard. With tenacious persistence a group of defense counsel has endeavored to bury the essential charge made by the government—that the defendants are wilful associates of the Nazi network-and to picture the trial as a brawl between Jews and other citizens.

In this effort the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Times-Herald have valiantly assisted. These two Patterson-McCormick papers have soberly, and significantly, featured irresponsible motions by defense counsel accusing "Jewish-Communist" organizations of instigating the prosecution, linking the FBI and the Anti-Defamation League, suggesting that the trial is the product of the warped brains of (Jewish) New Dealers. Ignoring Rogge's repeated assertions that he will not use the case to discredit Congressional anti-interventionists who may have inadvertently provided lunch and dinner for some of the defendants, various persons at the Capitol have raised their voices in a sort of sympathetic chorus with the murmurings of the accused seditionists.

It is natural, in a proceeding of this sort, to wonder whether the defendants, tried in time of war, can receive a full and free hearing, but developments so far have indicated that it is the government which will have the toughest task in winning a favorable reception for its testimony from the public. The defendants and their counsel act as if they were confident of support in many high places, and as if the trial afforded them a supreme opportunity to recite their pieces to a nation-wide audience. Meanwhile both the judge and the prosecution are hampered by the fear of later reversal growing out of any "prejudicial" word or deed.

Of course, pronounced contrasts among the defendants can be noted. They range from learned, scholarly-looking, self-composed Lawrence Dennis to rabble-rousing, pretty-boy Joe McWilliams; from aged, dozing Eugene Sanctuary to buxom, bellicose Elizabeth Dilling. In the line-up, too, are white-haired James True, self-proclaimed inventor of the "kike-killer"; noisy James Edward Smythe, who recently proposed a "nation-wide day of prayer"; George Sylvester Viereck, shrewd, slippery German agent, showing prison pallor as a result of a previous conviction for failing to register as a foreign agent. Two-bit Führers, hangers-on, frustrated and ailing souls who turned to fascism to get some fun out of life are all represented in this depressing company. Some of them became notorious through their wordy periodicals, some through their violent anti-Semitism, some for their early and fervid espousal of Adolf Hitler-like William Dudley Pelley, who once boasted that he spotted Hitler before any of his pro-fascist contemporaries saw that he was going places.

One wonders what the biographical data in each case would reveal as the original source of the aberration. The Bundsmen, several of whom are already in jail and regard the current trial as an outing from the monotony of prison, are probably easiest to explain. Most of them are Germans, serving the Fatherland. It is more difficult to figure out the motivation of the widely differing Americans. For whether they are convicted of conspiracy or not, their pro-fascist sentiments have been exhibited beyond dispute. Many of them can be conveniently described as crackpots. But are crackpots born or made?

Whatever the conclusion about the individuals on trial here, the seriousness of the case is unmistakable. Its civil-liberties aspect is of crucial concern since the conspiracy charge is one of the most tenuous in all our legal procedure. Certainly it is vital for the government to show that these characters were not merely spiritual sympathizers with the Hitler cause but active agents of the enemy, aware of the nature of the service they were performing. At the same time, disastrous consequences would follow a government defeat in the prosecution. Such an outcome would be the signal for an unprecedented pro-fascist crusade to begin. Innocent or guilty of the charge on which they are being tried, all the accused have announced their contempt for democracy, for minority rights, for racial equality, for the elementary rules of our society. None of them seem impressed by the fact that they are receiving a fair, dispassionate hearing under the guidance of Judge Edward C. Eicher, who seems to embody all the gentle, restrained, and thoughtful qualities of the ideal democratic jurist. They heckle him in the courtroom, sneer at him in the corridor, denounce him in published statements, demand that he dismiss himself from the case. And Colonel Robert R. McCormick seconds all the motions.

# 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE GREAT AND CRYING FAULTS of Grant's Administration thus far have been the appointment of several worthless men to important offices, and his adherence to the old principle of rotation. These cannot be too severely denounced; but as regards the Cabinet and the general policy of the government, for heaven's sake let us for once give the President at least six months' trial.—

May 6, 1869.

DOCTOR HORACE BUSHNELL is engaged in the preparation of a work which will surely attract attention just now, and procure for its author a great deal of sympathy—for he is certain to be well abused. "Woman Suffrage, or the Reform Against Nature" is the title he gives it; and no one who knows the character of his writings will expect the body of the book to be less forcible in manner than this defiant title-page.—May 6, 1869.

TWO OR THREE OF THE PAPERS in this number of the North American are of a character to suggest the thought that, much as the usefulness and influence of quarterly magazines have declined of late years, they still fill a place that needs to be filled. . . . Mr. Henry Brooks Adams contributes an essay, which deserves to be styled statesman-like, reviewing the work of the last session of Congress. . . What it says of the Alabama treaty, the treaty for the purchase of St. Thomas, the economic measures of the present Administration, the "rings" that control the Senate and the House, the Tenure-of-Office bill—is all talk upon subjects upon which everybody has talked; but these subjects have seldom been treated with anything like the independence of thought and plainness of sensible speech that Mr. Adams brings to the discussion of them.—May 6, 1869.

TO SAY THAT the Pacific Railroad is finished is quite as much as to say, in the words of the only poet whom we have as yet observed grappling with the subject:

Hail to the pathway of nations here, It runs today through a hemisphere.

Half-past twelve (local time) of the tenth instant was the moment of driving the last nail, and before sunset the event was celebrated, not very noisily but very heartily, throughout the country. Chicago made a procession seven miles long; New York hung out bunting, fired a hundred guns, and held thanksgiving services in Trinity; Philadelphia rang the old Liberty Bell; and many towns burnt powder in honor of the consummation of a work which, and good Americans believe, gives us a road to the Indies, a means of making the United States a halfway house between the East and West, and, last but not least, a new guaranty of the perpetuity of the Union as it is.—May 13, 1869.

AFTER A LONG DELAY, which was spent in pretty vigorous discussion and canvassing, Professor Charles W. Eliot, the nominee of the Harvard College Corporation, has been confirmed as president of the Board of Overseers. The majority in his favor was two to one or sixteen to eight.—May 27, 1869.

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# Imperial Cross-Currents

BY FRANK H. UNDERHILL

AN OLD and experienced Canadian newspaperman once remarked that with every new government Canada is made into a nation over again. So also it might be said that with every new Imperial Conference the British nations are made into a united Commonwealth over again. And another Imperial Conference

is about to meet in London.



Premier King of Canada

The fifth Colonial Conference was held in London in April, 1907. One of the chief questions which it had to consider was a proposal from the British government for the creation of an Imperial Council. This body was not defined very precisely as to constitution or functions, but it was to take the place of

the Conference, it was to have a permanent secretariat, and the clear intention was that it should grow into an important policy-making body in British imperial affairs. The proposal was welcomed by Australia, Natal, and the Cape, but was emphatically rejected by the Canadian government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This opposition from Canada was decisive. The new Liberal government which had just come into office was not much interested in a proposition emanating from its Conservative predecessors; and it was strongly opposed to the other main question before the Conference, Australia's proposal of mutual tariff preferences. After considerable debate the door on imperial preference was "banged, barred, and bolted"-the phrase was that of young Mr. Winston Churchill, who was a Liberal at the time and held a junior position in the British government. Instead of setting up an Imperial Council, the Conference changed its name from Colonial to Imperial Conference; that is, the British nations decided not to create a new central authority for carrying out a common policy but to conduct their relations through the cooperation of independent authorities in the mother-country and the dominions.

Today, in 1944, the prime ministers of His Majesty's

several independent governments are to meet once again in conference in London. The air is once again full of vague schemes of imperial consolidation. Lord Halifax set tongues wagging by his Toronto speech of January 24, in which he declared that the British nations could play their proper part in the world only if they acted as one united Commonwealth speaking with one voice. Prime Minister Curtin of Australia has come forward with a rather indefinite proposal for an Imperial Council with a permanent secretariat, as in 1907. Ever since Canada's somewhat unhappy experiences with the Ottawa agreements of 1932, schemes for imperial preferences as the basis of a British economic empire have not been in such favor here as they used to be. And our Canadian Premier, Mr. King, the disciple of Laurier, has emphatically rejected Lord Halifax's conception of a British Commonwealth speaking with one voice in world affairs. So it wouldn't be surprising if after long discussion the 1944 Conference decided, like the 1907 one, to change its name—this time from Imperial to Commonwealth Conference.

Laurier's steady opposition through four conferences to all projects for the setting up of a central authority in the Empire fixed the course of evolution for the self-governing British nations. His purely negative work was consolidated by the positive achievements of Sir Robert Borden and General Smuts in the war-making and peace-making of the years 1914-19.

Smuts and Borden denied that the Commonwealth must either create some central authority dealing with defense and foreign policy or disintegrate into separate isolationist units. The British Commonwealth which, under their leadership, emerged from the First World War was a free association of independent nation-states, each in complete charge of its own affairs but agreeing to consult with the others. This form of association has been the despair of logicians, theorists, and absolutists. In periods of tranquillity it doesn't look like an association at all; in periods of danger it works like a well-trained team. Americans find it difficult to understand because they can't understand a team without a coach.

Borden and Smuts not merely set the pattern for future relations among the British nations but achieved for the dominions a new international status which made still more impossible the idea of a single foreign policy for the British Commonwealth, expressed through some central organ of government. By insisting on the individual representation of the dominions at the peace con-

ference, on their individual signing of the peace treaties, on their individual membership in the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization, they launched the dominions into world politics as distinct independent nations, each speaking with a voice of its own. In the 1920's Canada and the Irish Free State took the lead in completing this process by establishing their own diplomatic representation in foreign capitals, beginning with Washington. They were followed by South Africa. After persisting for two decades in conducting their foreign relations through the instrumentality of the British Foreign Office, Australia and New Zealand have finally accepted the Canadian method and during this war have established their own legations at Washington. Canada in the meantime has sent ministers to Russia and China, and also to most of the European governments who are on our side in this war, as well as to the chief Latin American republics. It has been making its own lend-lease agreements not merely with Britain but with Russia, China, the Free French, and the other European governments in exile.

The British nations have also established diplomatic representation at one another's capitals, through ambassadors who are called high commissioners. Long-distance telephone and air transport make personal contact among Cabinet ministers and government officials of the five nations increasingly easy, and it is hard to see what can be achieved by the setting up of any new agency such as Premier Curtin has suggested.

The main point to understand is that the nations of the Commonwealth are no longer likely to move either toward disintegration or toward consolidation into a closely knit organization expressing itself with one voice. The dominions are proud that in 1940, when Hitler overran Europe, the British nations stood together by themselves to oppose him with arms. After such an experience their relationship with one another is bound to be one of special intimacy. But this does not mean that any one of them would break off the direct contacts which it has also established with non-British countries or acquiesce in having its foreign policy declared for it by majority decision in some British Commonwealth Conference or Council. In the long run a British bloc in world politics would not be likely to work out for the benefit of the British countries or of the world at large. Premier King has made it very clear that this is his opinion. And the other day he was supported by Premier Fraser of New Zealand (as reported in the New York Times of April 18): "It would not help any world system if the Commonwealth members or any other combination went into a world conference bound by prior decisions that would nullify the purposes of a world organization."

Great Britain is a European state acutely aware that its relative power in the world and in Europe has been

declining. If the Smuts suggestions for its closer union with the states of Western Europe come to anything, it will be more involved in European affairs than ever. The dominions, like the United States, have always shown a strong reluctance to intervene in Europe except in a crisis. The continuous emphasis on Commonwealth unity which marks all British speeches is designed to persuade the dominions to overcome this reluctance and to assure Britain of their continued support in its exposed European position. British statesmen have been so long accustomed to a dominant role in international affairs that they will not willingly accept the position of a third power inferior to the United States and the U. S. S. R. They are already busy marking out a British sphere of influence which will give them greater weight as against their two giant allies. This is what Lord Halifax is thinking of when he tells us that the unity of the Commonwealth is "a condition necessary to that working partnership with the United States, Russia, and China to which we look," and when he adds that "if we are to play our rightful part in the preservation of peace, we can only play it as a Commonwealth, united. vital, and coherent."

There seems to be an impression abroad, however, that the whole Commonwealth is yearning for some more closely integrated form of unity and that the chief obstacle is the King government in Canada. This is due to the widely reported speeches of Marshal Smuts and Lord Halifax and to Premier Curtin's proposal for some kind of continuous Council. As a matter of fact, the members of the Commonwealth-always excepting Eirecannot be distinguished from one another in the degree of whole-heartedness with which they are cooperating in the war. Each member, however, owing to its geographical position, has a distinct national point of view and wishes to advance certain special national interests; and it happens just now that the other members find it more convenient than does Canada to express these national policies in the language of Commonwealth enthusiasm.

South Africa has long nourished ambitions to play a leading role in its own African continent. South African statesmen have certain ideas about the proper relation of blacks and whites in Africa, ideas which they hold in common with the white leaders of the Rhodesias, Kenya, and the other British East African communities, and which differ widely from the ideas held by the British Colonial Office. When Field Marshal Smuts talks about a regional reorganization of the British Empire, with dominions taking over the responsibility for certain dependent colonies, or colonies uniting to form new dominions, he is really inviting the Colonial Office to retire from its inconvenient trusteeship on behalf of the blacks in southern and eastern Africa and

to leave these matters to the whites on the spot. But at the same time South Africa is well aware that with so many European powers eager for expansion in Africa, its security needs the continued backing of Great Britain. And so South Africa remains a strong supporter of a united



British Commonwealth policy, but hopes eventually to steer this policy in the direction it wishes.

Australia and New Zealand occupy exposed positions in the South Pacific. They have ambitions for leadership in that area, and are conscious of their function as the one secure strategic base for the

white peoples in the South Pacific. Premier Curtin wants to be sure of the continued support of the Commonwealth; his proposals for an Imperial Council are meant to insure that British policy does not become too centered in Europe; Australia does not want another Singapore fiasco. But the South Pacific dominions understand quite clearly that the main guaranty of their security must come from the United States. And the language of the Australia-New Zealand pact shows that they will not sink their identity in any exclusive British bloc. In Clause 7 they announce their determination "that their interests should be protected by representation at the highest level on all armistice-planning and executive bodies." And in Clause 14 they declare that "the two governments regard it as a matter of cardinal importance that they should both be associated not only in the membership but also in the planning and establishment of the general international organization referred to in the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943, which organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and open to membership by all states large or small." The regional South Pacific security organization to which they look forward is one that will include all the powers with interests in that area.

Canada differs from the other members of the Commonwealth in that it has no special national interests in its part of the world for which it requires British Commonwealth support. Its general interest in world peace and prosperity it shares with all nations of good-will. Back in the middle of the last century, when Canadians were fearful of the expansionist ambitions of the United States, Sir John Macdonald was as insistent in demanding British support of Canada's security as the statesmen of South Africa or Australia are today. But we are no longer afraid of a sinister American ambition to absorb

us, and so we do not ask for British support against it.

Moreover, Canada faces two new issues in regard to

which it is driven to act as an autonomous nation rather than as a member of the British Commonwealth. It is getting closer to joining the Pan-American Union, and obviously its application for membership will not be welcomed by the twenty-one American republics unless it approaches them definitely as an independent nation; they would not tolerate Canadian membership in their association if that were to mean that Great Britain was getting in by the back door. Canada also is beginning to realize that modern transportation developments are making it a buffer state between the United States and the U. S. S. R. The maintenance of permanent good relations between its great southern and northern neighbors has become a vital interest for Canada. And it is not likely to make any very effective contribution to this end by operating as part of a British bloc engaged in intricate maneuvers for maintaining a British balance against both Russians and Americans. Which is what Lord Halifax and Marshal Smuts really invite us to do when they propose some closer Commonwealth unity "in foreign policy, in defense, in economic affairs, in colonial questions, and in communications." Canada and the United States, as a matter of fact, have worked out a regional system of cooperation since the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements which probably goes farther in practice than the Anzac pact recently sketched out on paper.

The more Canadians think about it, the more dangerous does the Smuts-Halifax type of balance-of-power politics appear. The nations of the British Commonwealth are not powerful enough, no matter what their form of association may be, to provide for their own security by themselves. They may seek a wider basis for that security in some form of Anglo-American cooperation. But this threatens in turn to divide the world into two rival camps, the Anglo-American versus the Russian, which would be a development with sinister implications for a country in Canada's geographical position. No basis of security narrower than a worldwide United Nations organization can achieve what they desire.

At any rate the Canadian reception of the Halifax speech was distinctly cold. Mr. King on behalf of the Liberal government rejected its main thesis. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit Party also rejected it, Mr. Bracken, the leader of the Conservatives, at first expressed the delightfully non-committal opinion that Lord Halifax's speech was a magnificent presentation of his point of view, and later, under pressure from the imperialist section of his party, gave out another statement full of pious generalities about the British Commonwealth but carefully avoiding the real issue, which is whether the nations of the Commonwealth are to face the world in a British bloc with a single unified foreign policy.

# Preview of the Second Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

An EXCELLENT preview of the "second front" was provided three days before Pearl Harbor when the Chicago Tribune published a highly confidential plan for American participation in total war prepared by the Joint Board. Probably no document of equal importance has ever been so widely disregarded in America, but we can be sure that it has been well studied by the German general staff. Naturally, some of its forecasts were inaccurate, and events have forced a number of major changes in the strategy it outlined. Nevertheless, when we check the history of the war during the past two and a half years against this blueprint, we realize that, broadly speaking, it did foreshadow the strategy that has been followed. We can therefore appreciate the hints it offers as to action in the immediate future.

The plans of the Joint Board looked to a major land operation for the defeat of Germany, prior to any final effort against Japan, but it made no attempt to set an exact date. Shortages of weapons and transport were expected to hold up the attack at least until the middle of 1943; the Army Air Corps estimated that it would be three years before the major offensive could be staged. Regardless of timing, our top military and naval strategists listed five conditions as prerequisites to an invasion of Europe. These were:

1. The surface and subsurface vessels of the Axis must be swept from the seas. . . ,

2. Overwhelming air superiority must be accomplished.

3. The economic and industrial life of Germany must be rendered ineffective. . . .

4. The combat effectiveness of the German air and ground units must be weakened by dispersion and shortage of materials. . . .

5. Popular support of the war effort by the people of the Axis powers must be weakened, and their confidence shattered by subversive activities, propaganda, deprivation, and the destruction wrought.

The first change in this program was one of emphasis. The "second front" established by German U-boats off the Atlantic coast was for months so successful that the problem of launching a new major military operation appeared insoluble. In May of 1942, for example, the United States had less than half the tonage needed to fulfil existing commitments. It was necessary to produce far more cargo vessels and escort warships than our war plan had foreseen. Only after months of "taking it" did an enormous output of merchant

shipping and better convoy protection enable us to restore the balance at sea.

The second change was occasioned by an exceedingly fortunate development for the United Nations. The amazingly strong fight put up by the Russians reduced the military requirements for an invasion of Europe. The Anglo-American invasion became a "second front"; the primary front which could be expected to engage most of Germany's energies lay in Russia. Had not this development occurred, it is certain that the war could not have been won. The 215 divisions considered necessary in 1941 would have proved entirely inadequate to meet larger German armies on their own soil.

The decision to launch the preliminary "try-out" attack in North Africa rather than in Norway involved a third though minor change. The blunders that have been committed in the Italian campaign do not alter the fact that launching the attack in the Mediterranean was one of the wisest decisions of the entire war. At comparatively low cost, the Allies cleared the Mediterranean, inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, ended the German threat to the Near East, knocked Hitler's main European partner out of the war, opened the back door to the Balkans, and gained air bases for hitting the southern half of occupied Europe. Their main strategic blunder was the decision to press on beyond Naples and the Foggia airfields when the gains from additional conquests in Italy no longer justified the costs.

Whether the British and Americans could have opened a first-class front elsewhere in Europe during the summer or fall of 1943 is open to serious question. The increases in available merchant tonnage all through that year were phenomenal, but very large forces had to be shipped abroad and the landing craft needed were simply not present in any large numbers—the result of a much-publicized blunder on the part of the Bureau of Ships. As late as the end of January, 1944, the War Department put the number of troops overseas at only two and a half to three million, and did not expect to bring it up to four million before the end of 1944.

Since the second front did not develop in 1943 as promised, the United Nations gave their airmen the green light. For well over a year, operating in great force and under uniquely favorable conditions, the R. A. F. and the United States Army Air Force have tested the air-power theories of Douhet and Seversky. In many cases heavy damage has unquestionably been done, but in others early claims have later been scaled

down or entirely discredited. It has been so difficult to learn precise results that on the same day that the Eighth Air Force recently claimed a reduction of German fighter strength by 350 planes since November an R. A. F. commentator admitted an increase of 250 planes during the same period. These estimates were made after period of prolonged bombardment of plane factories that should have reduced the number of German fighters by far more than 350—if the announced results of the bombings were at all accurate.

Strategic bombing has not knocked and probably cannot knock Germany out of the war, despite the vast destruction it has caused. Aerial bombing like blockade is a weapon of attrition. It has gradually reduced German strength, and some of the gains in Russia are indirectly due to this factor. But events have not yet indicated that either the land defenses or the well-dispersed economy of a skilful and determined foe can be made ineffective by bombing alone.

On the other hand, we clearly have the overwhelming air superiority demanded by the 1941 blueprint. While the Germans are doubtless saving fighter aviation for the invasion attempt, we should be able to give very strong tactical support to our invading ground forces and keep casualties from bombing relatively low.

Anglo-American naval superiority is about as complete as can be expected in a conflict between major powers. The margin includes an abundance of merchant shipping, steadily improving defenses against submarine and air attack, and "expendable" ships to use for in-shore support of troops.

It is fat harder to estimate the military effectiveness of the Anglo-American invasion forces. Most of the troops have been thoroughly trained and are as ready to see battle as inexperienced units ever can be. One question concerns leadership, and if some of the weaknesses revealed in Italy have not been corrected we may expect to suffer not only heavy but clearly avoidable casualties.

Within bounds we can probably fix the scene of the invasion attempt. While diversions and feints may be made in Norway, Greece, or southern France, the time has passed when a policy of cautious nibbling at Germany's outposts is necessary. The invasion coast should be in an area vital to Germany and within reach of land-based fighter planes. These considerations suggest that the main effort will be made along the Channel



"WHEN I SAID SOFTENING UP', I DIDN'T MEAN HERE "

coast of France or the western North Sea coast of Belgium or Holland. In view of the clear situation existing, it is doubtful whether the feints and dress rehearsals mentioned by Mr. Churchill will make it possible to surprise the enemy.

How much strength Germany has been able to hold back from the Russian mauling in preparation for attack in the west is the greatest single unknown factor. Between forty and fifty divisions have been reported in France, about half of which are troops recuperating from the Russian fighting. The others form an army of maneuver under Rommel, one of the few great tacticians produced by the present war. At one time it was reported that Germany's defeats in the east were partly due to its concentration of power in the west in the hope of repelling a landing attempt and then shifting men east once more before the Russians had advanced into vital areas. While this explanation seems highly doubtful, it cannot be ruled out. Everything indicates a great shortage of German reserves. But the only safe assumption is that

the invasion will meet a stubborn resistance from brilliantly led veteran troops.

The practical difficulties before us should not obscure the fact that Germany's strategic position is almost hopeless. From the air above, from the east, from the south, and from the west it is beset by numerically superior foes grimly determined on its military annihilation. With the waning of the U-boat's ability to hold American military aid at arm's length, this steel circle has been steadily contracting. At sea and in the air the Nazis have already lost the war.

Our own position has its dangers; among them are the overconfidence and tendency to let down typical of Americans and also the innate difficulty of conducting landing operations against a strongly fortified coastline. Our victory is only potential; we could suffer a bloody repulse. Yet the conditions held prerequisite to invasion in 1941 have been achieved about as well as they can be. A sufficiently powerful offensive on land can now end the war.

# Tomorrow's Tires

BY MCALISTER COLEMAN AND PETER ELIAS

ISCUSSION of the future prospects of natural and synthetic rubber continues to bounce in and out of the press, with bewildering effects. One day we are told that the synthetic-rubber industry is so firmly on its wheels that natural rubber is on the way out of the picture, and the next day that mass production of synthetic automobile tires will not be practicable until long after the war. It is possible, however, to state with a fair degree of accuracy—in terms other than those of advertising hoopla—what the situation with respect to rubber is at present and what the prospects are for a large-scale synthetic industry.

Our average consumption of rubber for 1939, 1940, and 1941 was about 670,000 tons, and unless there is a severe depression after the war, consumption will probably remain at that level or go higher. We, the people, have invested \$615,000,000 in our government-owned synthetic-rubber plants—plants which the benevolent Jesse Jones will probably try to sell to the private rubber companies at around 20 cents on the dollar as soon as the guns cease firing. It is slightly ironic that Bernard Baruch, who through the summer of 1942 sat in a park in Washington figuring out a workable plan for rubber, should now be advocating the return, as quickly as possible, of government-owned plants to the privateers.

The Baruch rubber report, released September 10, 1942, advised the appointment of a Rubber Director

and suggested the production of 1,100,000 tons of synthetic a year. Since then the amount has been somewhat scaled down, and the present program calls for 813,000 tons. President Roosevelt appointed William M. Jeffers Rubber Director and empowered him to decide what plants should be built and who should build and operate them, and to pass upon the designs offered. Companies whose plans are approved get the necessary funds from the Defense Plant Corporation, Mr. Jones's agency for subsidizing "free enterprise" at the expense of the people. The DPC then leases the plants to the companies. The rubber produced in them is sold by the companies to the Rubber Reserve Corporation, another Jones outfit, which takes care of the finances and distributes the rubber as the War Production Board allocates it. All this, of course, is just dandy for the companies, and they are spending a great deal of money that would otherwise go into income taxes telling us how well they are

Jeffers got the program under way in a remarkably short time. He retired several months ago, and at his suggestion Roosevelt appointed his deputy, Colonel Bradley Dewey, to take his place. The program has been going along smoothly, although a bit behind schedule, and capacity operation is expected soon. Operation of the plants and production of the vital rubber is temporarily out of the hands of Jesse Jones, which is probably just

as well for the future of the United Nations' supply. Jones's attitude toward the rubber problem may be gathered from a classic statement he made to a group of anxious newspapermen, shortly after Pearl Harbor, about the burning of a warehouse containing perhaps one-tenth of the nation's rubber stockpile. "It's all right, boys," he said, "the warehouse was insured." It is in the hands of this man, and some others with the same point of view, that the Baruch recommendations would leave the disposal of the key plants after the war.

At the present time synthetic tires are made chiefly from butadiene. Other rubber demands are being met largely from butyl and neoprene. Butyl is made from petroleum, under the aegis of Standard Oil; neoprene, whose chief ingredient is coal, is the baby of E. I. du Pont de Nemours. Butadiene is made from both petro-

leum and agricultural alcohol.

In Washington representatives of the British government and our own have been talking over synthetic rubber in relation to the international petroleum situation. Later the Dutch will be taken into the conference. Since both the British and Dutch found in the United States the biggest customer for their crude rubber before the Japanese overran their plantations, they naturally look with no favoring eve upon the setting up of a large-scale synthetic industry in this country. Placing the discussion on the lofty plane of conservation of the world's natural resources, they argue that since our synthetics are made mainly from petroleum and since petroleum is a rapidly failing and an irreplaceable commodity, while natural rubber is a crop that can be grown every year, manufacture of the synthetic product should not be encouraged. This argument, while not entirely ingenuous, will be used against all moves toward a protective tariff for our "infant" synthetics industry. Though much depends upon the damage which the Japanese will have inflicted upon the British and Dutch plantations in the Far East before the war is over, it is in the cards that synthetic rubber will provide stiff post-war competition to the natural product.

Fluctuations in the price of natural rubber since the beginning of the automotive age make a crazy-quilt pattern. It takes six or seven years for a rubber plantation to be brought to production, and the concentration of natural rubber in a few regions owned by a few nations made an economy of scarcity that at one time, in 1910, pushed the price of a pound of rubber up to a peak of \$3.05. However, the development of new plantations and improvements in technology eventually brought the price down until in 1921 it was only 11 cents. Alarmed by such a rapid drop, the British in 1922 instituted the Stevenson plan for enforcing quotas and limiting production. For a short while the price rose to \$1.20, but when new plantations, notably in the Dutch East Indies, came into production, the plan proved unworkable, and

in 1928 it was dropped. By 1932 the price in New York had reached a new low of below 3 cents a pound.

The next British attempt at cartelization took in the Dutch, in 1934, and was called the International Rubber Regulation Agreement; its aim was to fix the price at from 10 to 12 cents a pound. Rearmament programs, however, soon made any such agreements academic; rubber rose to over 20 cents a pound in 1939 and remained between 20 and 30 cents until Pearl Harbor. After the Japanese conquest of most of the important plantations of the world, our government took control of the rubber stocks of the country and paid whatever price was asked.

Synthetics introduce a new factor into the calculation of future prices, since they set a ceiling of about 20 cents a pound on the natural product. Some natural rubber may be sold above this figure, but important consumers would turn to synthetics if the price of natural rubber went much above 20 cents. Most students of the price structure now agree that buna rubber will sell at from 14 to 16 cents a pound, butyl at from 7 to 9 cents, neoprene and the various vinyls at from 30 to 35 cents, and thickols at from 20 to 40 cents.

It is possible to make small automobile tires wholly of synthetic rubber, but so far they have not been able to equal the performance of natural-rubber tires. At moderate speed they give only about 90 per cent of the mileage and are even less efficient at high speed. This is largely because synthetic rubber has less resistance to heat. Larger tires have not yet been satisfactorily produced from synthetic rubber alone. Truck and bus tires require from 10 to 30 per cent of natural rubber, depending on the size. The natural rubber is not mixed with the synthetic but is used in side walls, where its properties are most needed. It should be remembered, however, that in the past twenty years the mileage of natural-rubber tires has increased from an average of 4,000 or 5,000 to the present 25,000 and that this development is not due to an improvement in the rubber itself but to improved techniques in the manufacture of tires. We have had a relatively short time in which to experiment with the buna rubbers, and further progress may well be made. There is a probability that not only truck but other tires will be made partly of natural, partly of synthetic rubber. The abrasion resistance of synthetic rubber is at least equal to that of natural rubber and can perhaps be made superior. In that case, tires with a carcass of natural rubber and a tread of synthetic might outperform tires made wholly of natural rubber. No mileage tests for this sort of tire have been made public.

Synthetic rubber will of course be used for other things than tires—for mechanical rubber goods, for example, and for belts and belting, hose, rubber tubing, floor coverings. For many of these the synthetic rubbers, taken as a group, have certain advantageous properties. Butyl rubber, for instance, has more satisfactory elec-

trical qualities than natural. Neoprene, several kinds of thickol, and many vinyl compounds are less permeable and more resistant to age and oxidation. Not many of the synthetics have the physical strength of natural rubber, but they do not need it in these specialized fields. About three-fourths of this market, therefore, research indicates, will be taken over by the makers of synthetics. Again, in the production of rubberized fabrics and clothing, synthetics may be counted on to occupy a dominant position in the future. Rubber cement and rubber gloves will also face synthetic competition.

If consumption after the war is still about 700,000 tons a year, the synthetic manufacturers are reasonably sure of selling 100,000 tons or more. About half of this will probably be butyl, because of its use in inner tubes and its low cost. The rest will be made up of neoprene and all the other materials which have one or more of the properties of rubber. If the composite tire is developed, the synthetic manufacturers will have an additional market for up to 200,000 tons.

Ever since our synthetic program was started, the vultures of monopoly have hovered over it, with their threat of scarcity and high prices. Baruch's plan for "taking the government out of business" as quickly as possible after the war is meat for these birds of prey. It is your money and mine which is invested in the great plants now turning out synthetics, though Goodyear, Firestone, and Goodrich, by their advertising, would make us think that they are the boys who are financing the show. If the people can keep control of some of the important plants, we may all of us profit from this new industry. For the time being, however, synthetic rubber is on the knees of Jesse Jones of Texas, and from there it is not likely to bounce into our lap.

Fortunately, a man-sized opposition to the Jones-Baruch scuttle program is now developing within the Administration itself. In a fighting speech delivered in San Francisco on April 14 Secretary of the Interior Ickes urged that instead of giving the government-owned plants back to the privateers at a price set by them these plants be run by federal corporations in which returning service men would be given both shares and jobs. The plants would then operate on the terms of genuine "free enterprise," not be closed down or run on a scarcity basis by the cartelists and monopolists. This imaginative proposal naturally arouses the ire of Standard Oil, Alcoa, and the others who are waiting for the plums to fall, but it will be studied with interest by all who seriously want full employment after this war. The synthetic-rubber plants will be at the center of the fight for genuine industrial democracy. Much of their value will be written off if they are returned to the private profit seekers. Under some sort of public operation they can produce sorely needed civilian goods at low cost and provide socially useful jobs for hundreds of thousands of our people.

# In the Wind

LIFTON'S, A LOS ANGELES RESTAURANT, publishes Food for Thot, a weekly bulletin of jokes, poems, and bits of homely philosophy. In a recent issue is a letter from a guest: "I have always liked Clifton's . . . but yesterday, while having lunch, two Negroes came and sat at my table. After that the food tasted like sawdust. I like the Negro people but I refuse to eat or sleep with them. . . I will hereafter go to Schaber's, where they do not have Negroes. . . . Watch out, Clifton's." The management replied: "Frankly, we know of only one line of conduct consistent with our conscience and obligation as a citizen. It is our duty to serve all who enter our doors. . . . If the 'ruin' so often predicted is around the corner, then we prefer to be ruined."

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, published by the remnants of the old I. W. W., defines fascism as "the leftist movement of the middle or socially unproductive class," and goes on, "The Nation and the New Republic (pulp magazines financed by 'socially conscious' international financiers) have always been the organs of this neo-fascism posing as 'advanced thinking.'"

SURPLUS AIRPLANES which have been used in War Training Service can be bought from the Defense Plant Corporation through the Civil Aeronautics Authority, on a "where is and as is" basis.

TREND? From a speech by Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, as reported in the New York *Times:* "Every morning after low mass I pray for Joe Stalin and for Russia, as does every Catholic priest in the world."

IN THE Union Labor News of Santa Barbara the Southern California Edison Company advertises thus: "Planning to fix up your yard after the war? You're right, mister, a yard is fun when you have a barbecue... lighted garden... perhaps a badminton court or swimming pool. Why not plan your post-war yard now?... Remember, you'll need plenty of light... The Edison Company will gladly help you plan the wiring." And a note at the bottom of the ad reads, "Conservation of electricity will help win the war."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Rexists (Belgian Fascists) will soon open special elementary schools for their own children, because, says a Rexist paper, "our children are being heckled most of the time in the schools which they are now attending." . . . No eggs, meat, butter, or fats are obtainable on Czech ration cards. These are some typical black-market prices: butter, \$10 a pound; eggs, 55 cents each; pork, \$7 a pound; lard, \$14 a pound; flour, \$2.25 a pound; geese, \$100 each. No clothing or shoes have been obtainable since the spring of 1943—except for Germans.

[The prize for the best item received in April goes to Mrs.] James G. Cooke of Los Angeles, for the story of the little Negro girl's suggestion that Hitler be put into a black skin and made to spend the rest of his life in America. It appeared in the issue of April 15,]

# The Paradox of German Morale

BY PAUL SERING

TIS not wise to leave any people, even if it be our enemy, without hope." That view, expressed in H. N. Brailsford's new book, "Our Settlement with Germany," does not seem to have the approval of Mr. Churchill's government. Though the demand for "unconditional surrender" has been practically abandoned for Germany's satellites—as indeed it must be if they are "to work their passage home"—Mr. Churchill has made it clear that in the case of Germany this formula will be adhered to. From the point of view of political warfare it may be useful, therefore, to analyze the repercussions which the Allied refusal of hope has had on German morale.

Ever since the autumn of 1942, when the German offensive came to a standstill at Stalingrad and the Allies landed in North Africa, the German leaders have known that they had lost their chance of victory. When the destruction of a German army at Stalingrad was followed by the collapse in Tunisia, the specter of defeat stared the German people in the face. Since then all the wiles of Goebbels and all the threats of Himmler have been unable to exorcise their fears. The diatribes in the German press against "fanatics of objectivity," the prophecies of secret weapons and Allied dissensions, the hardly veiled admissions that listening to the B. B. C. has become a mass habit in Germany—all tell the same story: hope of victory has gone. And this is confirmed by reliable direct reports.

The depression that has seized the people as a result of this loss of hope has been intensified by deep-cutting changes in the daily life of every German family. After Stalingrad came the new total-mobilization drive, the final comb-out of small shops, the conscription of women. Defeat in the east has meant terrible casualties; defeat in the air has brought horror upon horror to German civilians. Shortage of dwelling-space, noticeable already before the war, has become a real scourge; shortage of clothing seems also to have reached alarming proportions in some of the badly hit raid areas. Spreading all over the countryside, évacués from the gutted towns have told the tale to millions as yet immune and, crowding in upon them, have infected them with their misery. It is hard to imagine anything more demoralizing than this uprooting of millions, going on steadily against a background of lost battles and dwindling hope.

Yet there is no panic in German cities; neutral observers speak rather admiringly of the discipline of the

stricken population. The German soldiers fight on and fight well. That is the paradox of German morale: if you define morale in terms of faith in victory and in the regime, it is rotten to the core. But if you define it practically, in terms of action, it seems as firm as ever in the fifth year of war.

Striking confirmation of this picture is found in the reports of German underground groups. We know from the German press itself that the prestige of the active Nazis among the bulk of the population has fallen very low under the impact of defeat; we know, too, that the raids and the consequent mass migration of workers, added to the influx of hordes of foreigners, have disorganized German administration to the point of loosening the grip of the police. It would be natural in the circumstances to hope for increased activity by the conscious anti-fascist minority, for expansion of their influence on the great non-political majority. Yet this is not the picture we get from available reports. The work of the underground goes on in spite of the increasing number of executions; it may even have increased somewhat in scale, but there has been no change in its character. The resistance groups have not experienced any marked expansion of influence, any breaking down of their isolation. The formation of an anti-Nazi group among the Munich students may have been symptomatic of a new critical spirit, but it has not so far proved to be the beginning of a new movement.

What is the explanation of this lack of progress? Why does Nazi discipline persist, anti-Nazi action remain paralyzed, although confidence in Nazi policy and strategy has gone? The answer is that the Nazis have succeeded in turning the very fear of defeat into an asset to fighting morale. With the great mass of the German people fear of defeat has ceased to be a political attitude; it has become an intensely personal fear—the fear of losing every chance to lead a decent, quiet life again. That is the burden of the Nazi press today, and you find it echoed on the fighting fronts: "If we lose, there is no hope for any of us."

No propaganda in the world is all-powerful. Some of Goebbels's tricks have failed completely. Why does he succeed with this one? Because experience seems to support his argument. One of the obsessions of Germans today is fear of Russia, but that arises less from Goebbels's ravings about Bolshevism than from knowledge of German atrocities in Russia.

So far as the people's fears are due to a consciousness of guilt or to their experience of the horrors of war, little can be done about them. But an effort might be made, one would think, to remove those fears which are due to uncertainty about Allied intentions. For this uncertainty gives free scope to the Nazi propaganda of despair, rallies every instinct of self-preservation behind the Nazi regime on the eve of its defeat, debars the active anti-Nazis inside Germany from winning masses of their despairing countrymen to their cause. This uncertainty is today a vital factor in lengthening the war. It cannot be overcome by general assurances that the Allies are not barbarians or by political appeals backed by only one of the major Allies. It can be overcome only by a joint announcement of Allied intentions toward a defeated Germany.

[This article is a condensed version of one that appeared in the London Tribune.]

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SUMMER vacations have been prescribed by law in Germany for some decades; even the lowest categories of employees and workers usually spend a few weeks at a summer resort. War-time pressures have increased the need for vacations, and the lack of things to buy has put more money in people's pockets, but the vacation season opened on April 1 with gloomier prospects than in any former year.

In the first place, the hotels and boarding-houses, before they could take guests, had to clean up after the évacués from the bombed cities who had been quartered in them. Hundreds of thousands of these évacués were thrown out on April 1. Next came a decrèe limiting the stay of any person in a resort hotel to two weeks; an exception may be made only when a physician's certificate or special permit is presented. Finally, there were the instructions issued by the "Führer of the Hotel Trade Economic Group" to the members of the "Subdivision for Bathing Resorts." To quote briefly from these:

Instead of potatoes, which may be lacking, guests should be served bread against coupons but without extra payment. Guests must bring their own bed linen and cutlery and stay for the shortest time possible. It is the duty of the landlord to find out whether a guest has the right to stay, and he must insist on doctor's certificates being shown in advance. Wherever possible, guests must be required to sign a pledge not to use electricity for cooking or for ray treatments.

It looks, therefore, as if vacations this year would be rather dreary. However, the Stockholm paper *Trots Allt* for April 14 imparts the comforting information that

one place is excepted from all these restrictions and difficulties. This is the pretty little resort of Hirschberg in the Riesengebirge, about two hours from Berlin. "Several thousand Nazi officials with their families," the dispatch says, "live there at the present time, some of them very prominent people. Nominally they live in Berlin and other large cities, courageously sharing with their subjects the vicissitudes and dangers of the air raids. Actually they stay far from any danger zone, amusing themselves in Hirschberg, which is exclusively reserved for them." They have even, according to this report, had the Berlin Opera come to Hirschberg and give performances.

It cannot have been pleasant for those who set the stage in Germany to be obliged to celebrate Hitler's recent birthday in accordance with the ritual followed for the past twelve years. No other course was open to them, for to ignore the day or tone down the celebrations would have been equivalent to a demonstration of defeatism. But they must have realized that under the circumstances the display would make a ghastly impression. The pathetic irony of the scene was indicated by the Berlin correspondent of the Basler Nachrichten:

For the first time in Ing while Berlin is beflagged again. The occasion is Hitler's birthday. In the midst of ruins, where whole streets and even quarters have been greatly damaged, the flags make a curious impression. If any parts of the destroyed houses still stand, little flags are hung out on them, but one can scarcely see them for the piles of debris, as high as a man's head. And the flags are not so close together as they used to be. They no longer form a forest of red, white, and black.

Moreover, the stage directors must have known that their public's receptivity to these ritualized panegyrics has been, to put it mildly, considerably diminished. A small but interesting symptom of the change is reported from Bremen, one of the towns that from the beginning has been bombed oftenest and hardest. In the local paper, the Bremer Nachrichten, for March 11 a statistician discussed with exhaustive thoroughness the subject of the names given to Bremen babies in 1943. The point which emerged-and which the article was obviously written to bring out-was that "one good German name which was formerly very frequently used was seldom given to Bremen boys last year." And what name was it? One can easily guess-Adolf. The author, of course, offers no explanation of the waning popularity of the name. He does, however, explain another contrasting phenomenon -the increasing use of the name Wolfgang. "The current predilection for Wolfgang," he says, "has undoubtedly been caused by a heightened appreciation of Goethe and Mozart."

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Posada: Artist of Revolution

BY DOROTHY C. MILLER

THE Mexican Revolution, as it is mirrored in Mexican art, has a richness of texture and color which is an expression not only of the political and emotional forces that made it but also of a great creative upsurge in the arts of the painter and the printmaker. In the perspective of art history this is unusual. Periods of war and revolution are often accompanied by important developments in social thinking. The arts develop more richly in times of peace.

In less than a hundred years Mexico has gone through series of revolutions that have worked profound changes in its social and political institutions and given it a renaissance in the creative arts. As a matter of fact, the art developments can scarcely be thought of aside from the revolution; they are its voice and image, the truthful mirror of its action, violence, and suffering, and of its emotion, ideals, and aspirations. Most American art lovers have some acquaintance with the great figures of the later stage of this development-Orozco, Rivera, Sigueiros. But of José Guadalupe Posada, the forerunner who lived through the Mexican revolutions and caught the spirit of the popular forces that made them, the fertile source of Mexico's revolutionary art as definitely as the aspiration of the peasants for land and liberty was the source of its revolutionary power, we know all too little. Since 1937 some examples of Posada's prints have been shown in Mexico, Spain, New

York, and Paris, but it has seemed as if the popular character of Posada's work and the simplicity and humility of the man himself had served to obscure his true stature outside his own country. In 1943 the Dirección General de Educación Estética of the Secretaría de Educación Pública organized a comprehensive exhibition of his work in Mexico City. The Art Institute of Chicago has now brought this important exhibition to the United States, the first major showing of Posada's art outside Mexico.

Brilliantly installed, the exhibition at the Art Institute contains some 800 catalogued items, a large number of which are new impressions pulled from Posada's original plates. The old impressions, issued inexpensively in large editions for the widest distribution, are often uneven in the printing and ill-suited to exhibition purposes. However, the show includes a number of these old impressions, most of them printed on brightly colored papers. Great interest is added by the inclusion of more than one hundred of the original plates as part of the exhibition. These plates are relief engravings on type metal and etchings on zinc. Dramatic use has been made of photographic enlargements of some of the prints to emphasize Posada's vehement composition and draftsmanship. Similar enlargements of the original plates give them the appearance of massive sculpture in relief. They underscore Posada's power as a designer and his relation to the ancient Mexican carvers of the Chac-Mool and Coatlicue, goddess of earth and death, the most terrifyingly powerful expression of the sculptural genius of Mexico.

Posada's art has certain affinities with the art of our own



Calavera of the Newspapers.—Posada Here Employs a Favorite Form of Mexican Humor in Which the Living Are Depicted in Terms of the Dead

country. One is led to think of Thomas Nast, Currier and Ives, and "Pop" Hart, while realizing that Posada is more powerful than any of these, more fertile in imaginative design, and richer in folk quality. He was a popular artist in the best sense of the word, truly democratic, living as a simple artisan indifferent to the professional reputations of his day, caring nothing for material success, an inexhaustibly prolific worker who produced more than 20,000 engravings in a lifetime of passionate labor. His art was directed at the great masses of the Mexican people, and it springs directly out of their lives, their labors, and their hopes. Loyal always to his convictions as a liberal. Posada continually attacked in his work the Díaz dictatorship and its injustices. Imprisonment did not impair his enthusiasm. His work contributed vitally to the revolutionary cause. It became the foundation stone of Mexican printmaking and profoundly influenced the direction and development of Mexican art in our time.

Posada, who was born in 1852, lived through the times of Juarez's fight for Mexican freedom, the reaction of Díaz, and the brief rise of the martyred Madero. He did not live to see the end of the revolution to which he gave so much. As an artist Posada was self-taught. Before he was twenty he was famous for his illustrations in El Jicote, a small political newspaper published in his native Aguascalientes. In 1887 he went to live in Mexico City, working for many newspapers and periodicals, a number of which he helped to organize, and soon joining the staff of the publishing house of Antonio Vanegas Arroyo. This fortunate association lasted until Posada's death in 1913. The Vanegas Arroyo publishing house became the largest of its kind in Mexico, the analogue of Currier and Ives in the United States, and the brightly colored sheets which it printed were distributed to the remotest parts of the country. These sheets contained satirical, humorous, or dramatic comments on current news and politics and the incidents of the revolution, in the form of corridos or ballads, chiefly written by the poet Constancio S. Suárez; as well as prayers, lives of the saints, songs, comments on fashions and foibles, and famous trials and lives of criminals. The vigorous illustrations of Posada were the most important part of these publications.

Aside from the power and aesthetic appeal of his work Possada has much to say to us on the vexed questions of propaganda, popular art, and their relation to the art of the museums. It is to be hoped that this important exhibition of his prints, surely one of the best fruits of the cultural collaboration between the United States and Latin America, will be circulated throughout the country, where it can be seen not only by the general public but especially by artists. For as José Clemente Orozco has said: "Posada is the equal of the greatest artists, an admirable lesson in simplicity, humility, equilibrium, and dignity."

An excellent illustrated book by Fernando Gamboa of the Dirección General de Educación Estética, principal organizer of the exhibition in Mexico, and Carl O. Schniewind, curator of prints at the Art Institute of Chicago, provides the first extensive publication of Posada's work in this country. A supplementary one-room exhibition called "Who Is Posada?" has been designed by Ludwig Miës van der Rohe to give the cultural background for Posada's work.

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### "Outside in a Garden"

A HAUNTED HOUSE AND OTHER STORIES. By Vicginia Woolf, Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

TT IS surprising that Virginia Woolf did not produce more short stories: life for her was so much an affair of vivid moments. This thin book holds all of her shorter fiction which Leonard Woolf, her husband and editor, believes worth preserving. Of its eighteen stories, all quite brief, six are reprinted from her early collection, "Monday or Tuesday," seven appeared later in magazines, and five are hitherto unpublished. Small as the book is, it is well worth having. Mrs. Woolf's deficiencies are obvious enough; yet her almost visionary flights of language and fancy are still a marvel.

Among the pieces printed here the best are probably those out of "Monday or Tuesday." They are not "stories" at all but prose poems or monologues. String Quartette, for example, is the exquisite reverie of a woman sitting in a London concert hall and listening to Mozart amid echoes of a war, banal small talk, and the trite promptings of memory.

. . . if I bethink me of having forgotten to write about the leak in the larder, and left my glove in the train; if the ties of blood require me, leaning forward, to accept cordially the hand that is perhaps offered hesitatingly-

"Seven years since we met!" "The last time in Venice."

"And where are you living now?"

Such writing recalls Eliot's early monologue poems and other works of the same period by Joyce and Pound. There is the same weaving together of images from the inner and outer life of the character; the same pathos of contrast between great art and petty reality, the heroic past and the deplorable present. That was the Age of the Soliloquy, and Mrs. Woolf brought to it her own brilliant sensibility and wonderful gifts of verbalization. But by contrast with Eliot or Joyce, one notes that her thought rarely crystallizes into general beliefs and that, as a result, her writing seldom gathers itself up into luminous symbols and far-reaching statements. When she delivers a generalized comment, it is apt to sound only a little less bouncing than a Macy ad:

Why, if one wants to compare life to anything, one must liken it to being blown through the Tube at fifty miles an hour-landing at the other end without a single hairpin in one's hair. Shot out at the feet of God entirely naked. Tumbling head over heels in the asphodel meadows like brown-paper parcels pitched down a shoot in the postoffice.

That life is, after all, a delicious romp is not what Mrs. Woolf appears to have wanted to say in The Mark on the Wall, the generally grave and beautiful early piece from which this passage is quoted. Yet the passage represents to perfection what a younger generation of English writers came to execrate as the Bloomsbury touch—the careful and almost deliberate reduction of experience to a pretty triviality. Yes, Mrs. Woolf certainly had her moments of lush inconsequence, together with much seriousness of feeling and intention. She was perhaps too warmly persuaded of art's merely "decorative" mission, a faith she shared with the imagist poets and with painters like Gauguin, Whistler, and Laurencin. So she proceeded to treat people as features

# CHURCHILL—Who is going to succeed him?

Inveterate cigar smoking and brandy drinking Churchill has had pneumonia twice within a year. Neither health nor temperament is likely to make him suitable as post-war Prime Minister . . . Who will deal with the problems of reconstruction—labor, social insurance, housing? . . . Captain John Dugdale, Labor M.P., offers much inside political information in appraising the chances of the six leading probabilities—Conservative's Eden, Butler, Anderson . . . and Labor's Attlee, Morrison, Bevin. Read "Who Will Succeed Churchill?" in the May American Mercury.



# THE ANTI-LIBERAL American "Liberals"

One of the appalling psychological and political hypocrisies of this period is laid bare with brutal frankness in "A Letter to American Liberals" by Eugene Lyons in the May Mercury . . . Though they hailed the Atlantic Charter, self-styled "liberals" now think nothing of scrapping it . . . They have lost interest in the small nations and the large decencies which they once loudly championed . . . They have embraced the doctrines of power politics and expediency . . . Mr. Lyons piles up facts and asks questions that must be faced by every honest American, in an article that will be one of the most discussed—and cussed.

# "PEACE NOW" The Story of a Goofy Movement

It takes courage or goofiness or downright treachery to start a peace movement in the midst of a war like this one . . , yet it was done . . . by a strange combination of men and women ranging from a Harvard teacher to a peeping Tom. For all the details of this bizarre movement, and those who organized and ran it, read "Peace Now' Rests in Peace" by Russell Whelan and Thomas M. Johnson.

# THE AMERICAN MERCURY May Issue—Out Now

Other features in the May Mercury: Misconceptions About the Japanese . . . Mailed Fist in Tennessee . . . Notes on Wendell Willkie . . . Living in Cairo Today . . . Pat Hurley, Ambassador at Large . . . The Roosevelt Supreme Court . . . The Decline of New York City . . . How A Great Army Collapses . . . The Treasury Traps Spies . . . Guide to Guns . . . Malignant Malaria . . . Fiction . . . Theatre . . . Books . . . Poetry . . . Open Forum . . .



## About a Great Frenchman:

Commenting on the reported death of Herriot, France's great liberal statesman, Time said "death came to Edouard Herriot, but not to his words, not to his memory." . . . One of our proudest memories here at The American Mercury is that we published his last written words. In 1941, through underground channels, out of fallen France, we received an article by Herriot. It was the first—and as far as we know the only—democratic statement that came from a leader still inside defeated France. Shortly after the article was published, Herriot was arrested, as he must have known he would be . . . The privilege of carrying such a message under such circumstances is one that we shall always cherish.



In a cosmic design of which the prime elements were derived from the landscape and the weather. Such an idea is legitimate enough in itself, though to carry it out successfully the artist would surely need to be free of any pressing sense of emotional complications either in herself or in other people. But the later stories in this volume—not to mention her novels—make it clear that Mrs. Woolf had no such equanimity.

Her later parratives are more dramatic than her earlier ones; they are the kind of story that undertakes to suggest an entire life through a single brief illumination, and they are full of an urgent emotion. All rather special cases, her characters suffer acutely from isolation; they feel themselves to be "walled in," to be "behind glass"; or as she writes of the heroine of A Summing Up, ". . . she was condemned to be herself and could only in this silent and enthusiastic way, sitting outside in a garden, applaud the society of humanity from which she was excluded." But there is not much applauding of humanity or of anything else in these rather sad tales. When common humanity does appear, it is represented as conventionally grim and stuffy -a caricature. Nor are Mrs. Woolf's "special cases" at all happy in their singularity: they repeatedly avow their sense of inadequacy; they confess to a bitter self-contempt. And they are so unsociable that they do not even confess, like Chekhov's characters, to other people but only to themselves. In fact, neither in Chekhov nor in Lawrence nor in Anderson nor in Katherine Mansfield is there anything equal to the unrelieved melancholy and frustration of the world of Mrs. Woolf's characters.

Even within their rather narrow limits her later stories are not by any means equally successful, though several of them are certainly masterpieces. When she attacks her subject directly and without the assistance of fantasy, she is apt to leave us merely impatient and dispirited. She brings to bear on her special cases so little historical insight and so little of either the tragic or the comic imagination that her art seems to exist at the same level of baffled sensibility as the life of her characters. But there are at least two really unforgettable tales among Mrs. Woolf's later performances, Solid Objects and Lapin and Lappinova, each involving fantastic and beautiful conceit and each a true fable. The plight of all Mrs. Woolf's characters is perfectly summed up in little Lappinova, who can endure marriage only by pretending that she and her husband are not man and woman but a pair of rabbits in the fields. F. W. DUPER

### History as Accident

U. S. S. R.: THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By Walter Duranty. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.

spective Walter Duranty has set down the sequence of events which make the story of Soviet Russia from the Czar's abdication to the Moscow conference. The narrative is brilliant and subdued. There are no new facts or explanations. For one reason or another, a great deal that is widely known and understood is wholly omitted or presented casually. Russia is serving the whole of mankind in

this war; this is bound to overshadow everything. What is left of the story is fascinating enough. Those for whom Russia's recent past is still a mystery will find the book an attractive introduction to a theme that will grow in importance with the years. People already familiar with the main outlines of Soviet history will perhaps be more interested in the author's approach to his material. The value of a history derives from the historian's values.

Mr. Duranty explains at the outset that the determining factor in Russian history has been the flatness of the Russian land. It is an open land, exposed and undefended, therefore forced to submit to one strong ruler. From the beginning, we are told, Russia was doomed to autocracy and to an unending fight for a strong, central, protective power against outer enemies. Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great built the czarist autocracy. Despite its oppression, it might have survived popular opposition except for the fact that Nicholas II was weak and vacillating. History is thus determined by the unalterable accident of geography and the alterable accident of the ruler's character.

This makes the 1917 revolution also something of an accident. At any rate, the author believes firmly that its Marxist appearance was accidental. Lenin, a man of strong and resolute character, gave the revolution a Marxist tinge. Actually it was a national revolution from the beginning, like that of 1789. The rest was an illusion which time corrected.

On these basic presuppositions the story moves swiftly along expected lines through war, revolution, intervention, counter-revolution, terror, famine, and the immense creative labor of founding a Soviet state and society. But Lenin's death was followed by gigantic conflicts, political and personal. The Five-Year Plan marked a turning-point as sharp and far-reaching am October. This compels the author to redefine his historical principles.

Here they are given as personality and luck. He accepts with some reservations Carlyle's view of the hero in history. He believes without reservation in luck as a major historical force. Again and again he sees the hand of accident in changes of the utmost importance. In the end personality and luck triumph. Just as for twenty years the history of Russia became the history of Napoleon, so the history of Russia became the history of Stalin. Apart from these theories the chapter called Portrait of a Strong Man is one of the most interesting in the book.

The principles of geography, accident, personality, and luck are not applied consistently or effectively. They fail to give this vivid memoir genuine historical coherence. It is not always clear just what fundamental changes took place at any time or what the mainsprings of Russia's development have been. The author concludes, however, that Stalin "found it necessary to abandon 'communism' so called, which offered no incentive to the average man, and to revert to a system almost equivalent in method to capitalism."

The system is defined as state capitalism. It was this, we are told, which transformed Russia from an agricultural to an industrial country and enabled it to prepare its defenses against the German assault which Stalin foresaw.

Toward the end the key to the entire narrative emerges.

During the whole of modern Russian history, events have
moved consistently to the present war, from which every-

thing that went before derives its meaning and everything to come can take its start. Like the histories of a hundred other periods, ranging from Solon's Greece to the French Revolution, this is one in which the future determines the past. Within these assumptions, it is one of the best accounts of Soviet Russia available.

JOSEPH FREEMAN

## Fiction in Review

F THE three novelettes in Stefan Zweig's "The Royal Game" (Viking Press, \$2.50) only the title story is making its first appearance in book form; it is Zweig's last work of fiction; the other two stories are already familiar to an American audience. Amok, you will recall, is the story of a doctor in the Dutch Indies who refuses an abortion to the woman he desires and thus precipitates her death; both in conception and writing it is mechanical almost to the point of slickness. Letters from an Unknown Woman, the record of the love of a beautiful woman for a faithless writer, you will remember as pure Mayerling Vienna, a sad-sweet confection on the level of adolescent romancing. Compared to these companion pieces, The Royal Game is a serious and adult literary effort—a story that has at least the beginnings of a first-rate idea, for a good part of its way hints at profound meanings, and for all its way has a terrific dramatic tension. Set on board a ship bound for South America, it is a study of the conflict, over a chessboard, between brute mental power and the divided mind of civilized man; one suspects it was intended as a political parable along the lines of Thomas Mann's "Mario and the Magician." But despite its dramatic suspense and its classic narrative skill, the story doesn't come off. Neither the psychological nor the symbolic point is ever made, and the story ends without resolution. "The Royal Game" turns out at last to be no more than an anecdote, and one is frustrated in proportion as one has been promised a large imaginative experience.

W. Somerset Maugham's "The Razor's Edge" (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.75) is subtitled "The story of a man who found a faith," but it is not a religious novel. It is not even a mystical novel, really, despite the fact that one of its chief characters is the man who finds faith, in India, in the mystical worship of the Absolute. For Maugham's concern with the realm of the unworldly-and it is not a new concernis scarcely more serious than his purely mundane concerns. He has an amateur's interest in the spirit which is perhaps only the natural counterpart of his ever-waning interest in the fruitful human possibility. "A chill went down my spine as it strangely does when I am confronted with deep and genuine emotion. I find it terrible and rather awe-inspiring," he says of himself in "The Razor's Edge," and he reveals the flirtatious nature of his occasional excursions into mysticism just as he suggests the reason for the failure of his whole literary career. Mysticism, that is, is bound to be inviting to the person who is afraid of the deep emotions; yet it can never fully win him, any more than humanity can fully win him. All the characters in Maugham's latest novel inevitably inhabit the non-dimensional universe which is all that is left when the deep emotions have been disavowed.

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# FILMS

### Death Takes a Powder

EATH, lately, and bereavement have been getting a good deal of friendly attention from Hollywood. God has been let in out of the rain, too (though I must save discussion of that for another time). Adversity makes strange bedfellows; and there are always people on hand to go through their pants' pockets while they sleep, just on the chance. The real wonder is not that Hollywood is so eager to exploit the grief, anguish, fear, premonition, and troubled spiritual apprehension of everyone on earth it can reach, but that it has been so slow in recognizing the magnificence of its opportunity to do so. It is more than possible, too, that a good deal of this extremely lucrative exploitation is "sincere." Certainly it would seem a natural, even inevitable function of a popular art which was half worthy of its reach, its responsibilities, and its potentialities-which was, in other words, even half healthy, even a fraction alive-to undertake these immense experiences and preoccupations and to bring to them some measure, however meek, of understanding, order, and illumination.

But nothing of that sort occurs in the films I am thinking of; indeed, every effort is made to keep anything of that

sort from occurring.

"Happy Land" set up a pretty, prettily photographed American town without an ounce of meanness or ugliness or even complicatedness in it, set up an American boy to match, took him off to war, killed him, and assured his grieving father that that special boyhood, in that special town, was unarguably worth dying for. This questionable thesis was demonstrated by Harry Carey, a ghostly grandfather who made it clear that just as there is nothing much to worry about above ground in our native land, the American Hereafter is a pleasant Old Soldiers' Home.

"A Guy Named Joe" told of an ace who was killed and who promptly got steady employment from his heavenly boss, Lionel Barrymore, teaching a neophyte how to become an ace too. This ghost has also to watch his young pupil court his former sweetheart, and to cure her of her grief over himself. In bare outline and idea this story offers a good workable metaphor for tradition in an art of skill, and wonderful possibilities for drama. The jealousy of a living lover for a dead man made one of Toyce's finest stories; the emotions ghost might feel who watched a living man woo and cajole his former mistress seem just as promising to me; the paralysis and slow healing of a bereaved woman is not a bad subject, of itself. But to make such a film-above all at such a time as this-would require extraordinary taste, honesty, and courage. The makers of "A Guy Named Joe" had courage, if moral idiot has it: I doubt whether taste and honesty enter into it at all. I can hardly conceive of a picture more stonily impious. Joe's affability in the afterlife is enough to discredit the very idea that death in combat amounts to anything more than getting a freshly pressed uniform; and he is so unconcerned as he watches Van Johnson palpitate after Irene Dunne that he hardly bothers to take his gum out of his mouth. The people who have the best right to picket God on this matter, or at least Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, are the dead whom the film is supposed to honor; failing that, widows, and the surviving pupils and lovers, can hardly

make adequate protest.

The astonishing "Tender Comrade" is one in the eye for widows, with plenty for mere war wives too, and nothing I can imagine for anyone else except the hardiest misogynists, for whom it should prove the biggest treat and the most satisfying textbook in years. "Tender Comrade" gets along without dry ice and well-fed ghosts: its comfortable realism suggests an infinitely degraded and slickened "Little Women." The highest-salaried tender comrade is Ginger Rogers, hilt-deep in her specialty as a sort of female Henry Fonda. She is a girl named Jo. In flashbacks you are given her courtship, marriage tiffs, etc., with ber tender comrade, who is now away at war. They have the curious accuracy of those advertising dialogues in which Mr. and Mrs. Patchogue eliminate their erotic blockages by wrangling their way through to a good laxative. Jo is waiting out the war in a rented house with four other female comrades, of whom three are working in an aircraft plant. The fourth shows how any decent refugee can meet the servant shortage by refusing any pay for housekeeping; the others prove their Americanism by splitting their wages with her-whether she pays for their food out of her cut is not indicated. The only one who shows any signs of disliking all the cooperative, sorority-house democracy, which all but suffocated me, and of having enough

sex in her to suggest that many women may be inconvenienced or even tempted, at present, is branded also as a sucker for Axis propaganda and as especially undiscriminating about men. Miss Rogers consistently addresses these companions as "kids," her baby as "little guy" or "Chris Boy." At the climax. getting news of her husband's death. she subjects this defenseless baby to a speech which lasts twenty-four hours and five minutes by my watch and which, in its justifications of the death. the obligations it clamps on the child. and its fantastic promises of better world to come, is one of the most nauseating things I have ever sat through. It is terribly pitiful-to choose the mildest word-to think how much of America this scene and the picture as a whole are likely to move, console, corroborate. and give eloquence to. For in every word, inflection, gesture, motive, and act, the thing seems as fiercely, ultimately exact as Gertie MacDowell. A mass of women, frightening to conceive of, and the women's magazines, and the movies must have created each other mutually to belong so wholly to each other; and when you see such a film as this you have seen the end. What God hath joined together, let no man put

Compared with such sugartit treatments of death and its consequences "Between Two Worlds" seems very decent indeed. But really it isn't, very; it is just "Outward Bound" brought up to date, sad to think of as the best we can do. Most of the newly dead on this ocean liner bound for eternity are killed by a very up-to-date bomb, but the bomb also helps destroy the highly theatrical but quite chilly suspense which was the best thing in the play; you know they are all dead from the start, instead of discovering the fact as gradually as they do. Also there are no soldiers aboardto say nothing of an enemy; and for ferry service from a world so saturated with death, the ship seems strangely empty-a fact that was not obtrusive in a day when death was not obtrusive. The characters, though they are sincerely played, are convincing neither as individuals nor as generalizations. They are drawn with the coarseness peculiar to genteelism, and their dramatic gyrations, even at best, are operatic-Piccadilly, as of twenty years ago. Their inventor does have the nerve-which we seem to have lost-to conceive that such characters face judgment and that it is a judgment worth fearing; and the judgment seems, within its liberalagnostic limits, compassionate and gently-too gently-intelligent. That people ever took this for a distinguished play is a measure of something stultified and sadly hungry, in that time, about the general sense of life and death; today, the play speaks through moral and theatrical traditions which are receding so rapidly that the whole business is like politely murmured withdrawal from a drawing-room which turned out to be a slaughterhouse. Whether we like it or not we are beyond things like "Between Two Worlds," however decent and sober their intention. And whether we know it or not-and I believe most soldiers and many civilians know it-we are beyond and above the cruel, fetid, criminal little myths about death which are the best, so far, that Hollywood has furnished out of its own immediate day. They are as evil as cosmetics on a cadaver. JAMES AGER

# DANCE

N A recent Sunday article Edwin Denby wrote that people had been asking him to tell them off the record whether the popular-priced ballet at New York's City Center was really any good. His answer was that the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe was a company of first-rate dancers who were handicapped by the deficiencies of the theater and by the monstrous overworking of their leading dancers, Danilova, Franklin, and Youskevitch. But he wrote his article before the end of the first week of the engagement, when the most monstrous abuse of these dancers occurred: since it was appearing under city auspices the company gave a special performance on Friday afternoon for high school students, then went on to give the regular Friday evening performance, two performances on Saturday, two on Sunday, and "by public demand"-meaning managerial greedan extra performance on Monday, which originally had been scheduled as a day of rest. As a result, I was reliably informed, the dancers went through Monday's ballets in evident exhaustion.

But I think Mr. Denby was too generous in calling the Monte Carlo a first-rate company. It has lost all but three of its great dancers—which is why these three are overworked; and the supporting company around these three is quite poor. And its repertory no longer includes some of the outstanding works in which the great dancers it has lost

—Toumanova, Massine, Eglevsky—used to appear. If, nevertheless, one goes to its performances and puts up with the poor supporting company and with things like "Red Poppy" and "Ancient Russia" and "Snow Maiden," it is because, as Mr. Denby wrote, "no dance lover will want to miss seeing Danilova, Youskevitch, or Franklin," or, he might have added, "Rodeo," "Serenade," "Beau Danube," and "Gaité parisienne."

It is the Ballet Theater which, by virtue of its leading dancers and the company that supports them, may be called first-rate; and which now treats its great dancers with admirable consideration. Markova now dances in only one of the evening's balletswhich may be as long as "Romeo and Juliet" or as short as the "Nutcracker" pas de deux; and the first two Mondays she did not dance at all. But it seems to me that this way of being considerate of its leading dancers imposes on the Ballet Theater the further obligation to be fair to the public by publishing casts. The person who pays up to \$4.20 for a seat should be allowed to know whether for that price he is going to see Markova and in what. Having read reports of her performances he may have chosen one of them to spend his money on, and have bought his seat well in advance; and he should not discover when he arrives in the theater that she is not dancing that role. or perhaps that she is not dancing at all this evening, and that in her place in the classical bellet he is not even going to see exquisite Hightower, but acrobatic Gollner. And in addition a person who pays up to \$4.20 to see Markova in "Romeo and Juliet" is entitled not to have his view of Markova in "Romeo and Juliet" repeatedly cut off by latecomers. The City Center gave him an uninterrupted view of Danilova in "Swan Lake" for only \$2.40.

The Ballet Theater's repertory also is a rich one, with many fine works and of course a few that are insignificant ("Romantic Age") or quite bad ("Helen of Troy," "Gala Performance," "Mlle. Angot"), and with adequate representation of the classics and the works of most modern choreographers. One modern choreographers. One modern choreographers. One modern choreographers which was scheduled only twice in the present engagement. This is inadequate because Balanchine, as Mr. Denby wrote after the Monte Carlo performance of "Serenade," "is the greatest

choreographer of our time." It is important to have that stated authoritatively; but more important is what Mr. Denby said in explanation of his statement. "His style is classical: grand without being impressive, clear without being strict. It is humane because it is based on the patterns the human body makes when it dances; it is not-like romantic choreography-based on patterns the human body cannot quite force itself into. His dance evolutions and figures are luminous in their spacing, and of a miraculous musicality in their impetus. Sentiment, fancy, and wit gave them warmth and immediacy. But as the audience actually watches, it all looks so playful and light, so unemphatic and delicate, it doesn't seem to call for noisy applause. Ten years later, when noisier successes have faded, one finds with surprise that his have kept intact their first freshness and their natural bloom."

To that repertory there have now been added two new ballets. The first, Agnes De Mille's "Tally-Ho," has music by Gluck which leaves one's ears battered and sore from the almost uninterrupted trumpets and drums of Paul Nordoff's scoring and the blatant performance conducted by Dorati: it has a charming set by Motley, and costumes, also by Motley, which wonderfully point up the witty movements and gestures with which De Mille introduces her characters in their initial situations. Unfortunately she has not realized the end of the story in dance terms as entertaining or even as clear in meaning as those of the beginning. De Mille herself, Laing, Dolin, and the others give the work a first-rate performance.

On the other hand Jerome Robbins's "Fancy Free" carries its brilliant caricature unfalteringly to the very end. What is sharpened into caricature is the ways of sailors; and the dance movements with which this is done are themselves sharpened caricature of everything from low-down dances of sailors and their girls in dance halls to the styles of famous ballet dancers and choreographers. Oliver Smith's scenery is beautiful in color and his backdrop is superb; but the aggressiveness of the exaggerated distortion of his foreground construction bothered me. That, however, was nothing compared with the aggressive self-intrusiveness of Leonard Bernstein's music. The performance by the young second-line dancers-Robbins, Kriza, and Lang as the trio of sailors, Bentley, Reed, and Eckl as the girlsis as brilliant as the ballet.

B. H. HAGGIN

# Letters to the Editors

### Help Yugoslavia!

Dear Sirs: There's so much to be done awakening Americans to the actual situaation in some European countries which are potentially among the best friends we have. We simply can't let them down. I wish I could root in person for Yugoslavia, for example. I'm writing my friends to do everything they can to boost our all-out help to these wonderful people. Here is a peasant army of 300,000 doing an incredibly superb job with almost nothing in the way of equipment and supplies. And both the army and the part of the country it occupies are being run on an absolutely democratic basis.

IN THE SERVICE

Cairo, Egypt

### Is It Journalism?

Dear Sirs: About a year and a half ago the Chungking government organized a School of Journalism and Dean Ackerman of Columbia University gave it his blessing by sending along four or five faculty members from his school. He also announced at the time that someone had anonymously donated \$125,000 for the support of the school for a certain period. The announcement of the enterprise was made by Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information in the Chungking government, and all information from Chungking led to the conclusion that the School for Journalism was merely a branch of Tong's propaganda department. In other words, the object was to train Chinese for service as public-relations men in the various Chinese consulates and embassies all over the world.

Those who are sincerely concerned with democratic development in China held their peace until recently when Hollington K. Tong announced the appointment of a new dean of the department, one Rodney Gilbert, who has been a member of the contributing staff of the Herald Tribune, writing under the name of Heptisax. It now develops that Gilbert, up to about ten years ago, was a notoriously anti-Chinese writer on the staff of the British North China Daily News at Shanghai. Gilbert has never taught journalism but has been . visiting lecturer on the staff of Columbia University.

The episode is of special interest be-

cause Ackerman has always adopted a sanctimonious attitude toward journalism and never passes up an opportunity to write a letter to somebody, opposing fascist tendencies in journalism.

IOURNALIST New York, April 20

### Mr. Browder Protests

Dear Sirs: My attention has been drawn to your issue of April 15, in which you publish a letter from Bernardo Ibañez of Chile complaining that I had slandered him in a speech of January 30, and that I am "a man devoid of any sense of responsibility."

May I point out, as a matter of public record, that it was from friends of Mr. Ibañez that public announcement was made that he had appealed for the recognition of the Bolivian government, and that he had been in consultation with men in the United States who wished that he should displace Vicente Lombardo Toledano M president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, Mr. Ibañez could hardly have failed to know of these public announcements, since he was in the United States when they were made, and was in association with the persons who made them. Yet he did not find it necessary then to deny the statements made by his own friends and associates, nor does he do so now; he merely says that when I take public notice of what his friends announce on his behalf, it is I who am guilty of "calumny."

I suggest that any Nation reader who is really interested in the facts behind this incident read in the New Leader of February 12 an article by a friend of Ibañez, José Antonio Jerez. This is . truly indecent attack on Vicente Lombardo Toledano, and a naive exposé of the activities of Ibañez as well as of his ambitions. If Mr. Ibañez were seriously interested in protecting his good name in the United States he would publicly repudiate this article published in his behalf. This he has not done.

My interest in this question lies primarily in combating misinformation spread in the United States concerning the Latin American labor movement. Lombardo Toledano needs no defense from me. He is the unquestioned spokesman for the Latin American labor movement, heading its representation to the International Labor Office and to

the London Congress to be held in June; he is also the spokesman for millions of Latin American democrats and a major political leader of his own country, Mexico. For the honor of our own country we cannot tolerate the spreading of public calumny against this man, the most eminent of Latin Ameri-EARL BROWDER

New York, April 18

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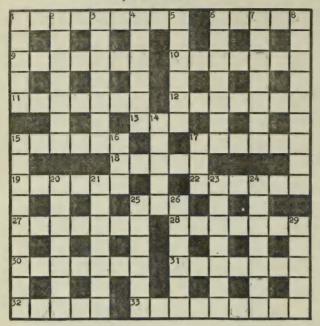
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# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 62

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 One would hardly choose to ride in this vehicle
- Some are born mothers, others have motherhood thrust upon them
- 9 Administrator who is almost perfect 10 He discovered, among other things, the trouble they had brewing in France
- 11 Mail, etc. (anag.) 12 One kind of cartridge
- 13 She's a little deer! 15 Having a voracious appetite, yet thin for the most part
- 17 Puzzle in game
- 18 No pie, I guess 19 No, sir, O what a turn!
- 22 Got the ball up or over, on the golf course

- 25 The girl from Hunan (she doesn't look very Chinese!)
  27 The heavy is ill in Va.
  28 Just a case of brains
  30 "As for n camel To thread the postern of a ----- eye" (Richard II)
- It will be obvious when you get it 32 Spray these flowers through these 33 Do not tear (anag.)

- 1 Mold in which things buried are not out of sight
- Where an intermittent buzzing tells of number engaged
- 8 Real dew (anag.)
- 4 Lands in which to catch her A show of anger marks the end of
- the dominion 6 It takes a wise man to discover one, Diogenes found (two words, 4 and 3)

- 7 "You have displaced the mirth, broke the good -----, With admired disorder" (Macbeth)
- 8 Is unarmed, but well able to take care of the children 14 Might be in a rare pickle when I get
- on fore and aft 15 "An ultra-poetical, super-aestheti-cal, out-of-the-way young man"
- (Patience)
- 16 Over there 17 Serpentine fish not found in the
- Serpentine
- 20 The cause of some patient suffering 21 One can't imagine these prophets being dumb, but Milton did
- An enthusiastic reception on the whole, despite the eggs at the outset
- Neptune's fish-spear "Unaccustomed as I am . . . "
  - Accident I'd escaped Mostly a friend, and entirely your
    - best one

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 61

ACROSS:-1 DECEIVER; 5 YOICKS; 10 NAPHTHA; 11 ASSAULT; 12 EXTORT 14 HEAT-WAVE; 16 NUDISTS; 17 OLDER; 18 NERO; 20 ERRATUM; 22 INCH; 24 NABOB; 26 STAGGER; 29 SARGASSO; 30 STREET; 32 ASTRIDE; 33 MANDATE; 34 FIDGET; 85 SKITTLES.

DOWN:-1 DONNED: 2 CAPITOL: M IN-TERNEE; 4 ELAN; # ONSETS; 7 COUR-AGE: 8 SETTER ON; 9 TAPES; 13 TURRETS; 14 HIDALGO; 15 ATTUNES; 19 TIPSTAFF; 21 MARTINET; 23 CAROTID; 25 OVERALL; 26 SATIRE; 27 ASKEW; 28 STEERS; 81 AMOK.

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MCALISTER COLEMAN is a journalist who has long been active in the fight for public control of public utilities. Last year he wrote "Men and Coal." a study of the American miner.

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VOLUME 158

· SATURDAY · MAY 13 1944 NEW YORK

NUMBER 20

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vessy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 8, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau; 318 Kellogg Building.

## The Shape of Things

A NEW IMPASSE HAS BEEN REACHED IN THE negotiations between the French Committee of National Liberation and the Anglo-American authorities as a result of the communications restrictions imposed by the British last month. Only the United States, Russia, and the Dominions were exempted from these measures, and the fact that countries with a vital stake in the invasion were lumped in with the neutrals caused a good deal of heart-burning. The governments of Belgium, Holland, and Norway were at least in London and in direct touch with the High Command. But for the French Committee, with its headquarters in Algiers, the impossibility of any private communication with its representatives in London was a severe handicap. It was all the more so since those representatives, General Koenig and Pierre Vienot, were engaged in delicate negotiations with General Eisenhower covering the relations between the French authorities and the liberating armies. Now, as a result of this communications trouble, the French Committee has decided to suspend the discussions. Maybe in view of the urgent necessity of perfecting liaison arrangements, the Committee is being unduly touchy about a supposed affront to its sovereignty. But this sensitivity is a direct and inevitable result of our grudging and still incomplete recognition of its authority.

LAST WEEK'S PRIMARY RETURNS BROUGHT new encouragement to progressives throughout the country. In the deep South, supposedly a hotbed of anti-New Deal sentiment, two of the President's staunchest and ablest supporters, Senators Claude Pepper of Florida and Lister Hill of Alabama, scored surprisingly easy triumphs. Their victories were all the more notable because both had been violently attacked on the issue of white supremacy. In rock-ribbed Republican South Dakota Senator Gurney was renominated with a safe margin although he had been criticized for supporting the President on various issues, especially on foreign policy. And Indiana's Charles La Follette, one of the outstanding liberals in the House, was renominated on the Republican ticket by an overwhelming majority. All these results might be attribuated—as the tory press is hopefully suggesting—to the natural advantage possessed by the "ins" if it were not for the fact that

three of Alabama's most notorious reactionaries encountered unexpectedly heavy going at the polls. Representative Joseph Starnes, a leading member of the Dies committee, was defeated; the other two—Carter Manasco and John Newsome—face run-off elections. The defeat of Starnes was noteworthy as a demonstration of growing labor strength in the South. It is a bad omen for Martin Dies, particularly since labor has succeeded in achieving a 25 per cent increase in registration in the Texas Representative's district.

HOW SERIOUSLY GENERAL MACARTHUR took the campaign to draft him for the Republican Presidential nomination we do not know. Certainly his response to the Miller letters suggested a high state of receptivity. No less certainly, the public reaction to his apparent indorsement of Representative Miller's acutely partisan political analysis was overwhelmingly unfavorable. From then on it was a case of "put up or shut up," and by declaring "I do not covet it [the nomination] nor would I accept it," the General recognized that the trial balloon launched on his behalf had been shot down in flames. His political camp followers were sadly disappointed as they realized the finality of his decision and began to wind up their affairs. But the country at large was relieved to know that henceforth General Mac-Arthur's attention would be concentrated on the military tasks he is so well equipped to perform.

\*

THE GENERAL'S ABDICATION PRACTICALLY clinches Governor Dewey's nomination and leaves the iso-nationalists in a political cul-de-sac. Already the Chicago Tribune, finding itself altogether too well isolated, is complaining that the Middle West is being left out of the Republican Convention program. "The delegates from the heart of the nation," it declares, "should be careful that this convention is not stolen as the last one was." Gerald L. K. Smith, the Führer of Detroit, infuriated by Dewey's recent speech on foreign policy with its cautious approach to internationalism, has accused the New York Governor of "slipping into Willkie's bed"-the ultimate in immorality according to Smith's code. Mr. Smith is toying with the idea of calling a convention of his America First party for the purpose of drafting Colonel McCormick. We fear that this scheme, which would have the merit of bringing all the iso-nationalists into the open and permitting a nose count, will not mature. The Colonel's political I. Q. may not be very high, but he probably has enough acumen not to get in the way of a hungry elephant excited to frenzy by the enticing smells of office.

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THE RISING TEMPO OF ALLIED SUCCESSES IN the Pacific and Burma has led most Americans to overlook the significance of Japan's powerful offensive in China. The purpose of the offensive is clear. Since the beginning of the war the Chinese have clung to a short stretch of the main north-south railway linking Peking with Hankow and the Yangtze valley. This has meant that the Japanese forces in central China have been dependent on river communications. Now the Japanese have captured the important junction city of Chengchow and have cleared all but a forty-five-mile stretch of the railway. Capture of this stretch would greatly strengthen their position in central and southern China and enable them better to meet the expected United Nations attempt to set up air bases for the drive on Japan. The inability of the Chinese to stop the Japanese, in conjunction with indications of continued political dissension in Chungking, has aroused new anxiety here, but much of this is probably unwarranted. The Chinese have suffered far greater military reverses in the past without impairing the people's will to resist. And the recent willingness of the Chinese leaders to accept criticism from their Allies bespeaks a strengthening of the democratic elements who are pledged to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

THE DISCOVERY OF SYNTHETIC OUININE IS a scientific event of the first magnitude, but hardly less significant are the circumstances under which two young Harvard chemists came to solve this century-old problem. Although the shortage of quinine and the shortcomings of atabrine made the need for synthetic quinine obvious, neither the government nor Harvard University undertook to organize research into the problem. Instead, the Polaroid Corporation was permitted, for an investment of a few thousand dollars, to hire Harvard brains and use Harvard laboratories, and is now the owner of the process. Despite a glowing press release by the company, it is far from clear that it will make this discovery freely available to the government or to industry. The chances are that the process will be subjected to the kind of cautious and limited commercial exploitation that is part of "business as usual" in the drug trade. The corporate affiliations of certain officials of Polaroid make it unlikely that they will move in any way that might unduly embarrass or discomfit either the natural quinine cartel or the monopoly on atabrine held by Winthrop Chemical for General Aniline and Film and Sterling Products. Yet more quinine is a war essential in the Pacific and cheaper quinine would be a blessing in other tropical and semi-tropical areas, including our own South. Why can't the government take over the patent and give us quick action in making the transition from laboratory experiment to large-scale production?

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THE AUTHORS OF "THE RACES OF MANKIND," a pamphlet which gives in simple and succinct language the findings of science on the subject of race, make the

sensible and by now hardly sensational statement that all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin. In March Representative May, of Kentucky, persuaded the War Department not to use the pamphlet in army orientation courses because its cool scientific observations ran counter to his own warm prejudices in favor of white supremacy. Now a subcommittee of the House Military Affairs Committee, of which May is chairman, has solemnly announced, after an "investigation," that the pamphlet is filled with "techniques of Communist propaganda," presumably because it ascribes so-called racial differences to differences in environment over long periods of time and sticks to the scientific thesis that all men are brothers. In those excerpts of the report which we have seen, the committee -its chairman is also a Southerner-plays fast and loose with the text of the pamphlet, misquoting it freely and tearing sentences out of context with complete abandon. The committee even condemns the illustrations—which are both amusing and illuminating-and does not hesitate to make itself ridiculous by pointing out that "Adam and Eve are depicted with navels." The whole performance could be dismissed as comedy if it were not for the fact that the subcommittee's report is one more attempt to perpetuate the tragic fallacies of race. We hope the War Department will continue to put such reading matter as "The Races of Mankind" into the hands of servicemen.

THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE provides few lessons for the builders of a peaceful world. For peace-building is a slow, painful, complex job, demanding the single-minded devotion of men of good will of all nations-including Germany. A group of German exiles in this country have just formed a Council for a Democratic Germany. Differing in political viewpoint and professional interest, they are united in their hatred of Nazism and their faith in democracy. Their objectives are to study practical measures needed for the post-war reconstruction of a democratic Germany, to discover the ways by which the German educational system can be purged of its fascist and Nazi teachings, and to formulate a program of action to which all democratic forces in post-war Germany can adhere. Sponsoring the Council is a group of American liberals including John Dewey, Henry Seidel Canby, William Allen Nielsen, Lewis Gannett, Paul Kellogg, Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop Henry Hobson, Emil Rieve, Dorothy Thompson, Dean Christian Gauss. We agree with the American group that "neither a soft peace nor a hard peace, neither sentimentality nor vindictiveness will create the conditions of an abiding peace." The responsibility is on those who lead in the reconstruction of Germany's political and economic life and on those who build the larger international order in which the new Germany will have a place.

GERMAN DEMOCRATS MUST FACE THE FACT that the German people as a whole cannot and will not be absolved from all responsibility for Nazism. This was clearly hammered home in the course of the deliberations of an ILO sub-committee which was considering a resolution dealing with the economic rehabilitation of Germany, including the restoration of the free trade unions. By a 9 to 2 vote this resolution was referred back to the Governing Body after a debate colored by the righteous bitterness of the Europeans who have suffered directly from German aggression. One reason for the opposition that developed was the inadvisability of attempting to decide questions related to the peace terms in the absence of Russia. But the emotions aroused during the discussion were related to the strong reaction of the European delegates, including labor representatives, against a proposal which seemed to draw a line between Hitler and the German people. We agree with Robert J. Watt, A. F. of L. representative who was one of the minority, that it is dangerous to treat the German as innately and uniquely brutal. And we support his plea for the rebuilding of the German trade unions. Whatever just punishment may be inflicted on Germany, the re-creation of democratic institutions is an essential first step toward its reclamation.

## Mail-Order "Martyr"

THE campaign of the free enterprisers is taking on an increasingly evangelistic tinge. Its apostles dazzle us with glimpses of a future heaven which we shall all enjoy if and when the angels of business overcome the dark forces of collectivism, and scare us with lurid forecasts of the economic hell into which we will be plunged if we do not heed the gospel according to St. Ford. But for all the fervor of the preachers, their revival campaign has wilted from lack of drama, While they talk in terms of persecution and picture private enterprise skulking in the catacombs, they have been unable to exhibit any victims of the White House Nero. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," and what the religion of private enterprise needs is a good millionaire martyr. In the person of Sewell Avery, chairman of Montgomery Ward, a volunteer for the role has now come forward, and a tremendous campaign is being put on by the press and the Congressional reactionaries to persuade the public that he is the genuine article.

The long history of Mr. Avery's defiance of the government was recapitulated in *The Nation* of April 29. A year ago, having exhausted every delaying device available, he reluctantly signed a contract with Local 20 of the Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees' Union (C. I. O.), in compliance with a direct order

from the President. As soon as the contract expired, he started the fight all over again. The War Labor Board, whose authority he challenged, handled him gently, acceding to his demands for a new union election to determine whether the union still represented a majority of his employees, and merely ordering him to maintain the status quo until the balloting was completed.

Mr. Avery refused to comply. Clearly he was trailing his coat, intent on putting the Administration in a position where it had either to crack down on him or nullify its whole war labor policy. When he flatly refused to obey a White House order upholding the WLB's ruling, the President instructed Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones to take over the Montgomery Ward Chicago plant. The would-be martyr challenged the legality of this ruling. When the government sent in a small body of troops to occupy the plant, he staged a sitdown strike, declaring he would order his employees to give no cooperation to the government's representatives.

At this point Attorney General Biddle ordered his bodily removal, and the storm broke. From one end of the country to the other the anti-Administration press relegated the war to a secondary place and proceeded to pillory the President as a dictator who had destroyed the Constitution and torn up the Bill of Rights. Mr. Biddle was assailed as a veritable Himmler, heading a savage Gestapo bent on extirpating every business man who would not kowtow to his infamous master. Never in the course of history has so much newsprint been wasted on so poor a cause. Fortunately the very excess of the indignation, so out of proportion to the actual event, reduced it to absurdity. The supposed victim of this outrage, it turned out, had not been shot without trial, beaten up, or thrown into a concentration camp. As the pictures showed, he had merely been carried out of the Ward building, comfortably relaxed in the arms of two soldiers, and deposited gently on the sidewalk. He then entered his big limousine and was driven to his home, where he has been having the time of his life trying on his cheaply gained halo. Is it not a little indecent to compare the "sufferings" of this phony martyr with the real torments experienced by the victims of the real Gestapo?

The question of whether or not the President has exceeded the very wide powers granted to him by Congress is now before the federal District Court in Chicago, and its decision will not be rendered until after we have gone to press. In the newspapers as a whole the issue has, of course, been prejudged. If the President's action is upheld, we are told, no corner grocery will be safe from seizure. This, of course, is nonsense. The scale on which Montgomery Ward operates—it did half a billion dollars' worth of business last year—and its key position as a distributor of farm supplies link it directly to the war economy. It has received large contracts from the

government; it has been granted thousands of priorities on the plea of war necessity.

An even more important consideration, however, is the effect that successful defiance of the WLB by Montgomery Ward would have on the whole machinery instituted by the government to prevent war-time labor disputes. A precedent would be created that we can be sure other corporations would seize upon. Mr. Avery himself has proved his readiness to challenge the authority of the WLB in instances where war production is directly involved. The Hummer Manufacturing Company, a division of Ward's engaged in arms contracts, has refused to comply with a WLB order entered last August and a strike has now started. United States Gypsum, of which Avery is chairman, has defied the board since June, 1943, following exactly the same tactics as Ward's.

If corporations are to be allowed to contract out of the war economy—at least as far as their labor relations are concerned—then the affected unions must be released from their no-strike pledges. But as Chairman Davis of the WLB has pointed out, that would lead to a situation in which the "whole structure of war-time industrial relations would crumble." Either the WLB's authority must be respected consistently or it will become as helpless to prevent labor troubles as the Kellogg Pact was to prevent war

## A Mess of Wolfram

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Let us gladly admit that our government won a modest success in its recent deal with Franco. To try to rob it of its little triumph would be unchivalrous. If one's country is going to sell its birthright of democratic principle for a mess of pottage, one should at least rejoice that it got the pottage.

As a result of the agreement made with fascist Spain, Hitler will have less tungsten with which to harden steel for munitions. The rest of the deal is no more than seasoning. The German consulate in Tangier will be closed and certain "designated" Nazi agents will be kicked out. But since Tangier is full of undesignated Nazi agents and since Franco's own boys have proved quite as useful to Hitler as pure Nordic Nazis could be, and since Spain itself is one great beehive of espionage, with the German embassy and consular offices running wide open, the prospect of serious interference with Nazi activities is not great. As for the Blue Legion, its official career was ended long before the agreement to end it was signed. Whether Spanish fascists are still fighting on the eastern front is a matter of dispute. Neither this nor any other agreement could prevent "voluntary" enlistments in the German army. The ship deal, too, had been concluded

some time ago except for a few details which were finally settled on Franco's terms.

What is important is a matter of some hundreds of tons of wolfram, from which tungsten is extracted. That is the heart of the agreement, the solid substance in the pot. But for this, the years spent in buttering up a hostile fascist regime would have yielded nothing but empty humiliation. We should make the most of those tons of potential alloy.

But even in this generous mood one must be realistic about the size of the victory, what it cost, and by what means it was actually won. The New York *Times*, in an editorial that should become a textbook example of complacent self-delusion, has described the achievement of Ambassador Hayes as a "great service to his country and the Allied cause," and the agreement as a "signal victory for Allied diplomacy." Let's consider these resounding claims.

The agreement itself was admittedly an unwelcome compromise. In announcing its terms the State Department explained that the American aim of depriving Germany of all wolfram shipments had been abandoned "on the urgent request of the British government." How much does Germany actually lose? The Times in another editorial said that Spain would now reduce deliveries of tungsten ore "to about 10 per cent of what the Germans would have obtained under their previous agreement." Perhaps this is so, but on the figures the Times quotes I cannot make it come out that way. Germany, according to the Times, has purchased 1,300 tons of Spanish wolfram for 1944 deliveries, but it can now "get 280 tons, at the most, for the rest of this year." But 280 is 21 per cent, not 10 per cent, of 1,300, and even that is not the real story. Germany imported 300 or more tons of wolfram from Spain in January, 1944; it is to get 20 tons a month to May and June; and thereafter it is to get 40 tons a month for the remainder of 1944. A bit of simple addition makes it clear that Germany's full quota for 1944 will be 580 tons, which is 45 per cent, rather than 10 per cent, of 1,300 tons. Perhaps the 300 tons shipped in January were not supposed to count because they were contracted for in 1943, but since they form a substantial part of Hitler's 1944 supply they ought to be allowed to break into the statistics somewhere. Just what the 10 per cent is supposed to represent I do not know; it may be the estimated proportion Hitler will receive of what he might have bought in 1944, rather than the actual proportion of what he had in fact contracted for. But such a comparison is so vague as to be misleading.

At the risk of sounding school-teacherish I should like to inject one additional comparison that seems to me more revealing than all the rest. Last year Hitler received 800 tons of wolfram from Spain out of a total of 1,100 ordered. This year, invasion permitting, Hitler will get 580 tons. So the actual drop in 1944, as the

result of the new agreement, will be 220 tons, and the proportion of last year's wolfram which Hitler will receive in 1944 will be 72 per cent.

The next question is how this "signal victory" was won. The Times tells us that while the "balance" of the war undoubtedly had its effect, the chief credit must go to the policy of the American government. That policy, comprising a "combination of diplomatic and economic pressure, has finally induced the Spaniards to do practically everything the Allies desired." Here, again, I'm afraid a realistic observer must question the Times interpretation. The truth seems exactly the reverse. American policy accomplished exactly nothing as long as Hitler's chances of victory seemed fairly good. Only when it became evident that the Axis faced defeat, and when diplomatic and economic pressure began to be substituted for soft soap, did Franco show any willingness to bargain. Even then, as events have shown, he felt strong enough to force many of his own terms on the two great powers. His strength lay not in his actual position, which today is all but hopeless. It lay in the proved weakness of Allied diplomacy, its unwillingness to risk a showdown. To translate the final result into a brilliant diplomatic victory takes imagination if not political perspicacity.

As to the price of victory, it is beyond computing. We have paid for that ore in good American crude oil, some of which will probably find its way into Germany along with the reduced quotas of wolfram. But little as we can afford to squander oil on unfriendly fascist states, we can afford still less the other costs involved. By giving approval and diplomatic support to Franco we have in effect subsidized the whole international fascist conspiracy against which we were finally driven to wage war. The Spanish regime has carried Hitler's propaganda into every corner of Latin America. Clerical reaction, contempt for democracy, hatred of the United States—all these are spread wherever Franco's agents operate.

The job of American diplomacy in Spain was not to drive a bargain with a neutral; it was to disarm an enemy. Just before the agreement with Franco was announced, our colleague, J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister in the last Republican government of Spain, gave a statement to the United Press. I want to quote here a part of his comment because it defines very sharply the price the Allies have paid for the policy that culminated in Mr. Hayes's diplomatic triumph. Said Mr. del Vayo:

To focus the whole diplomatic battle on the question of obtaining a reduction of Spanish wolfram shipments to Germany is to minimize the real problem of Spain's role in the war. . . . The problem is to render ineffective the help that the Franco regime can, and will, give to Hitler at the moment of the European invasion. Otherwise, as a result of the policy pursued with regard to

Franco, invasion day will find an enemy state at the back of the Allied army. Today Spain is the center of espionage, sabotage, and political agitation in Hitler's behalf, and the proposed agreement will not advance the Allied cause a single inch. The crux of the problem

is therefore to oust Franco and his Falange from the government of Spain and to help the Spanish people regain their freedom. Until that is done, Spain will continue to be an accomplice in the German war against the Allies.

# Digesting the State Department

BY RICHARD ALLAN

Washington, May 2

SportLIGHT on the State Department" by Kingsbury Smith, in the May Reader's Digest, is the Digest's latest and grandest attempt to court the lads of Mr. Hull's great gray palace on Pennsylvania Avenue. As late as last December relations between the Digest and the department were hit-or-miss. The Digest played up prominently a story by Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska attacking the Good Neighbor policy in terms of dollars and cents. The department was pretty much miffed.

The Digest, a few days before deadline for its next issue, offered Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, some space to answer Mr. Butler's charges. No, the department told Mr. Rockefeller, we would prefer that you keep quiet. The department felt, as it does in such cases, that to answer a criticism is to dignify the critic; and anyway, its own experts already had furnished Congressional leaders with speeches denying Butler's words—why share the fun with Mr. Rockefeller?

But all this inter-departmental dickering left the Reader's Digest in a rather unpleasant state of nerves. The magazine had angered the State Department at a time when State Department friendship could be very useful the Digest was pushing half a dozen foreign-language editions into new markets all over the globe. It is surprising how often a publisher engaged on a venture of this sort must come to the State Department: there are matters of priorities, airplane space, newsprint recommendations; arrangements for setting up printing establishments in various foreign countries. So two or three pleasant young men from Pleasantville began appearing in State Department corridors more and more frequently. "We have heard that you do not like all our articles,"

I. F. Stone, our Washington editor, has been absent from these columns for two weeks. He has been preparing a detailed study of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, which will appear shortly in The Nation.

said the pleasant young men, in effect. "We should like to keep the articles for our future foreign-language editions in line with your own ideas."

This bait was too attractive for even the austere State Department to resist. Currently it is pushing its own culture-and-propaganda program abroad on a dozen fronts, with money newly granted by Congress. Here was a chance to swing the mighty Reader's Digest into line as an ally. So suggestions were forthcoming. "Such-and-such an article would make the Arabs unhappy," the department would counsel the young men from Pleasant-ville. "And here, this article criticizing the home front, it wouldn't really be of much interest abroad, would it?"

The *Digest* editors were willing, and the department was cooperative. And just to certify the harmony process, the *Digest* now has played its show-piece—Kingsbury Smith's back-patting article in the May issue. But, amusingly, the article which was meant to please may annoy. There are signs that certain passages already have turned State Department countenances a mild pink.

In general, Mr. Smith's piece is as fine and standard a full-length portrait as the department could have ordered. It presents the following usual statements in the usual way: that our policies with regard to the Ethiopian war and the Spanish civil war, although possibly wrong, were what the American public wanted; that the State Department was no more fooled and no more scared at the time of Munich than were the American people; that the State Department knew as early as 1933 that war was coming, and shared the secret with the American public; that some of Hull's advisers made things difficult for their boss by assuming that Japan was only bluffing; that our months of holding hands with Vichy represent "one of the most successful achievements of American diplomacy" in the war; that we were correct in opposing De Gaulle; that the United States army has asked the State Department not to get tough with Franco; that the results of our Latin American policy have been "highly satisfactory."

But there were two departures from the usual type of article apologizing for the State Department. First—whether for convenience or from oversight—Mr. Smith

omits mention of Italy, the Italian king, and Badoglio. Second, in his climactic paragraph Mr. Smith simultaneously pats Secretary Hull on the back so vigorously and shakes so stern a finger at Stalin that one cannot suppress an anticipatory chuckle. Especially at present there is nothing high department officials would dislike to do more than further to annoy or jar Russia. Imagine their feelings, then, when they find their ace defender blandly informing his readers that Mr. Hull went to Moscow and won over Stalin from "world revolution against capitalism" to "cooperation."

Mr. Smith's exuberance, of course, will well serve the cautiously anti-Soviet sentiments of the *Digest*. But as for the department, which Mr. Smith also meant to serve, the remark—especially if the Russian embassy takes out its shears and does a little clipping—may well prove to be what diplomatic folk call contra producente,

or, in common language, a boomerang.

The little mental acrobatics common to all apologists are a frequent practice with Mr. Smith. When he arrives at a discussion of Latin America, he pretends that the much-refuted Senator Butler is the chief critic of this nation's policy in that area. Mr. Butler, as was suggested above, had his words about "too much spending" thrown back at him by the department and by leaders in both major parties months ago. But by setting up this straw man and knocking him down just one more time, Mr. Smith manages to omit mention of the really basic criticism of our Latin American policy—that it has supported dictatorships instead of our real good neighbors, the Latin American peoples.

Like so many apologists, awed by the immensity of their task, Mr. Smith, when he is not sure of the effect of a first argument, hopefully tosses in a second, thereby damning both. Thus after spending most of a *Digest* page on a high moral level, defending the principle behind our early coldness toward De Gaulle, he winds up, rather lamely, by saying, anyway we weren't the only ones, the British used to feel the same way. This, of course, is the "misery-loves-company" technique, substituted at the last lap for the "we-pursue-a-virtuous-stituted at the last lap for the "we-pursue-a-virtuous-

course" approach.

Except for the few departures sketched above, Smith's article is just such an "ignominiously feeble essay in apologetics" as the earlier piece by George Creel in Collier's which I. F. Stone discussed in The Nation for April 1. However, the appearance of two such articles within a short period gives rise to a gleam of hope. The very fact that the State Department feels called upon to defend itself before mass audiences indicates that dissatisfaction with its record is not confined to a handful of radicals. Taken in conjunction with Mr. Hull's latest speeches, these journalistic counter-attacks are evidence that the critics have not only got under the department's skin but have begun to penetrate its skull.

## 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AFTER A BRIEF EXPERIENCE of the fact that the industry of man and the natural resources of the country can produce prosperity and happiness independently of the all-wise fiats of a McKinley or a Harrison, it will be possible to discuss questions of taxation and settle its details like rational beings, and not like frightened savages cutting themselves with flints before an ugly idol.—May 3, 1894.

THE WORLD IS DOING almost the most valuable work that any newspaper can now do for this city in publishing biographies of leading Tammany men. . . . Nothing is so necessary for the city at this crisis as Tammany biographies. Nothing does the gang fear so much, for most of them sprang into public life from the gutter or the jail.—May 3, 1894.

THE DEATH OF MR. JOHN JAY removes a prominent survivor of the grand generation which carried the slavery conflict to its final triumph. There was every temptation in life to a young man in 1836, gifted as he was with fortune, good connections, illustrious ancestry, and honorable ambition, to eschew the anti-slavery cause on leaving college. Its adherents were then not only despised as fanatics by the great business and professional world but were hated as the enemies of religion and order and the Union.—
May 10, 1894.

THE CENTURY COMPANY are about to issue . . . the "Jungle Book," stories of animal life by Rudyard Kipling, gathered together from St. Nicholas and other sources.— May 17, 1894.

THE PROPOSITION TO AMEND the Constitution so that United States Senators may be elected by popular vote has been brought forward again in this Congress, but there does not seem much prospect of its passage, to say nothing of the remoter chances of its ratification by the necessary number of states.—May 24, 1894.

TO DO SOMETHING NEW seems to have been the principal aim of the publishers of The Yellow Book: An Illustrated Quarterly. . . . It is bound in boards of a hideous yellow color, with a design, only more hideous than frivolous, in violent black. . The matter is, much of it, very modern and very impressionistic, the Whistlerian affectations of Mr. Max Beerbohm's "Defence of Cosmetics" being particularly intolerable. The names of Henry James, George Saintsbury, and Edmund Gosse among the writers, and that of Sir Frederick Leighton among the artists, give, however, a somewhat higher tone to the table of contents. —May 24, 1894.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH, May, 1894: Chanute, O., "Progress in Flying Machines," . . Ellis, Havelock, "Man and Woman: A Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters," . . Yeats, W. B., "The Land of Heart's Desire," . . . Howells, W. D., "A Likely Story: A Farce," . . . Howells, W. D., "A Traveller from Altruria."

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# Mexico Left and Right

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

[Mr. del Vayo has just returned from a month's visit in Mexico, where he talked with President Camacho, General Cárdenas, and other high officials, and with labor leaders, educators, and journalists. This article is the first of a series which he is writing on Mexican problems—political, social, and economic. He will also, in later issues, tell of his conversations with prominent Spanish Republican exiles whom he met in Mexico.]

O UNDERSTAND the current situation in Mexico, we must look back to the period when General Lázaro Cárdenas held the reins of government. His presidency marked the climax of the Mexican Revolution. On the whole the revolution has always been in strong hands, as is proved by the fact that from 1917, when the constitutional regime was established, to today, that is, for twenty-seven years, Mexico has had only nine presidents, an extremely small number for any Hispanic American country. But in each administration one could trace, as with a barograph, the rise and fall of the popularity of the government. The first half of the period always shows a sharp rise; the second half a no less obvious decline. The only presidential term that shows no drop is that of Cárdenas, who left office stronger and more popular than on the day he was elected.

That could happen only as the result of an extraordinary record of accomplishment. Few Americans fully realized what was taking place in Mexico between 1934 and 1940. Their vision was obscured not only by the propaganda of the large oil companies, which did their best to distort the facts, but by the reports of observers. even of some on the left, who were incapable of viewing events in their historical perspective. It was the same sort of thing that happened in Spain. More than one well-meaning liberal went to Spain to witness the civil war and left without having grasped its real import. They were more concerned with the behavior of certain political groups or with isolated mistakes of the government than with the tremendous implications of that great struggle. So it was with Mexico. The Cárdenas presidency was not always appreciated abroad in all its grandeur and significance.

Within Mexico that was not the case. Mexico knew at the time and knows today what the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas meant in the evolution of the country. The people saw land distributed among the peasants with a determination and energy never known before. They saw how General Calles's plans for building new roads and new systems of irrigation were carried out

more vigorously than ever; how the oil companies were expropriated without regard to gloomy predictions that the country would be unable to resist economic reprisal from abroad. Mexico had seen the President traveling to the remotest corners of the country, visiting the most humble villages, instilling in the whole population a new revolutionary fervor. And Mexico had seen him fighting in the international field for the same principles that inspired his national policy. General Cárdenas from the very first day sided with Republican Spain. He was against the Munich pact, in favor of a policy that would halt the aggressors; and he made Mexico a warm shelter for the victims of fascism.

It was to be expected that so vigorous an administration would make enemies. Other Presidents had aroused the opposition of conservative native elements, or of foreign business men in Mexico, or of foreign imperialists. Cárdenas aroused the opposition of all three groups. All of them were eager to have his work destroyed.

## CHOOSING A SUCCESSOR TO CARDENAS

The problem of the presidential succession therefore presented greater difficulties than at any other time in the modern history of Mexico, difficulties so great that some people thought the only solution was to forget the classic rule of "no reelection" and to put Cárdenas in office again. When I saw him in 1939, I made a discreet allusion to this proposal. His reply confirmed my impression that he was determined not to allow any departure from the constitutional tradition. The problem of choosing a successor who would follow the basic course mapped by Cárdenas without taking such an extreme position as to give the reaction a pretext for armed rebellion was approached realistically. In a speech delivered at that time before a workers' convention Lombardo Toledano declared that the question was not that of advancing the revolution; the choice was "to secure the work of Cárdenas, or to abandon it."

The man called upon to secure it was General Avila Camacho. He enjoyed solid prestige in the army. He was known as a loyal friend of Cárdenas, as well disposed toward the peasants and workers, and, particularly, as a man of equanimity and judgment, with an unusual capacity to reconcile antagonistic points of view.

The reaction went all out to defeat him. Great sums of money were spent in one of the most violent presidential campaigns the country had known. The opposition succeeded in uniting in a single front the big land-

owners, the oil companies, the extreme Catholic groups. Thousands of churchwomen joined in a movement that had all the characteristics of an incipient putsch. But Avila Camacho was elected.

His first political problem was to restore tranquillity and to prevent the forces which had been defeated in the election from attempting to gain power through an armed rebellion. He formed his government, therefore, of men from the various groups which had been active in Mexican politics during the past thirty years. Certainly it was not a homogeneous revolutionary Cabinet. It was a Cabinet of national coalition-always a dangerous enterprise. On one hand, Camacho risked alienating those elements of the left for whom such a Cabinet, with no external crisis to justify it, seemed a retreat from the revolution. On the other hand, the right was encouraged, and tried to win the President to its side. The reactionary press took great satisfaction in presenting Mexico under Cárdenas as having been on the verge of ruin and Mexico under Avila Camacho as rising rapidly into prosperity. The sudden boom resulting from the war favored that interpretation. Every political act of the new President was praised as a healthy revision of the work of Cárdenas.

#### REACTION IN THE SCHOOLS

The reaction became aggressive in all directions. It tried to replace Cárdenas men everywhere with people known for their conservative tendencies. It tried to stop the distribution of land and to create an atmosphere hostile to the labor organizations. It carried on a refined sort of sabotage of everything that had been accomplished. But the place where this reactionary attempt to take over power from inside became most visible was in the Department of Education.

It was natural that this battle should have been staged there rather than in any other department. From the beginning, education had played a major role in the revolution. The advances on this front made in the previous twenty-three years had been a source of constant pride to every Mexican progressive. No one denied that mistakes had been made and that there was still much to be corrected and improved; that higher education had been neglected, and that the universities were not the kind Mexico needed. But the creation of thousands of rural schools throughout the country and the development of their social functions had established an example for the rest of Hispanic America and for the world.

Suddenly all this tremendous effort of two decades was threatened. Octavio Béjar Vázquez, the Minister of Education chosen by Avila Camacho in his desire to have all political elements represented in the government, showed himself an easy tool in the hands of the reactionaries. He took as one of his closest advisers José Vasconcelos, who was once a very good Minister of Education but who had shifted so far to the right that he

had even become editor of the magazine *Timón*, financed by the German legation and finally suppressed by the Mexican government.

Teachers of progressive ideas were replaced by reactionaries. The clergy, especially the Jesuits, began to feel their power. Coeducation, which was an accepted fact in Mexico, was called an invention of the devil and suppressed. The textbooks were altered to minimize the work of the previous governments. The schools began to be looked upon not as a place where the people were being educated in the principles of the revolution, but as a place where they learned to hate it. Leagues of parents become very busy. The same women who, during the elections of 1940, came out of the churches, after service, with the cross in their hands to demonstrate in the streets against the anti-Christ Cárdenas, now prepared to win their battle through the Ministry of Education.

If the right took all these developments as a promise of victory, for the left they reinforced the fears created by the formation of the coalition Cabinet. It was at this moment that in the magazine Cuardernos Americanos, the best publication of its kind in Latin America, appeared a remarkable essay, called The Mexican Revolution in Crisis, which was to have a profound influence on much that has been written since. Its author, Jesús Silva Herzog, editor of Cuardernos Americanos, is one of the most constructive minds in the Mexican left. Former Minister to Russia, he is now fighting courageously in the Department of Finance against the inflation that threatens to overwhelm the country. In his study of the political crisis, Silva Herzog deals not only with immediate issues but with the whole problem of the revolution. He does not try to hide the difficulties which constructive efforts in Mexico have faced. Not the smallest of these difficulties was the necessity for tremendous speed. The determining cause of the revolution was the hunger for land, and when the revolution succeeded, the peasants had to be satisfied immediately. There was little time to elaborate a program. The technical aspects of the problem often had to be subordinated to the political requirements of the hour. Of course many mistakes were committed, but, as Silva Herzog put it, to wait would have been a still greater mistake.

That initial lack of organized planning has always been a drag on the revolution. Many early hopes have been shattered. The standard of life of the skilled industrial worker has risen, generally speaking, and the situation of the peasants has been greatly improved in many regions. But there is still a large section of the Mexican people which has not benefited by the reforms. These difficulties have been aggravated by the evil of corruption, with which Silva Herzog deals very frankly in his study. "The problem of Mexico," he wrote, "is before everything a problem of honesty."

It is not surprising that under such circumstances

the left does not always know how to maintain a firm platform, while the right is able to take advantage of any failure in the social or economic field to discredit or attack the revolution. But the reaction made a serious error in underestimating the character of General Camacho and in assuming that the discouragement felt by section of the revolutionary forces was an indication of complete capitulation. The chief maneuver of the opposition, to create a rift between Avila Camacho and Cárdenas, failed. The President remained firm; General Cárdenas, too. They blocked every attempt to play one against the other. The active elements of the left, the workers, and the peasant organizations rallied around the President. At one of the most serious moments of the crisis Lombardo Toledano declared that it was necessary to support the President without renouncing the right to criticize some of his ministers.

#### THE REVOLUTION SUSTAINED

At or about the same time a very interesting thing happened which proved how deeply intrenched the Mexican Revolution is, despite its weaknesses. Among the men who fought with the early revolutionary leaders-Carranza, Obregón, and Calles-against the old social order of Porfirio Díaz are some who have become extremely wealthy and now head great businesses. They are no longer part of the revolutionary process, and many believed that they no longer had any interest in it. But in a showdown even these men cannot resign themselves to a denial of the work of their youth. They have not gone forward with the revolution but neither can they go all the way back. They are not made of the stuff of genuine revolutionary leaders, but neither are they Pierre Lavals. In the crisis over the schools several of the wealthy ex-revolutionaries went to see Avila Camacho to tell him of their worries and fears. Their action was a great help to the President, who felt that he now had the support not only of the left but of what one may call the high Mexican bourgeoisie.

All these elements together-the Cárdenists, the workers' organizations, even the moderate conservativesproved themselves stronger than the reaction. Popular opinion made itself felt. The President dismissed Béjar Vázquez as Secretary of Education and appointed in his place Jaime Torres Bodet, a liberal of clear vision and determination, who in a short time has been able to reverse the whole policy of the department. He told me of the work done in the last three months by the special committee appointed by himself to revise the school system, correcting not only the methods introduced by the reactionaries but pushing forward education as a whole. He showed me the new magazine that has been founded in order to keep rural teachers informed of improved pedagogical methods in the most progressive countries. He showed me the instructions that had been issued to reestablish coeducation and to put an end to clerical control. He had in his office plans for the creation of new schools from 1944 to 1946, for which he had succeeded in obtaining additional appropriations.

#### CAMACHO'S FOREIGN POLICY

The outbreak of the war gave Avila Camacho an opportunity to prove that in the domain of foreign policy he was resolved to follow the policy of Cárdenas. On the very day Pearl Harbor was attacked, without consulting any foreign government, he broke with the Axis. Immediately he appointed General Cárdenas to command the Pacific zone and later named him Minister of Defense. He declared war on the Axis when the first Mexican ship was sunk. He reestablished diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. He was one of the first to recognize the French Committee of National Liberation. His energetic Minister of the Interior, Miguel Aleman, promptly laid his hand upon the enemy fifth column, which had been actively associated with the reactionary forces. In an extended interview Aleman described the measures he had taken even before Pearl Harbor to stop the activities of the three Axis legations, particularly the German and the Japanese.

"We also had the problem of the Japanese fisheries in the Pacific," he explained to me. "But there, as in the case of the Germans, we knew who the people were who should be arrested at a given moment. We have registered all foreigners living in the country, and I think our list is very complete. It has enabled us to prevent what has happened in many other countries—the replacement by the Axis of each agent who has been caught."

"The proof of the efficiency of our war-time measures," he continued, "lies in the fact that not a single act of sabotage has been committed in Mexico, and that everything has been accomplished without affecting the individual rights of the citizens. If you ask anyone in Mexico to describe the 'state of emergency,' he will not know what to say. There is no censorship of the press, direct or indirect, no censorship of the radio, nor has the right of free assembly been limited. Foreign groups engaged in anti-fascist activities can carry on their battle here with the same freedom as before."

### FASCIST CONSPIRACY

Taken as a whole, the work of the present administration cannot be interpreted as a fundamental departure from the policy of Cárdenas. In the matter of agrarian reform Camacho has continued the policy of his predecessor, and land is still being distributed according to established plans. The irrigation system is being extended, and many projects initiated under Cárdenas are now being completed. As far as the workers are concerned, there has not been a single official decision against the legitimate interests of the unions.

To pretend, however, that the reactionary forces have given up their fight would be infantile. Even if the war has postponed the problem of the presidential succession, the 1946 election is very much on the minds of the opposition. The reactionary groups—Sinarquistas, Unión Nacional, clericals—are joining forces and preparing for the assault. The Sinarquist danger, above all, should not be underestimated. The self-assurance with which certain government officials sometimes dismiss the movement reminds me painfully of the confident smiles with which Republican authorities in Spain, from March, 1936, until the day of the Franco uprising, listened to our warnings of the conspiracy of the right. In spite of its irresponsible and somewhat grotesque character, the Sinarquist movement is spread-

ing throughout the country. It is winning to its side large numbers of illiterate or fanatical people in the interior of Mexico—in the rural districts more than in the cities.

But Mexico is not the only country threatened by reaction. All through Latin America the fascist forces are hatching a vast conspiracy, with the support of the Axis powers and of Franco and his Phalanx, to end democracy forever. For two years I have been insisting on this, and many articles have been published in *The Nation* by representative Latin American leaders who have not echoed the optimistic tone of official reports and speeches. The situation in Latin America is grave; no country, not even Mexico, is free from danger.

# Law in the Strategy of Peace

BY P. E. CORBETT

PROMINENT among the clichés used in speeches and documents touching the objects of this war is "enduring peace and justice under law." Like other clichés, this has in it a core of truth obscured by over-familiarity. The association of law, peace, and justice expresses a wealth of human experience. For all the bitter ridicule heaped by the impatient on lawyers and their trade, none but the anarchist can imagine either security or welfare save in a community organized and ruled by law. To most of us "the law" means a vaguely sensed presence of rules, procedures, and institutions by which order is maintained and men given more or less their due. Yet we all expect two main characteristics in the legal system—fair but firm authority and adaptability to changing social needs.

At times like the present it becomes painfully obvious that no common legal system is operating with fair and firm authority on the conduct of nations. Yet the belligerents on both sides, and the neutrals in between, go on appealing to international law as something which exists and which is consistently observed by themselves and violated by their opponents. Confused by a wordy and futile debate, the common man asks in irony or anger what kind of law it is that fails so utterly to prevent war. There is ground for the complaint; but the people who make it for the most part ignore their own share of the blame.

Men have scarcely begun to learn the essential conditions and elements of a law that could render in the international domain services commensurate with those expected of law within the nation. Since the process of learning will have to be accompanied or followed by drastic changes in popular as well as official attitudes, we probably have a long way to go.

It is as a fresh beginning in the necessary educational process that the "Postulates, Principles, and Proposals" for the International Law of the Future \* recently put out by a number of Americans and Canadians should be regarded. I cannot tell how many of the signatories would agree with me in this view, but the trend of recent events and decisions seems to leave little prospect that the text will be adopted and brought into effect in any near future. It nevertheless remains a carefully documented statement of the indispensable elements of an effective legal order, which the world can have if and as men become willing to accept its implications.

What are these essential elements? The text does well to begin by postulating the reality of a community of states, presenting international law as the law of this community, and asserting the need of effective organization. The necessary basis for an effective legal system is a sense of community among the persons to whom it applies, and the strength of the law depends on the measure in which this sense is materialized in community institutions. But as I understand it, the text here has a further meaning which is equally fundamental.

One deep-seated weakness of the present system has been the doctrine, still prevalent among governments, that international law is merely a self-denying ordinance, resting solely on the consent of states and possessed of no external authority. This is part of the theory of sovereignty, which denies the existence of any political or legal superior over the state. It makes of international law a subjective thing, with each state the interpreter and judge of its own obligations. The vague concept of a

• "The International Law of the Future I Postulates, Principles, and Proposals." A statement of a community of views by 196 American and Canadian lawyers, judges, professors, and officials. Released for publication by Dr. Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard University School of Law, judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice and member of the Fermanent Court of Arbitration.

family or community of nations has not hitherto endowed that grouping with authority over its members.

International law, to be truly effective, must have objective authority. It must be made supranational. This can only be done by recognizing it as the law of a community to which the state, as a member, is subordinate. "The sovereignty of a state," says our text, "is subject to the limitations of international law." In the doctrine of the foreign offices, this is only a collective self-limitation, a sort of multiple New Year's resolution. The text would make it a community limitation, and would give reality to it by organized power.

The second essential is to make the use of force against states a monopoly of the community. Neither order nor justice can prevail in a community where any member may at will take the law into his own hands. Some jurists have held to the vague theory that a state could not legally resort to war except for just cause; but this, if it ever was accepted as a legal rule, ceased to be so regarded and in any event produced no visible effect. The Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 was an attempt to establish such a rule; but the interpretation that permitted self-defense and left each state judge of what constituted self-defense, together with the lack of any provisions for enforcement, made this treaty another scrap of paper.

Most systems of law permit self-defense; but anyone who would justify violence on this ground has to prove his case. The international law of the future must forbid states to use force save to repel attack, and must reserve to the community the power to inquire in any given case whether this justification really existed and, if it did not, to exact redress for the injured party.

Scrutiny of self-defense implies that the community has organs of a judicial character with obligatory jurisdiction. This kind of limitation on the use of force cannot operate if states remain free to refuse appearance before a tribunal. The exaction of redress implies power to enforce the tribunal's judgment. These, however, are far from being the only reasons why an effective community of states will need judicial and executive organs. Law cannot be applied without authoritative interpretation in specific cases, and it cannot of itself exact obedience. Disputes must be settled by impartial authority or there will be no peace.

Many states have entered into treaties of obligatory arbitration. But the obligation is limited to what are called "legal disputes," and this limitation has left states free to withhold from settlement disputes of a "political" or "non-justiciable" character. The distinction being a difficult one to draw, the practical result has been a marked tendency to thrust into the "non-justiciable" category any dispute involving a matter of first-rate importance. States have in fact done this with claims concerning territory, debts, and injuries suffered by citizens abroad, the plea being that some higher political interest

was involved, such as national dignity, autonomy, or existence, which made judicial settlement inappropriate. Thus disputes of a type likely to lead to war—in other words, precisely those that most urgently need to be arbitrated—are peculiarly likely to escape arbitration.

This wide loophole in the international judicial structure needs to be closed by creating for the community of states organs with unqualified authority to settle any dispute which the parties fail to settle peacefully by themselves. It may well be that some disputes will call for a process of adjustment rather than adjudication, and that these should be handled by a political rather than a judicial organ. But no dispute likely to disturb the peace should be allowed to escape community agencies of one sort or another. The famous Geneva Protocol of 1924 was an attempt to secure just this complete coverage; but the nations were not ready for it, and it failed of ratification.

Once they have submitted to adjudication, the record of states in carrying out judgments has been remarkably good. This virtue may have been partly due to the fact that they have been free to refuse adjudication when they thought the stakes too high to risk an adverse decision. If this escape is closed, effective pressure may sometimes be required to bring a state into court and to compel compliance with the decision reached. As within the state, power behind the law, ready for use at need, will itself reduce the occasions when it must be used.

In all communities disputes occur which cannot be disposed of by the application of existing law. Reference has already been made to cases that call for adjustment rather than adjudication. What is needed may be merely a special exception to the existing law, or it may be a permanent amendment of general effect. Unless provision were made for such contingencies, the law would be frozen into a rigidity that would impose insufferable hardships and stop social progress. That way lies violent revolution. To avoid this in the national community we maintain bodies with legislative power; and these will also be needed in the world community. Nor can such bodies wait for unanimity. All the agencies of an effective community of states will have to act by majority. Otherwise action can be vetoed by any state with an interest in the status quo.

All these essentials—clear recognition of a supranational community exercising authority through law over states, prohibition of the use of force by states in their external relations, compulsory jurisdiction and organized sanctions to enforce obedience to supranational authority, and, finally, a legislative body competent to make particular adjustments and general amendments—are embodied in the American-Canadian text. I would add another, namely, recognition of the individual human being as a direct subject of rights and duties under supranational law. In a great many cases the only

real sufferer from a breach of that law is one man or woman. A trader is injured by a foreign state's confiscation of his goods, an engineer is killed because a government fails to take ordinary precautions for the protection of foreigners, and his widow is left without support. Hitherto the victim has had to seek redress through his state, because in the traditional theory only states have any standing in international law. This has meant fantastic delays and a paralyzing complication of procedure. The effects have been regrettable enough in the past: in the future, as the demand grows for universally recognized rights of the human being as such, they will be worse.

Why is a legal system possessing these elements not likely to be incorporated in the post-war settlements? Some say, because our governments are empty of vision. It may be that we could go a long way toward the world-wide rule of law under leaders ready to venture farther from tradition. But the deepest reason is not there. If our statesmen show little sign of subordinating their countries to the kind of world government implied in this text, that is because nothing has convinced them, not even the accumulation of opinion polls, that this war has brought any profound change in the secular attachments of the mass of men.

The traditional law of nations has been useful in the past, and it may be increasingly useful in the future. Most states will be governed by it in their economic and political relations up to the point—which they will decide for themselves—where other means are required to safeguard what they consider vital interests. It will serve as one of several techniques in solving conflicts. Moreover, the promised post-war development of voluntary international institutions may constitute a gradual approach to world government. But a great deal more than political inventiveness will be needed on the way. Any permanent advance will depend on a reorientation of human loyalties.

The system of law proposed in our text calls, as it must, for the reduction of nation-states to the position of locally autonomous units in a ruling universal association. It presupposes the domination of patriotism by a triumphant conviction of world community. It assumes that men can be induced to trust treasured values to a new and strange political organization. In the end there may prove to be no other way of preserving those values. But not much evidence yet exists that the necessary psychological revolution has been accomplished. On the contrary, we are again confronted with one of the paradoxes of war: while it creates a demand for effective world law and organization, it fortifies the emotional barriers to their establishment. Yet the path of patient progress is not closed, and this text renders the service of sharply defining the goal.

## In the Wind

ARVIN STEPHENS, sheriff of Murray County, Oklahoma, recently faced a huge mob of hooded men who had come to the county jail to lynch a Negro prisoner, told them about the federal anti-lynching law, and persuaded them to go home.

IT IS AN OLD New Orleans custom for Catholics to advertise their gratitude to the saints in the newspapers. Recently the *Times-Picayune* carried the following notice in its personal column: "Thanks to St. Jude and Huey Long for favors received."

THE CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH of Dallas, Texas, advertises a sermon: "Will the Modernists Force Another Civil War upon America over the Race Question?—Or—How the Same Men Who Deny the Literal and Bodily Resurrection of Christ Also Teach Racial Equality and Intermarriage!"

IN ALL THE 96 PAGES of Admiral King's report on naval operations there is only one passing reference to Canadian naval work in the North Atlantic, and no mention of the fact that the Royal Canadian Navy is doing more than 50 per cent of all convoy work in this area.

PRINTERS' INK reports that the housing shortage in Knoxville, Tennessee, is so acute that people watch the obituary columns of the newspapers and call the owners of houses and apartments as soon as vacancies occur. Some even watch the hospital notices.

THE FIRST MEMORIAL FUND in honor of William Allen White has been established by B'nai B'rith. In recognition of Mr. White's "lifetime crusade against bigotry and intolerance" \$300 will be awarded each year to a student of the University of Kansas who in the opinion of a faculty committee has made the most outstanding contribution to interfaith understanding on the campus.

FESTUNG EUROPA: Some of the parsonages which loyal Norwegian pastors have been forced to abandon are being offered as rewards to Quisling followers returning from active service on the Russian front, but they are not always acceptable gifts. One man turned down a parsonage in favor of 30,000 kroner in cash; another refused to take one because he was afraid of the public reaction. . . . Last November the French underground announced that detachments of guerrillas would come out of hiding and parade through Nantua on a specified day. Nazi and Vichy police were ready in force to destroy them, but they didn't show up. They paraded in Oyonnax, twelve miles away, were acclaimed by the people, and slipped away to the mountains before the Nazis heard about it.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Behind the Greek "Mutiny"

BY BASIL VLAVIANOS

THE news of "mutiny" in the Greek army and navy in the Near East was not surprising to persons acquainted with the background of the outbreak. When force is used against a people which has sacrificed everything for freedom and independence, a strong reaction is inevitable.

As late as last August the Greek people were united as never before in their history. At that time they were represented in Cairo by six prominent members of the Greek underground—one of the best-organized movements in Europe—and by George Exintaris, the accredited representative of all political parties except the Communists. The delegation had gone to Egypt to stress the necessity for national unity, which alone, the members believed, could insure the "success of the national struggle and the normal development of the country."

These men, behind whom stood almost the entire Greek nation, demanded a statement from the King that he would not "return to Greece before the people have decided on the form of government." The National Liberation Front (E. A. M.), the most powerful underground group represented in the delegation, also demanded the formation of a coalition government in which all political parties and organizations would participate.

Allied diplomats had to choose between two courses: they could carry out the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, which they had created and extolled, or they could oppose the will and ignore the rights of the Greek people, rights for which the Greeks had shed their blood. Choosing the second, they advised the King to ignore the unanimous demand of his people. The representatives of the underground were placed under house arrest by the British authorities, kept strictly incomunicado, and later sent back to Greece under the most humiliating circumstances. Censorship in Egypt became increasingly ruthless, and the British government joined with the Greek royalist clique in a campaign to defame the guerrillas and justify their own antagonism toward them.

Minor differences between some guerrilla groups were deliberately exaggerated and were presented in the international press as bitter civil strife, in which the guerrillas were apparently squandering their strength to the neglect of the fight against the enemy. The E. A. M. was systematically smeared as "Communist" and, strange contradiction, as a collaborator with the enemy. Instead of supplying the E. A. M. with arms to the same extent

as before, the British government began to favor the much weaker National Democratic Army (E. D. E. S.), thus laying the basis for real civil war in Greece. The E. D. E. S. would never have dared to attack the E. A. M. had it not been encouraged by unmistakable signs of the royalist and British policy.

Despite all this intrigue against them, the Greek guerrillas continued their gallant fight against the enemy. Last October Lieutenant Colonel Edmunds, chief of the Allied military mission in Greece proper, sent this message to the general staff of the army of the E. A. M., after a great victory in central Greece: "I have the honor to congratulate you and all guerrillas who participated yesterday in the battle against the German forces near Makrakome. I also wish you the same success in all future engagements with the enemy." But neither the message nor the news of this important battle, in which artillery and armored cars were employed by the Nazis, was published in this country.

On December 17, 1943, Prime Minister Tsouderos, in an interview granted to a Reuters correspondent, denounced the Greek guerrillas for wanton crimes committed for no other reason than their leaders' greed for personal power. The same accusations were subsequently repeated in an appeal to the leaders of the guerrillas to return to their "peaceful occupations." Their peaceful occupations! Even Secretary Hull was induced by the British and the Tsouderos government to take part in the campaign against the resistance groups. On January 1, 1944, he declared that the guerrilla armies were, in fact, "dissipating their strength in internal quarrels." The State Department, however, must have known of the Greek victories and of the censorship which prevented the news from reaching this country.

These consistent slurs upon the efforts of the Greek people naturally caused anxiety in the regular armed forces and the Greeks in Egypt. On December 30, 1943, the Hellenic League of Liberation, an organization representing the E. A. M. in Cairo, appealed once more to Mr. Tsouderos and the members of the Greek Cabinet to cease their hostility to the guerrillas and to form a coalition government in which the Greek underground would be represented. "Greek public opinion," it declared, "being informed about the magnificent struggle of the Greek people in general and of the guerrillas in particular, is well aware of the great national unity achieved in this struggle, and it firmly believes that

the fighting Greek people possess the necessary political maturity not to fall victims to elements motivated by personal ambition. Public opinion, however, is afraid that the causes of the present discord between certain guerrilla groups are not the personal rivalries of the leaders but the intrigues of reactionary totalitarian groups, scheming incessantly, now as in the past, against the democratic aspirations of the Greek people."

This warning and many others from Greece and from Greek liberals all over the world were as voices in the wilderness. The Greek government in exile, with the support of the British Foreign Office, was resourceful in finding pretexts for not complying with the demands of the Greek underground and in obscuring the whole issue. Confronted with this situation, the E. A. M. decided to name a committee within Greece to recommend the formation of a national coalition government. The committee was immediately attacked as communistic, although, of its five members, only one, Mr. G. Siantos, is a Communist. Its president, Colonel E. Bakirdiis, is "as far to the left as Lloyd George in his Limehouse days," to use the expression of the London New Statesman and Nation. Two other members, the hero of Crete, General Manolis Mantakas, and a former deputy in the Greek Parliament, Mr. E. Tsirimokos, are right-wing liberals. The fifth member, Mr. K. Gavrielides, is a leftist Agrarian.

But the political convictions of the members of the committee are irrelevant, since they did not form a government, as they could have done, but simply addressed themselves to the gentlemen in Cairo, urging the creation of a coalition government. Every Greek patriot—civilian or soldier—supported the request, realizing that it was the last chance to attain true national unity. For if the request were turned down, an opposition government like Marshal Tito's might indeed be formed on Greek soil, and disunity would then assume really dangerous proportions.

The crisis grew. Many individuals and organizations besought the royal government to comply with the demands of the underground. Tsouderos made promises and then broke them. The British authorities increased their persecution of democratic officers and soldiers. More than four thousand had already been sent to concentration camps, and many more were arrested daily. The impression became prevalent in the army that the Allies intended to get rid of it in toto because of its unwillingness to support the King. George II continued his intrigues in London, disregarding the appeals of his people to form a government of national unity, to free political prisoners, and to cease his dictatorial practices. The army's determination to end his machinations took more and more concrete form.

A committee of high officers demanded that Tsouderos form a national government or resign. He arrested them. Hundreds of other persons, not only army men but wealthy civilians, were arrested for expressing a favorable opinion of the E. A. M.'s request. People disappeared without a warrant having been issued, without any specific charge having been brought against them, and without notification to their families. The Greek military headquarters in Cairo were occupied by force. The offices of the Greek government were placed under British supervision. The editor of the newspaper Hellim and the directors of the Hellenic League of Liberation and of the Seamen's Association of Alexandria were arrested.

This was the atmosphere in which the "mutiny" occurred. It was carried out by men who had fought against Mussolini and Hitler, who had gallantly covered the evacuation of the British army from Greece, and who

had come to Egypt in order to continue their fight for freedom. They formed more than 60 per cent of the Greek army and almost the entire navy; Admiral Alexandris himself was at their head. Several of them were killed; a great many are now



in prison or a concentration camp awaiting the judgment of Mr. Churchill.

No one approves of armed revolt in time of war. But to say that this one was provoked by "enemy agents" or by Communists is as lacking in decency as the appeals for unity that have been uttered by those most responsible for destroying it. It is as nonsensical as the pretension of the British government and the Greek government in exile that they can teach patriotism to the Greek people.

A new Greek government has now been formed in Cairo. The new Prime Minister, George Papandreou, is known as an able and liberal statesman. He came recently from Greece and is undoubtedly well acquainted with the people's wishes. He has promised to comply with their will and to restore unity and discipline. Others before him have made promises. They were unable to keep them because foreign interference in Greek politics was too strong.

Greek unity today is more in the hands of British and American liberals than in those of any Greek government in exile. Powerful voices have already been raised in the British press and in Parliament against the official attitude. Other voices have waited over-long to demand the repeal of all illiberal measures in Egypt and Greece and respect for the will of the Greek people. Voices lifted in the causes of Greek democracy are lifted for the democratic future of the world.

The British government's policy toward Greece runs

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counter to British public opinion. It is inspired by fear of communism and of Russian influence in the Balkans, but it is destined to have the opposite effect from what its sponsors intend. It will lose them friends throughout Eastern Europe and will paralyze the Greek armed forces and the Greek underground resistance at a time when their cooperation can be extremely useful to the war effort and to the restoration of a true democratic order in the Balkans

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ALTHOUGH the railroads of the Reich have become pitifully run down, they were adequate to the demands of a one-front war. But now that the "two-front war" is drawing near, something like a transportation panic has arisen. The most striking sign of this is a recent revolutionary decree about potatoes.

On April 7 the authoritative agricultural organ of the Nazi Party declared: "The German transportation system can no longer be asked to carry millions of tons of potatoes every autumn to distant regions where potatoes are not grown." And to relieve the railroads of this strain the government has taken extreme measures. German potatoes come in large part from the northeastern provinces, where the poor "light" soil is good for little else. The rich "heavy" soil of the rest of the country is used for growing grain and vegetables. Now in the middle of a war all that is to be changed! The agricultural authorities have decreed that this season, to save transportation, each province shall raise approximately as many potatoes as it needs. Thus good soil will be wasted on a crop for which poor soil suffices, and the cultivation of more valuable crops, which require rich earth, will be correspondingly curtailed. Admittedly the change will affect the quantity as well as the quality of the total harvest. But this worsening of the food situation will be part of the price paid for ameliorating the transportation crisis. Even the layman can see how bad the latter must be.

Many other facts confirm such a conclusion. Although coal, for example, is terribly scarce and strictly rationed throughout the Reich, in the coal-producing region of Lower Silesia all coal rationing was lifted at the end of March. Local papers explained this development with the laconic statement that freight cars to move the coal were not available: "If rationing were continued, the accumulation of briquets on the storage dumps would encumber the pitheads."

In the second and third weeks of April 50,000 German railroad workers were sent to France to help operate the French railroads. In fact, the German army has

taken full and direct control of the French roads. Some details about German plans for their use at the time of the invasion are reported in the Gazette de Lausanne for April 25. "If the Allies make a landing in France," the paper says, "a prearranged plan by which ordinary traffic will be reduced to 20 per cent of normal will be immediately put into effect. All passenger train service will be suspended, and freight trains will be reserved exclusively for transporting the authorized food supply." It goes on to picture the anxiety of the people of Paris, who are well aware of the Germans' intentions and fear that they will starve during the struggle for their liberation. For the majority of Parisians subsist not on the "authorized food supply" but on the so-called "family package service," which they expect to be discontinued. According to this account, an important official in the Ministry of Food recently said that the people of Paris would soon starve if they could not supplement their daily diet with "family packages."

More than a million Parisians are now living off these packages, which are sent in every day by railway express from the most productive agricultural areas. Within the city a fast delivery service making use of 2,000 handcarts has been organized. Since the occupying forces are constantly increasing their requisitions, it is becoming more and more difficult for the people to obtain even the food for which they have coupons. The situation is particularly desperate for persons earning less than 2,000 francs a month, who cannot afford to buy in the black market. Without the package system these people could hardly exist.

One might suppose that the Nazi authorities, occupied with the pressing needs of the moment, would have temporarily relegated their long-range theories to the background. But that is not the case. The Münchener Neueste Nachrichten of April 11 informs us, for example, of a new measure in the service of that eternal obsession, the increase of the German race.

Munich is the first German city to establish a Marriage Bureau for soldiers on leave. The purpose is to give men and women who want to marry an opportunity to get acquainted. Lectures and teas are held at which people can wander around and choose someone they like. It is said that disabled soldiers experience particular difficulty, primarily of a mental nature, and they are therefore the first ones to be advised by the bureau. As soon as a couple has become acquainted, the bureau tries to deepen the friendship by arranging visits to the theater and excursions. In addition to this service, matches will be arranged by mail for front-line soldiers.

The idea of the Marriage Bureau originated, the paper emphasizes, in the mind of Herr Himmler himself. Apparently the Gestapo chief busies himself with filling not only graves but cradles.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## The First World Peace

VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE. By Roger Burlingame and Alden Stevens. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.75. UNFINISHED BUSINESS. By Stephen Bonsal. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.

BOTH books relate the same dismal tragedy—the sinking of Wilson's great ideal in the quagmire of diplomacy and politics. Both have the same anxious question in view: shall we commit exactly the same errors, with the same ineluctable result? The methods of presentation are radically different; both are extremely effective.

"Victory Without Peace" is not "a new kind of history"; it is standard popular history, with the technique and fascination of romance-Carlyle, Michelet, or Lamartine in their more sober moods. It is "easy to read" in the same way as a pretty woman is "easy to look at." The story is excellently told, without any factitious ornaments. There are fewer slips than in most books concocted by the Dryasdusts. The volume is too brief to be a searching study. It is a bit of hagiography and propaganda: St. Wilson, virgin and martyr, with his halo; the Evil One, Senator Lodge, with his baleful leer-"You shall not escape me!" It is oversimplified but essentially true. The authors take it for granted that Wilson constantly lived on the higher levels reached by his great pronouncements—peaks which dwarf the best achievements of the present generation. Alas! The prophet, in his uninspired moments, was a bit of a politician and a bit of a pedagogue; he could be at the same time vague and arrogant, hesitating and stubborn. But at his best he was a major prophet, and remains our spiritual leader today. For Messrs. Burlingame and Stevens he was 99 per cent pure gold; my own estimate is 66 per cent. This places him in a totally different class from the alleged statesmen who were solid brass, tin, lead, or plain pasteboard. I wish this book the most brilliant success. It tells a great story with directness and sympathy; and it is, without wearisome moralizing, a good preparation for the ordeal ahead of us-an ordeal which more than actual war will try men's souls.

Stephen Bonsal, a great foreign correspondent, became the trusted assistant of Colonel House: his confidential adviser, contact man, interpreter: the gray shadow of the Gray Eminence, with the appropriate rank of lieutenant colonel. By Wilson's request he kept notes on committee meetings of which no official record was preserved. Nearly one half of the book—Colonel Bonsal's missions to Vienna, Prague, Belgrade, Budapest, Berlin—is fascinating but of no unique value. The rest, devoted to the drafting of the Covenant, is a document of commanding importance.

The proof of Bonsal's honesty is that, with the facts as he presents them, we may reach conclusions quite different from his own. He disposes easily of the accusation that the European politicians "ganged up" against Wilson; on the contrary, every country was more eager to cooperate with America than with any other ally. Clemenceau comes out

very well—a realist with an ideal, "I became convinced that your President wanted the same thing that I did . . . but . . . Mr. Wilson has lived in a world that has been fairly safe for democracy. I have lived in a world where it was good form to shoot a democrat."

The villain of the drama—a great surprise to me—was Lord Robert Cecil. At every step he took the most thoroughgoing reactionary line: no freedom of the sea; no equality between races; no equality between nations; no international force in which a British officer might have to take orders from a foreigner; no compulsory arbitration; no disarmament that would actually disarm Britain; in a word, nothing that could have made the League a reality. In addition, atrocious manners, outbursts of temper against "pestiferous" Hymans, "long-winded" Bourgeois, and Bonsal himself, who happened to know French better than the noble lord

As I read this book, the great flaw in drafting the Covenant was that Wilson and House, devoid of genuine international experience, thought that agreement with England would suffice. All other nations were mercilessly snubbed. The words of Dmowski have a tragic ring today: "I had hoped that our distinguished and most welcome visitors from across the seas, broad as well as narrow, would carefully weigh the unanimous opinion of those unfortunate peoples who dwell so near the cave where the wolf pack lowers." Léon Bourgeois was pompous, no doubt, and verbose, but he was no fool; he knew Europe, and he had studied the problems of a League, not like Wilson for fifteen months, but for twenty years. To the last he fought for definite commitments, an organized force, were it only in the form of a general staff. When he insisted on clarity, Wilson responded with a tolerant shrug: "Let us not attempt to be precise. If the thing is really clear, it goes without saying; saving it might imply that it was not universally accepted. If it is not obvious, let us leave it out; it might offend somebody sometime. Definition is limitation. We want the Monroe Doctrine to mean whatever we choose whenever we like. If anything is hazy, let us leave it to the tribunal of public opinion." No wonder Larnaude, an authority on international law, was appalled.

"The court of public opinion"! I believe the common people were with Wilson, in America and in Europe. But they had no direct way of making their will manifest. Wilson could not have had "a solemn referendum" unless he had actually taken a referendum; and this form of direct democracy is not in the American Constitution. He could not have made an all-out appeal to the European masses without inciting them to revolt against their lawful governments. From an assembly of diplomats and politicians, jealously watched by the politicians at home, no democratic constitution for a new world can be expected. When we do want a World Charter, it will have to be prepared not by two or three supermen in secret conclave but by a convention of the common man in open debate.

Both books dwell on the tragedy of Wilson's illness; it had cast its shadow long before. Both equally fail to note the most momentous decision in the conference—a decision into which the Mighty apparently slipped unawares. It was understood that there would be a short meeting of the Allies, to agree on a common program; this, according to House, would last perhaps three weeks. Then the actual conference would begin, involving full and free discussion with the Germans. Imperceptibly, the preliminary conference became the main show, and the meeting with the former enemy was reduced to handing down a Dikiat.

Bonsal, in his scrupulous honesty, bears witness to a couple of things which at present we should prefer to forget. The first is that Baron Makino, of Japan, made a briliant fight for the juridical equality of races and nations. He won, eleven to six, but Wilson ruled that in this case unanimity was necessary. The second is that in exchange for the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine the right of Japan to proclaim a similar doctrine in Eastern Asia was tacitly recognized. It is a great tribute to our freedom of the press that such a damaging document could be published at the present time.

ALBERT GUERARD

## The Poet Perse

ELOGES AND OTHER POEMS. By St. John Perse. Translated by Louise Varèse. Introduction by MacLeish. W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.50.

THE Germans, when they took Paris, in 1940, sacked the apartment of Alexis St. Léger Leger and destroyed several manuscript volumes of his poems. Hence, all the poems by the famous St. John Perse now in existence, other than those composed since his escape to the United States, are the ones he had already published. They are the tiny epic "Anabase," and the volume of the "Eloges"—pictorial poems that like so many of the Psalms are laudi or songs of homage—which has just reappeared in the present superb French-English version. For Perse and Leger are one person.

What took the Germans to his apartment was the fact that he was a French public servant, since 1931 the Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who had opposed the cabal preparing to surrender France and been dismissed from office. Pertinax, the wholly reliable publicist, characterizes him in his last volume, "Les Fossoyeurs" ("The Gravediggers"), as "a man of absolute moral and intellectual integrity."

Why Leger had chosen to publish under a pseudonym, unlike Joseph de Maistre, Gobineau, Claudel, and other French diplomats who also were bellettrists, is not quite clear. He first appeared in print in the initial issue of La Nouvelle Revue Française in 1909, with the earliest version of the least representative section of the "Eloges," the sardonic "Images for Crusoe." It was over his own name. But the later poems in the book, and all its editions, as well as "Anabase," were signed St. Jean Perse. Rumor has it that Briand, whose intimate collaborator he was for many years, requested the disguise. Another and plausible explanation is proffered by MacLeish in his introduction to the Norton volume. This much is certain: in literary Europe it was an open secret that

the influential author of "Anabase," whose array of translators included Rilke, Eliot, and Ungaretti, presided over the Quai d'Orsay.

Yet if merely the "Eloges" had survived, one still could perceive the spiritual figure of the author. Plainly it shows him as the foil of Gide, whose exquisite, sensuous, minimally metaphoric style his own resembles. One of the volume's loveliest sections, "Friendship of the Prince" (the soul), is the antithesis of Gide's clever prose fantasy "El Hadj." That also concerned a prince who was the soul. But there the prince died and left his prophet a charlatan. Another section, the ballad-like "Homage to a Queen," is a sort of anti-Corydon. The "Queen" not only is Woman. The homage is bare of masochism. (This exciting, amusingly audacious poem archly also reverses the direction of a perverse line of Rimbaud's, from his prose-poem about the hermaphroditic demi-god.) Indeed, Perse's attitude is entirely the counterpart of Gide's hesitant, detached, infinitely variable one. Perse is the man of participations, connections, constancies.

The "Eloges" are songs of connection, frequently with those "suburbs of Marseilles," the French Antilles, where Leger was born of an old colonial family in 1889; and with his childhood there. The attitude is emphasized by the pervading spirit of praise and the accents of gratitude. Again one sees it in exclamations like certain of those in which he salutes the "Queen": "O body like a table of sacrifices! and table of my law!"; "Ha Necessary One! and Solitary!" The very form symbolizes connection. It is incantatory, built of the chanting recitation of words, refrains, obsessive rhythms resembling those that fortuitously rise to the surface of the mind when it is in singular states of receptivity to objects, landscapes, cosmic forces and in continuity with them; saturated with their qualities.

At first these rich songs must seem strange. Their movement is close to that of lyrical French prose, though distinguished from it by subtle but pronounced linkages of assonances and sustentations of rhythm. Really they fall into the shapely free-verse mold which Leger took over from the young Claudel and has steadily elaborated and variously employed: the mold, established on the principle of the French alexandrine, which equilibrates irregularly extensive, complexly rhythmical, alternately rising and falling utterances with sounds that evoke the elements continuously about caesuras. And some of his pictures, curiously, recall the weird treasures of ethnographic museums; others, figure or landscape paintings by Matisse: still others, the gaudy emblems inside the covers of Havana-cigar boxes. It may be that some of the poems will even suggest those minor triumphs of French epicureanism, pâté de foie gras and camembert! This is the consequence of a romanticism in Leger's style of imagination. He loves picturesquely strange, timeless, tropical, or barbaric symbols and imagery. Boldly he has continued the variegation of poetic French. And he possesses an occasionally over-rich, over-ripe sensuousness, a taste for word and color clashes and concentrated piquant and pungent effects.

But his poems shine: by virtue of the clarity of their pictures; the serenity of their feeling; their sapient exploitation of sound-values and the delicate sonority of their dense and sumptuous verbal textures; above all, by virtue of their

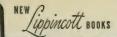
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lyricism of emotional contact and the steady pressure of their taut and expanding rhythms. And let not the unwary reader be deceived into believing it is entirely earthly objects they seek to embrace. Their gesticulation rather more concerns "a high condition. i. in the dominion of the shifting lights"; a wonder couched in the sensuous circumstance a divinity within the rhythm and color of the earthly. It is something akin to what is celebrated in that "holiest of holy books" "The Song of Songs." Theologians might call it "the immanence" of God.

PAUL ROSENFELD

## Hitler's Military Machine

THE GERMAN ARMY. By Herbert Rosinski. The Infantry Journal. \$3.

R. ROSINSKI'S excellent book on the German army traces its history from the time of the father of Frederick the Great to the Battle of Salerno. It supersedes not only the author's previous study of the same subject—in fact, the present book is more than a revised edition, it is a completely new work—but also most of the other books on the German army published in recent years. Since it contains a penetrating analysis of the functioning of the German military machine and a discussion of the military ideas prevailing in the German General Staff, it should be read by all those who are currently engaged in destroying the military power of the German Reich.

Dr. Rosinski balances well the influences of external circumstances and necessities with the contributions to the development of the German army made by personalities such Frederick, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen, Moltke, Roon, Schlieffen, Ludendorff, and Seeckt. He rightly stresses the importance of moral and intellectual factors, such as the principle of duty and the philosophy of war of Clausewitz. The causes of the extraordinary strength of the German army are found largely in its system of coordination and command, in the organization of the General Staff, which even today has many features as yet unequaled in other armies, and in the military concepts according to which the Germans shape their strategy. These concepts include the Vernichtungsgedanke-"directing the military effort not upon an inconclusive 'ordinary victory,' but upon a decisive act of annihilation"; the idea that in matters of war the whole determines the part, and not vice versa; and the rigid rule that every military operation must be based upon a center of

It must be emphasized that Dr. Rosinski's book contains many pages of original historical research. The author is able to shed light on several hitherto inadequately known events and persons. In particular, his description of General von Seeckt and of the post-World War maintenance of the German army deserves the utmost attention, certainly on the part of our "peace-planners."

There will be disagreement with some of the book's judgments. A life-long study of the subject has caused the author to adopt an attitude toward the pre-Hitler army which frequently is too benevolent. The acts of Frederick the Great are open to different interpretations. Not all students of the First World War will be inclined to accept the author's

version of the causes of the German failure in 1914, or his evaluation of Falkenhayn. In the reviewer's opinion there is no evidence for the statement that the German attack on Norway in 1940 was primarily a defensive move, particularly since the author himself recognizes that the strategic importance of the Scandinavian area was not realized by the Allies. In his analysis of the current German military ideas, the author has omitted two of the most important-namely, the doctrine that surprise is the key to victory, and the Wehrmachtgedanke, that is, the notion that ground, sea, and air forces, while maintaining their organizational independence, should be welded together for the purpose of combined strategy. The failure fully to carry this idea out in practice may be one of the main reasons why the Germans are going to lose the war. Finally, one would have liked to hear more about the consequences of Nazi infiltration into, and Hitler's leadership of, the German army. Obviously, the author was handicapped in this respect by lack of material. But an important institution like the Führungstab should deserve more than a passing reference.

However, all these are largely matters of opinion. They do not alter the fact that Dr. Rosinski's concisely and lucidly written book is one of the most revealing and timely contributions to the history of the present war.

STEFAN T. POSSONY

## Empire and India

EMPIRE. By Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$1.

MPERIALISM means India, and in so short and "popular" a book Mr. Fischer is quite right to ignore the more complex colonial problems that exist in Africa and the Pacific. He is not trying to stimulate anti-British prejudice, and the uninformed reader would come away from this book with a true general picture as well as some quotable facts and figures.

As he perceives, the uninformed reader is the one most worth aiming at. No enlightened person needs any longer to be told that imperialism is an evil. The point Mr. Fischer is at pains to make clear is that it not only breeds wars but impoverishes the world as a whole by preventing the development of backward areas. The "owner" of a colony usually does its best to exclude foreign trade; it strangles local industries—the British, to take only one instance, have deliberately prevented the growth of an automobile industry in India; and in self-protection it not only goes on the principle of "divide and rule" but more or less consciously fosters ignorance and superstition. In the long run it is not to the advantage, even in crude cash terms, of the ordinary Briton or American that India should remain in the Middle Ages; and the common people of both countries ought to realize this, for they are the only ones who are likely to do anything about it. No one in his senses imagines that the British ruling class will relinquish India voluntarily. The only hope lies in British and American public opinion, which at the time of the Cripps mission, for instance, could have forced more generous offer upon the British government if it had understood the issues.

At the same time Mr. Fischer does oversimplify the

Indian problem, even in terms of the very general picture that he is trying to give. To begin with, he does not say often enough or emphatically enough that India has no chance of freedom until some kind of international authority is established. In a world of national sovereignties and power politics it is improbable that even a British government of the left would willingly grant genuine independence to India. To do so would simply be to hand India over to some other power, which from either a selfish or an altruistic point of view is no solution. Secondly, in his anxiety to sound reasonable Mr. Fischer overplays the economic motive. It is not certain that increased prosperity for India would benefit the rest of the world immediately. Just suppose, he says, that 400,000,000 Indians all took to wearing shoes. Would not that mean a wonderful market for British and American shoe manufacturers? The Indians, however, might prefer to make their shoes for themselves, and as the Indian capitalist's idea of I living wage is two cents an hour, the effect of Indian competition on the Western standard of living might be disastrous. At present the West as . whole is exploiting Asia a whole, and to right the balance may mean considerable sacrifices over a number of years. It is better to warn people of this and not lead them to imagine that honesty always pays in the financial sense.

The direct, assessable money profit that Britain draws from India is not enormous. If one divided it up among the British population it would only amount to a few pounds a year. But as Mr. Fischer rightly emphasizes, it is not divided among the population; it flows into the pockets of a few thousand persons who also control government policy and incidentally own all the newspapers. Up to date these people have been uniformly successful in keeping the truth about India from the British public. To enlighten the American public may perhaps be a little easier, since American interests are not so directly involved, and Mr. Fischer's book is not bad as a start. But he ought to supplement it by warning his readers of the difficult transition period that lies ahead, and also of the sinister forces, political and economic, that exist within India itself.

GEORGE ORWELL

## The Complete American

THE COMPLETE JEFFERSON. Containing His Major Writings, Published and Unpublished, Except His Letters. Assembled and Arranged by Saul K. Padover. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$5.

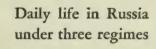
PVERY reader of books should be grateful to Dr. Padover and his publishers for making available at last—at long last—a sizable Jefferson in one volume. Here are letters, state papers, diaries, notes on gardening and gadgets, speeches to Indian chiefs, and soliloquies on religion, art, and the conduct of life. Jefferson is displayed as the encyclopedist that he was and as the complete American who was also a thoroughly acclimated European.

What is surprising is that his collected thoughts should be as much suited to desultory "bedside" reading as his views are worthy of being called a philosophy. Anywhere that you dip in, you find the man, with his tone and temper,



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# My Lives in Russia

## MARKOOSHA FISCHER

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and not merely a cultivated echo of an enlightened epoch. We have all, perhaps, been led to misjudge Jefferson's style, on the strength of the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. We forget that he was composing a peculiarly solemn public document and that if he knew how to suit the occasion so well, he must at other moments be able to sound a livelier tune. Read in Dr. Padover's collection how you can make a metronome with a piece of string and five brads, what Dr. Franklin reported about English physicians and old women, or why John Adams should think Plato nonsensical, and you will be convinced that Jefferson was not only a universal mind but also a nimble pen. He is as good a writer of pensées as any French moralist, and he carries besides that flavor of the New World which attaches him to our tradition.

This last element has had something to do with creating the commonplace that Jefferson's doctrine is "fundamental" in our national life. I would not disturb this belief, to which we owe the upkeep of his works and reputation. But it is clear on reading him in bulk that there was in him a good deal of the "superior man," which the national tradition hardly tolerates. He was "for" the common people by taste and principle, but equally against their tendency toward herd behavior. He was far less adept at manipulating group opinion or yielding to group pressure than his friend Franklin. Jefferson, in fact, brings out all the latent ambiguity in the word democracy: he was a great democrat because his instincts were aristocratic. He trusted the principle of equality because he did not feel insecure, downtrodden, or envious. He was for the little fellow's rights because he himself was independent.

Let us rather hope, then, that Jefferson's thought becomes more and more representative of American life until it erases the blot discerned upon the fabric of our social relations by every honest and observant lover of freedom, from Tocqueville and Emerson to Whitman and Wilde. Whatever may be the effect of books upon conduct, we shall no longer be able to plead ignorance of Jefferson's deeper meaning. The list of Jeffersoniana, in hand or in prospect, is pleasantly staggering. Besides Bernard Mayo's neat anthology and the older collected writings, there is to be m definitive edition, planned by the Princeton Press and the New York Times, under the editorship of Dr. Julian Boyd and associated scholars. Mrs. Kimball's research upon Jefferson's

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early years is, I believe, being carried forward to make a full biography, and just recently the Guggenheim Foundation subsidized Miss Adrienne Koch, author of a monograph on Jefferson, for a further study of his philosophy in comparison with that of Madison and Monroe.

But most of these books are or will be for scholars. Hence the special value, now and for a long time to come, of Dr. Padover's one-volume unencumbered edition. It should be the home Jefferson, the traveler's vade mecum, the omnibus of the bedridden. Unfortunately and quite unnecessarily, it weighs three and three-quarter pounds. Why do American publishers sell the spirit of man by the hundredweight? It is not true that 1,300 pages must always show a great alacrity in sinking, for there is no need to bind them in second-hand coffin lids, or to use paper artificially loaded with clay. European books of comparable size can be held in one hand or read in bed with comfort. Indeed, one New York firm of foreign origin, Pantheon Books, has shown what can be done even under war-time restrictions, and I see no loss of face involved for anyone who should follow their lead.

In the second printing of "The Complete Jefferson," which I hope may be thus improved, the editor will also want to correct a scattering of misprints, particularly in foreign words. Perhaps, too, he might be induced to add two things at no great expense of space—first, the emendations offered by Adams and Franklin to the original Declaration of Independence and, second, the list of texts from the New Testament which form the Jefferson Bible. One page of these numbered references would be equivalent to adding a characteristic work and would make clearer the grounds for the religious opinions Jefferson propounds in the essays here reprinted.

JACQUES BARZUN

## Down with Fifty-seventh Street!

GOOD-BYE MR. CHIPPENDALE. By T. H. Robsjohn-Gibbings, Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

THIS little book, written by one of the leading designers of contemporary furniture and gaily illustrated by Mary Petty, is as pertinent to post-war thinking as the speeches of Henry Wallace. Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings wants to take the American home out of the snobbish hands of Fifty-seventh Street—and its Grand Rapids imitators—and give it back to the American people. The author has wit, and his exposé of the history and present practice of the antiques racket is highly entertaining reading. But beneath the urbane surface is a crusader's fervor.

Elsie De Wolfe once offered the sinister advice to the wives of America that in interior decoration they must remember that "men are forever guests in our homes." Actually both the Little Woman and her husband were guests—and barely tolerated at that—of Elsie De Wolfe, Condé Nast, and others who controlled the taste of the fashion magazines in New York and erected their snobberies into a national canon of "good taste." Because the United States was little more than a large absence on the spiritual map of these fashionable New Yorkers, the taste of average Americans was turned toward antiques and the Olde Worlde.

It didn't matter that Europe itself was hailing us for just

those aesthetic achievements which had escaped the tasteful aegis of Fifty-seventh Street. Our kitchens and bathrooms were marvels of functional design. Frank Lloyd Wright, the pupil of Louis Sullivan ("Form follows function"), was acknowledged abroad as the most creative force in contemporary architecture. But the Elsie De Wolfes and Condé Nasts, like good colonials, were not to be put off. Plus royaliste que le roi, they knew what was good taste even if old Mother Europe forgot.

One must realize that the taste represented by Fifty-seventh Street is colonial. It is not a question here of advocating a strident nationalism. Civilized nations have always swapped contemporary idioms. But the colonial taste does not swap; it borrows, passively and sentimentally. And in the borrowing the organic connection between the thing borrowed and the life for which it was created is lost. A modern American kitchen is good art, an expression of American life. Most American furniture is not art at all; it is a sentimental décor for colonials.

Significantly enough, Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings, now an American citizen, came here from Britain seven years ago. Like other creative Europeans, such as W. H. Auden, it was the neumess of the New World that attracted him. While Elsie De Wolfe, now Lady Mendl, was happily enveloped in eighteenth-century dream at the Villa Trianon in Versailles, Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings had arrived in New York to join in the fight to win America back for the Americans.

WILLIAM GILMORE

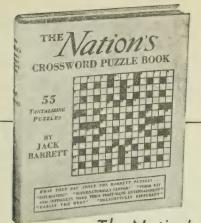
## Drama Note

IDDING the Greeks is a theatrical device that has given faithful service. "Helen Goes to Troy" (Alvin Theater) indicates that it ought to be retired, at least temporarily. The production has everything—the music of Offenbach, gorgeous costumes, pretty girls, choreography by Massine, sets and lighting by Robert Edmond Jones, Jarmila Novotna, and a charming young lady named Rose Inghram who plays the part of Discordia. It has everything, that is, but wit. The "new book" sounds as if its authors had had an old joke book propped up between them as they labored. The new lyrics for Offenbach's lighthearted music seem to have been put together with the aid of me rather dog-eared copy of the Tin Pan Alley Thesaurus.

A Viennese friend informs me that in the European version the words of "La Belle Hélène" were never as good as the music, but that the piece was a handy vehicle for comedians, in the parts of Menelaus and Calchas, who wanted to make something of them. In the American version Ralph Dumke makes something very heavy and obvious of the role of Calchas. Ernest Truex does better with Menelaus, but all the gods, modern and ancient, are against him. Miss Novotna passes well enough for Helen, but her grand-opera training is something of a handicap for musical comedy. She doesn't take the part lightly enough. I found it difficult to take Paris (William Horne) seriously enough.

The spirit of Offenbach is pretty well buried in what turns out to be a lavish musical designed for the summer trade.

MARGARET MARSHALL



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## FILMS

SOME of the following films are worth more detailed comment and may get it in the course of time. Meanwhile here is a check-list.

"Going My Way," a rather saccharine story about priests, has a gentle, engaging performance by Bing Crosby, a very full and fine one by Barry Fitzgerald, and a general leisure and appreciation of character which I think highly of. It would have a little more stature as a "religious" film if it dared suggest that evil is anything worse than a bad cold and that lack of self-knowledge can be not merely cute and inconvenient but also dangerous to oneself and to others. "It Happened Tomorrow" is the deftest, prettiest film René Clair has made here, and a few moments in it-notably a box-office holdup-are beautiful. But its basic idea seems a limp one, the story is over-ingenious, and there are only glimmers of the pure joy which was so abundant in Clair's great films; I doubt that anyone could achieve such joy, or its equivalent, in contemporary Hollywood. "The Adventures of Mark Twain" gets long and soggy but has frequent good intention and occasional near-successes, especially when it forgets to be a biography and stretches its points for the fun of it. The jumping-frog contest is really funny.

"The Hitler Gang" fascinates me as all waxworks do: otherwise it worries me because of its solemn effort to stick to the "facts" before an audience which is liable, on that account, to swallow it whole. Hitler strikes me as something other than a pitiful, vicious psychotic incapable of an idea, and I don't enjoy the picture's apparent suggestion-through the respectful porrayal of Gregor Strasser-that there would be nothing wrong with Naional Socialism if only the vicious ringeaders were eliminated. "Address Unknown" is rather vapid anti-fascism, oo: full of sincere and, in their unineresting way, skilful shadows by Wiliam Cameron Menzies. But neither Paul Lukas nor anyone else can give it nuch bite. Lukas can do nothing for he Errol Flynn vehicle "Uncertain Glory," either, beyond increasing one's espect for an actor who refuses to sink o the level of his material. In "Buffalo Bill" William Wellman has constructed Technicolored Indian battle, derived erhaps from the battle in "Alexander

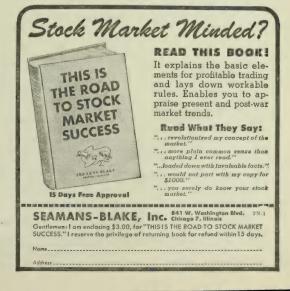
Nevsky," which is fun to watch, and in eneral he makes good use of the plains and the movement of people on them. But most of the picture is boring. "Up in Mabel's Room" is as horrible, and wonderful, as watching a Gopher Prairie dramatic club play a mail-order farce (6m., 6f.). "The Yellow Canary" is mediocre British spy stuff, relieved only by British film cliché, which is several times as realistic and intelligent as ours. "The Lady and the Monster" is a madscientist movie featuring Erich von Stroheim and a Czech ex-skating champion named Vera Hruba Ralston, who does not skate in this one and whom I thought unusually attractive. The picture is two-thirds mildly amusing cliché and one-third mildly successful sharpening or avoidance of cliché.

My regret at having somewhat overrated "Cover Girl" is more than counterbalanced by even a glancing remembrance of other current musicals. If I really sat down to think of them. I'm afraid I'd rate it even higher. I serve warning, in no special order of disgrace, against seeing the followingmentioning any good thing I can, about each: "Follow the Boys" shows you the sort of entertainment American soldiers and sailors are subjected to at home and abroad, and shows you also how very proud Hollywood is of its role in the war. Purple Hearts should be handed out after every projection. "Broadway Rhythm" contains perhaps three minutes of good acrobatic dancing and lasts nearly two hours. In "Show Business" there are a few bits of archaic vaudeville which give off a moderately pleasant smell of peanuts and cigar smoke. During the making of "Pin-Up Girl" Betty Grable was in the early stage of pregnancy; everyone else was evidently in a late stage of paresis. "Knickerbocker Holiday" uses the smirking mannerisms and attitudes of Gilbert and Sullivan as one might use Sanka dregs the fifth time. In "Seven Days Ashore" I thought Alan Carney pleasant and promising; Margaret Dumont very funny. I also liked glints of cynicism in the script and of flexibility in the camera work. But in the aggregate these good things cannot amount to better than 5 per cent of the picture. If music be the breakfast food of love, kindly do not disturb until lunch time.

JAMES AGEE

## RECORDS

OLUMBIA'S April list was not much more rewarding than Victor's, with exactly one single disc (71509-D; \$1) which offered music and performance of major stature. The music is "Der Doppelgänger," one of Schubert's greatest, most overwhelming songs, and "Die junge Nonne," in which he occasionally transmutes obviousness into wonderful details. The performances are by Lehmann and Ulanowsky, and are superb—though I am bothered by things like Lehmann's alteration of the rhythmic shape of the



last phrase of "Der Doppelgänger" and her change of a G natural to G sharp in "Die junge Nonne." Voice and piano are excellently reproduced.

The rest of the list, like Victor's, seems to indicate that the company is pretty near the bottom of the barrel of what it had in reserve when Petrillo put an end to recording; though it leads me to wonder why Columbia has not issued Beecham's last London Philharmonic recordings of Mozart symphonies and its own recording of Schubert's "Schöne Müllerin" sung by Lehmann. But, as with some Victor releases. I must wonder also at the original decision to expend equipment, labor, and materials on Dohnanyi's Quintet Opus 1 for piano and strings, a fluent recapitulation of Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms, played by Kilenyi and the Roth Quartet (Set 546; \$4.50). Kilenyi's playing is percussive and aggressive, often blanketing the sound of the strings. This may be due to poorly balanced recording; and recording also may be responsible for the dull sound of the piano, the brash sound of the strings.

On a single disc (11983-D; \$1) is a performance of the Scherzo from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music by Stokowski with the All-American Orchestra, which almost explodes off the record with its ostentatious virtuosity, and which consequently is a poor performance of this exquisite piece. On the reverse side is a monstrous transcription for Stokowskian full orchestra of the great Prelude of Bach's E major Partita for unaccompanied violin. The recorded sound of the performances is not good.

And finally a set (X-240; \$2.50) with four favorite waltzes—Strauss's "Blue Danube" and "Tales From the Vienna Woods," Sibelius's "Valse triste," and the Waltz of the Flowers from Tchaikowsky's "Nutcracker"—played by Barlow and the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony with plastic discontinuities and stylistic vulgarities that don't require detailed description.

To feature as its April record classic Columbia chose from its catalogue Beethoven's Ninth Symphony performed by Weingartner with orchestra (Vienna Philharmonic), chorus, and soloists of the Vienna Opera of ten or twelve years ago (Set 227; \$8.50). Toscanini's great performance of the work is not available on records: the attempts to record it at a concert have produced results which he has considered unsatisfactory and has refused to

release. There have been, therefore, only two recorded performances to choose from-Weingartner's and Stokowski's; and of these Weingartner's impressed me, when I heard it, as simple, direct, and powerful, but poorly recorded-but to be preferred nevertheless to Stokowski's well-recorded performance, which was not simple and direct. Re-hearing Weingartner's performance now, I was freshly aware of the straightforwardness of his statements of the first two movements, and of their power-though I was aware this time of the greater power that Toscanini had achieved at certain points; and I found the recorded sound of these two movements agreeable and clear-the only defect being an occasional faulty balance which, for example, obscured some of the woodwind counterpoint. It was in the third movement that I began to hear unpleasant recorded sound; and the fourth brought additional defects of balance which, for example, made the opening strident outburst sound miles away and the recitative of the string basses sound very near. This time, in addition, noting Weingartner's fast tempos and his lack of all rhetorical underlining-for example, in the Andante maestoso "Seid umschlungen" and Adagio . . . divoto "Ihr stürzt nieder" of the fourth movement-I found his statements of these two movements perfunctory; and certainly the ecstasy of parts of these movements is not to be achieved by perfunctory statement. I also noted the deficiencies of the soloists-the great Richard Mayr's rhythmic slovenliness in the bass recitatives. Maikl's unpleasant tenor, Anday's terrific contralto tremolo. Only Helletsgruber does well; and the chorus is superb. But with all its defects this version is to be preferred to Stokowski's.

Most of these April records had poor surfaces.

I keep getting enormous pleasure from Edwin Denby's dance criticism—the pleasure that comes from all that I begin to see when Mr. Denby makes it possible for me to look at things through his eyes. All of us are amused by Markova's performance in "Pas de quatre"; but through Mr. Denby we become aware of "her charmingly ironical exaggeration of what correct academic dancing looks like," and, in this, of "the suavity of her wrists and arms." Or we are excited by one of her movements ending in a motionless pose; then, through Mr. Denby, we realize

"her secret of a lightning change from tension to relaxation"-her tensing "right after the spring upward . . . which makes her figure look so exact in the air." Or we look at Youskevitch's movement through space and know that it is more wonderful than anything of the kind done by anybody else; then, through Mr. Denby, we "see easily what the action is, how the trunk takes the main direction of the dance and how the limbs vary the force and the drive by calculated countermovements. The changing shape of the dancing body is vigorously defined. The weight of the body and the abundant strength of it are equally clear; and the two aspects blend gracefully in the architectural play of classic sequences. The distribution of energy is intelligent and complex. In his leaps, for instance, the noble arm positions, the tilt of the head sideways or forward, make you watch with interest a whole man who leaps; you don't watch, as with most dancers, only the lively legs of a man. And while most dancers leap for the sake of the bound upward only, Youskevitch (like Markova) leaps for the entire trajectory, and for a mysterious repose he keeps as he hangs in the air."

B. H. HAGGIN

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## Letters to the Editors

## The Cost of Living

Dear Sirs: Your editorial entitled Price Control Works, in The Nation of April 22, is in certain respects slightly on the unfactual side. I am not discussing your apparent disagreement with the C. I. O. on the stabilization issue. You have a perfect right to disagree with us, even if your disagreement proceeds from a grievous case of bad judgmen. My objection is to the use of unfactual material in stating your disagreement.

Your editorial states: "An analysis of the C. I. O. Cost-of-Living Report shows, however, that it includes such items as taxes, war-bond purchases, and black-market purchases—none of which properly belong in a cost-of-living index." This statement is in error. The C. I. O.-A. F. of L. Cost-of-Living Report, which shows a minimum rise of 43.5 per cent in war-time living costs since January, 1941, does not take into account in its figures any of the items which you report that it does.

On black markets the report states: "Neither the BLS Index nor this report takes into account rising living costs resulting from sales through black markets. The Special Committee of the American Statistical Association thinks that [black markets] should not be represented in an official index of living costs.' This ethical judgment, however, does not alter the fact that black markets do increase the actual living costs of workers, as sporadic Department of Agriculture reports indicate. BLS states that its index does not include blackmarket prices as they are not available. This report does not reflect the contribution of black markets to higher living costs for much the same reason. If data were available to measure the extent to which black markets have raised workers' living costs, such data would be a chief weapon in wiping out such black markets. Therefore, the findings of this report suffer from a downward bias to the extent that they do not reflect blackmarket prices."

No one familiar with the exorbitant profits of food corporations, which are at the root of black markets, would argue that black markets are not a legitimate part of war-time living costs.

On taxes, the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. report states: "Neither the BLS Index nor this report reflects higher living costs resulting from increased direct taxes. A prevalent view, in which the BLS concurs, is that the effect of direct taxes should be accounted for at the other end of the stick from living costs, namely, income. Whether the effect of increased direct taxes is shown in the form of higher living costs or in the form of lower disposable income is academic. This report, therefore, avoids controversy on this matter and does not take into account increased direct taxes in measuring the war-time increase in workers' living costs."

On war bonds and other savings the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. report states: "As in the case of direct taxes, neither the BLS nor this report takes into account increased savings resulting from bond purchases and other forms of savings. That they affect disposable income and expenditures is obvious."

Your error in this connection arises from the fact that you relied upon the worthless cost-of-living report of the National Industrial Conference Board. We in the labor movement did expect that *The Nation* would at least consult labor's material before rushing into print with fallacious propaganda emanating from business sources.

HAROLD J. RUTTENBERG, Research Director, United Steelworkers of America Washington, D. C., April 23

[Mr. Ruttenberg is largely right in his specific criticism of the National Inhis specific criticism of the National Industrial Conference Board's analysis referred to in our editorial. The board either erred or was misquoted in the press in the statement that taxes and war-bond purchases were factors in the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. cost-of-living estimate. It is difficult to account for this error in view of the fact that the Conference Board, regardless of its associations with big business, is normally accurate and responsible in factual statements.

The board is right and Mr. Ruttenberg is wrong with respect to black markets. The text of the technical portions of the report states clearly that the estimates of increased costs for food assume violations of the price ceilings, that is, that the housewife will buy part of her food at black-market prices. Undoubtedly such violations occur, and it cannot be denied that they affect actual living costs. But the Bureau of Labor

Statistics is on sound ground when it points out that no housewife is compelled to buy at prices above ceiling, and patriotic citizens have an obligation not to. Furthermore, a rather substantial part of the increase in living costs indicated in the Thomas-Meany report results from changes in buying habits—such as the greater tendency to eat in restaurants rather than at home. It is a debatable question whether such changes should be ascribed to higher living costs or a higher standard of living.—BDITORS THE NATION.]

## Our Tactics, Not Our G. I.'s

Dear Sir: While our two campaigns in Italy continue to lag, the American High Command there seems to have launched all-out upon a third, a disciplinary campaign to enforce saluting, maintain punctilious correctness in the wearing of the uniform, and other such stringencies. M. P.'s are reported shamefacedly accosting disarrayed soldiers almost within gunfire of the front lines. And one corporal who had just captured fifteen Nazis single-handed found himself jailed for not wearing his helmet, even though he was in protected area at the time. Public reaction to this campaign is not favorable. Perhaps the army resents the implication that better-dressed, more smartly saluting soldiers might have had that extra "something" which would carry them through to victory. For reports of military analysts seem to agree that it was our tactics, not our G. I's, that lacked that extra "something."

German military sources have stated that at the time of our original landing in southern Italy rapid exploitation of the situation would have meant almost certain capture of all Italy with the possible exception of the northern provinces. And a Russian admiral who acted as an observer at the Anzio-Nettuno landings expressed surprise at the hesitancy of our unit commanders after reaching the beaches. The actions of our High Command in Italy in this case remind us, we regret to say, of the man who, every time he was unfaithful, found fault with his wife's cooking. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the public would much rather have its boys enter Rome unshaven than hear that they are wowing 'em in Naples.

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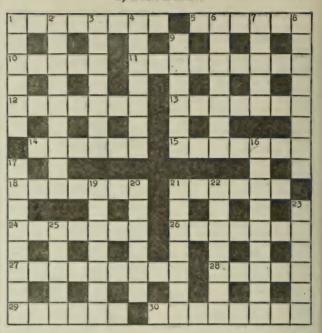
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THE NATION, 20 Veees St., New York 7, M. Y. Price 16 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestics of the Year St. Through the Year St. Through the Year St. Through the Year St. Canadian, \$1. The Nation is indexed in Renders Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks notice and the old address as well as the way are required for change of address.

## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 63

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

1 If you want to hit a woman's heart, take aim thus, said Douglas Jerrold (but that was 100 years ago!)

Some trouble or other, mostly other

- 10 Islets not eyelets
- 10 Islets not eyelets
  11 So we hover (anag.)
  12 It contains iron and iron is contained in it (two words, 4 and 3)
  13 Unwell in a Paris hotel

- 14 Pertaining to a town in Asia Minor, not on the French Riviera
- The fellow grows old, but runs a business

18 "Cane, sir?" (anag.)

21 It makes room for the typist 24 American deer with only one rib, ap-

parently

26 Coleridge related the adventures of

the ancient one 27 "The earth was made so various,

- that the mind of ----- man, studious of change and pleased with novelty, might be indulged"
- (Cowper)
  28 Sounds likely to be of help to a beekeeper
- 29 I'd give my ears to help make war
- 30 Pope wrote of the pains and penal-ties of this

### DOWN

1 Prevent from escaping; or what it's the innkeeper's business to do, per-

haps (two words, 4 and 2)
2 Extravagant claims should not be made for this science

Blm is so flexible 4 Non-existent, yet might be here now 6 Educated cowboy? A Rhodes

Scholar, perhaps
7 A humble dwelling, but there may be love in it

8 Uncommon quality of an underdone steak?

- 9 N.C.O. in a French name for short 16 A sweet plum, though it doesn't seem to be ripe!
- 17 Waterfalls
- 19 Real bun (anag.) 20 Quite alone till Friday
- 21 Some day (anag.) 22 Is bear at the flying field (two words, 3 and 4)
- 23 Associated with furbelows in the feminine mind
- 25 I appear to make Rose diminutive

#### BOLUTION TO PUZZLE No.

ACROSS:-- 1 AMBULANCE; 6 WOMEN; 9 PREFECT; 10 PASTEUR; 11 CLIMATE; 12 RIMFIRE: 13 ROE: 15 GREEDY; 17 ENIGMA; 18 OPINE: 19 ORISON; 22 LOFTED; 25 UNA: 27 VILLAIN; 28 CRAN-IUM; 30 NEEDLE'S; 81 EVIDENT; 32 ROSES; 33 DETONATOR.

DOWN:-1 ASPIC; 2 BEEHIVE; . LEE-WARD; . NETHER; . EMPIRE; . WISE MAN; 7 MEETING; 8 NURSEMAID; 14 ONION; 15 GROSVENOR; 16 YON; 17 EEL; 20 ILLNESS; 21 ORACLES; 23 OVATION; 24 TRIDENT; 25 UNUSED; 26 ACCENT; 29

LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865 LEADING AMERICA'S

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · MAY 20, 1944

NUMBER 21

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Asso-slates, Inc., 20 Vessy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act

## The Shape of Things

EVERYONE IS FEELING THE PRE-INVASION tension, but among civilians, magazine editors, perhaps, bear an extra strain. The Nation goes to press at midday on Monday-21/2 days before it will reach any reader. Monday, as our deadline approaches, the offensive in Italy is the big news, but we have no means of telling whether it will not have fallen into place as a part of a much bigger whole by Thursday morning. In the Teheran declaration we were promised an assault on the Nazi fortress from east, west, and south. The southern fist has now struck, and we can be sure that the still mightier punches from east and west will follow in short order. In Russia the fall of Sevastopol has been followed by a lull, but reports of supplies moving up to the front hint at a new blow in preparation. In the west the aerial assault is still growing in intensity, with ever greater attention to tactical objectives—defense works, airfields, supply dumps, railroad yards, bridges. Zero hour cannot be far away, but whether we shall again be waiting for it next Monday, facing the same dilemma, only General Eisenhower and a few others know.

WISCONSIN CONTINUES TO BE A CENTER OF political interest. After Wendell Willkie's defeat there last month, Eastern Republicans were at great pains to deny that an isolationist trend in the state was indicated. But now we see the Wisconsin Republicans adopting a plank calling for "a clear-cut, realistic foreign policy which will promote world peace and protect American ideals." Comparatively harmless as these words sound, they take on a new significance when we learn that the following sentence was deleted from the original draft: "We do not believe in isolating America from the rest of the world to the detriment of a permanent peace." This plank brings the Wisconsin G. O. P. close to the isolationist policies long championed by the Wisconsin Progressives under the leadership of Robert and Philip La Follette. And in return the Progressive convention two days later declared its liaison with the Democrats to be at an end, opening the way for a deal with the Republicans. It is true that Senator La Follette, when asked what he intended to do in the Presidential race, said that he would await developments. But after describing the New Deal

as "a casualty of war" and charging the Administration with failure on both the home and foreign fronts, it would seem that he must either support the Republican nominee or stay on the sidelines. It is probable that he will choose the first alternative, for "Bob" himself will be looking for new support in 1946. Moreover, if he moves into the Republican camp he will become third ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where his two seniors are men approaching eighty. Thus he could expect early succession to the chairmanship if the Republicans won the Senate. Surely the prospect of a new Borah in this key post will stir internationally minded Republicans to vigorous action.

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THE DAY OF MARTIN DIES IS AT AN END. No longer will the loud-mouthed demagogue parade as the impartial investigator, the informer be elevated us the savior of his country, the bigot be hailed as patriot, The day is past when to be liberal is to be "un-American," when the "American way" leads back into the dark recesses of yesterday's intolerance, when black is called white. The quitting of Martin Dies is a victory for that Americanism which Dies talked about so much but understood so little. For Dies felt the mounting wrath of the American workers he classed as "red": their registration was up 25 per cent in his district. His own county Democratic organization denounced him. His withdrawal followed almost immediately the announcement that a decent Democrat would oppose him in the Texas primaries. The ground swell of fundamental American liberalism is running strong-Rush Holt was stopped cold in his attempted comeback in West Virginia; Martin Sweeney, friend of Father Coughlin, was blocked in his gubernatorial aspirations in Ohio by liberal Mayor Lausche of Cleveland, who is said to have a good chance against the Republicans; Representative Howard J. Mc-Murray, stalwart internationalist and fighting liberal, was chosen as the Democratic candidate for the Senate in Wisconsin. Americans are shaking themselves clear of the doldrums. The battle is not over, but it is well begun.

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AS SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS REMINDS US on another page, the TVA idea is spreading around the world. This immensely fruitful experiment in the geopolitics of peace, which incidentally has made so important a contribution to our war effort, is likely to exert a powerful influence on the post-war planning of other lands. Hundreds of pilgrims from all over the world will in years to come flock to the Tennessee Valley to observe the methods by which the development of a whole great region has been built on flood control, soil conservation, and power. They will, that is, if TVA is allowed to continue as it has begun—a responsible publicly owned corporation operating on a non-political

basis. For the TVA is under heavy attack in Congress. where the Senate has approved proposals which would strangle it in political red tape. At the instigation of Senator McKellar, amendments were attached to the Independent Offices Appropriation bill which would take from TVA the flexibility in management it derives from its ability to use its revenues as a revolving fund, and would plunge it into politics by making employees earning more than \$4,500 a year subject to Senate approval. Fortunately, these proposals are encountering strong opposition in the House. They have also stirred antagonism in the valley itself, where something like a popular uprising in the defense of the TVA has taken place. In Tennessee Senator McKellar seems to be in a minority of one. The whole Congressional delegation from the state is fighting his amendments, and the voters of the state, and even the business interests, are opposing them vociferously. These protests are being echoed all over the country. If Congress has an ear to the ground, TVA will be saved.

THE SUSPENSION OF FATHER ORLEMANSKI looks like an over-hasty Bishop's move. The Springfield priest had just returned from a private mission to Moscow that promised great gains for his church and for the Polish people. Stalin had talked to him for nearly three hours and, reiterating his belief in an independent Poland, had assured him that the Catholic church would be free from persecution. Stalin's promise is in line with the general abandonment of Soviet anti-religious policy. Bishop O'Leary took stern disciplinary measures because Father Orlemanski was AWOL from his parish over Sunday and because he was guilty of "treating with Communists." In contrast with a large section of the Polish American community—as Eric Estorick shows elsewhere in this issue—Father Orlemanski had been active through the Kosciusko League in urging a policy of understanding and cooperation with Russia. His suspension, therefore, is more than a personal rebuke; it is almost tantamount to a slap in the face for Joseph Stalin at the very moment when, for a variety of reasons, he is showing himself particularly kindly disposed toward the Catholic and other religious faiths. If Father Orlemanski carries his case to higher courts in the church, it is to be hoped that there will be found the imaginative justice to admit that the unorthodox vision of a courageous priest sometimes penetrates to a reality hidden from the eyes of ecclesiastical legalism.

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS once again repulsed the advances of John L. Lewis, and John is not so much hurt as he is terribly, terribly angry. In blistering polysyllables he has denounced the executive council of the Federation for its refusal to admit his United Mine Workers to membership on his terms. He

accuses the council of "characteristic servility to the Roosevelt Administration" and "base hyprocrisy approximating to moral turpitude." There is, of course, ground to believe that one reason for A. F. of L. hesitation in welcoming Mr. Lewis was his hostility to the President. For whatever complaints some of the A. F. of L. leaders may have to make about the Administration, they are unlikely to forget how much labor has improved its position under the New Deal. Yet it is doubtful whether the political issue would have proved a final barrier to readmission of the U. M. W. if Mr. Lewis had not so obstinately insisted that his charter must cover District 50 -the catch-all machine with which he has been raiding other unions. Apparently he was willing to drop some of District 50's claims, but he stuck to his demands for the right to organize all chemical workers. This encroachment on the jurisdictional fields of other unions outraged the most sacred principles of the A. F. of L. Thus Lewis by his dictatorial claims has played into the hands of his political enemies and succeeded in isolating himself. Perhaps he will still try to make a deal with the Republicans, but they may well regard him as a dubious asset, especially since there is no guaranty that he can deliver even the miners' vote.

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REJOICING OVER THE FRANCO AGREEMENT did not last long. Editorial writers and radio commentators ordinarily engaged in glorifying our foreign policy had barely forty-eight hours to hail this latest great diplomatic victory of ours. On the third day, signs of discouragement became evident in London, which, in this case at least, bears greater responsibility than Washington for allowing the United Nations to make fools of themselves. The London press has begun to complain about the double game Franco is playing in giving wide publicity to the lifting of the oil embargo while silencing any talk of commitments he made in return for our generosity. Allied representatives in Madrid have had to make repeated demands that General Franco live up to his written word and expel Nazi spies from Tangier. Up to the moment of writing, these demands have fallen on deaf ears. No Nazi spies have been expelled from Tangier. The German Consulate there is as active as ever, and its doors as wide open. On the eve of invasion, Franco Spain, as we pointed out in last week's issue, is permitted to continue its work of espionage and sabotage behind the Allied armies. As far as the economic aspect of the argreement with Franco is concerned, the Russian publication, "Red Star," has expressed the point aptly: the agreement failed to include "iron ore, lead, copper, mercury, and other mineral products that Germany imports from Spain." There is only one safe outcome for our relations with Franco-to break them off, and immediately.

THEY DO SOME THINGS BETTER IN Hollywood than in Washington. Once a villain, in Hollywood, always a villain. The moviemakers know better than to confuse the customers by casting Boris Karloff, say, in the role of a good old family doctor. But the policymakers in Washington are seemingly incapable of such subtle psychology. Time after time they try to make us accept fascists as democrats, quislings as patriots, careerists as martyrs, and enemies as friends. We can be thankful that Elmer Davis, though he is no policymaker, has enough pride in his work to keep them from making some particularly bad blunders now and then. His latest public service along this line was his editing of a radio speech by John F. Montgomery, former Minister to Hungary, calling on the Hungarians to resist the Nazi forces of occupation. We were at war with the government of Regent Horthy for a long time before Hitler found him inefficient, but Mr. Montgomery was planning to tell the listeners to the illegal democratic radio that Horthy was a "great leader," that his government was democratic, and that anything they might hear to the contrary was "mendacious propaganda." He wanted to end his speech with the ringing words, "Back up the Regent!" Mr. Davis, who is responsible for broadcasts to enemy countries, naturally blue-penciled these baffling remarks. Mr. Montgomery then refused to speak at all. Since he is known in Hungary, it is probably just as well.



WE'VE NEVER BEEN RUN OVER BY A GALLUP poll. We've never been stopped by an inquiring reporter. We've never been chosen as "the man in the street." Nobody, you might say, ever asks us anything. We've sometimes felt slighted by this neglect. But we're just as glad we weren't caught by the questioners for the John B. Pierce Foundation which has recently published Volume IV of "Family Living as the Basis for Dwelling Design." "The ultimate objective of the housing research," we are told, "is to design dwellings on the basis of specifications arrived at as a result of scientific investigation." And one section of Volume IV, understandably enough, is devoted to The Bedroom. Most of the findings, and the questions they reflect, leave us relatively calm. We would certainly agree, for instance, that "the most important item in connection with sleep is the bed" (Page 26). We were mildly interested in knowing that "stumbling over bedroom furniture occurs among 23 per cent of the wives and 29 per cent of the husbands"—the awkward brutes. We were slightly alarmed to discover that 14 per cent of the wives reported that they had "slept with their head at the foot of the bed within the past week." "At the time this was done," adds the report with cold imperturbability, "we do not know whether the husband reversed his position too, or continued sleeping with his head at the head of the bed." But what really made us resolve never

to be a "sample" were two questions which even the Pierce Foundation, in our opinion, has no right to ask. The first was "Have you fallen out of bed within the past year?" the second, "Did you wear bedroom slippers last night?" Only the Marx Brothers could answer those questions without incriminating themselves.

## Prosperity Is Indivisible

IN ANY attempt to appraise the work of the twenty-sixth session of the International Labor Conference at Philadelphia, we must bear in mind the handicaps under which it labored. It met at a moment when the world was entirely preoccupied with thoughts of the impending invasion. The task of the delegates was to project their minds beyond the battle-lines to the time when bread and butter would be more important than cannon, but obviously D-day was constantly in their thoughts, as it was in those of their newspaper audiences.

Another difficulty was the somewhat anomalous nature of the International Labor Organization. In one sense its conference was a gathering of the United Nations, but with neutrals present it could not act as such. Moreover, one of the mightiest of the United Nations—Russia—was absent despite strenuous attempts by the Governing Body of the ILO to persuade Moscow to send a delegation. The Soviet government had several good reasons for abstention. It disliked the fact that the ILO was still organically part of the atrophied League of Nations, from which the U.S.S.R. was expelled in 1939. It objected to the participation of neutrals and particularly of countries like Argentina which lend both spiritual and material comfort to the enemy.

Yet if the Russian seats at Philadelphia were empty, Soviet influence was powerfully present. Unfortunately it was an influence largely of a negative kind, since it served to postpone action. Such questions as the rehabilitation of Germany, the protection of foreign workers transferred or deported by the Germans, and the future status and functions of the ILO itself were shelved partly on the plea that no decision could be reached without Russian participation.

Despite these obstacles, the conference was, we believe, more worth while than the newspaper accounts of its proceedings might appear to indicate. Couched as they are in officialese (Geneva dialect), the resolutions adopted seem at first reading to be rather unexciting catalogues of lofty ideals. The first resolution, for instance, the so-called Philadelphia Charter, sets forth the aim, purposes, and principles of the ILO in extremely large terms. It consists of five parts: 1. A reaffirmation of the fundamental principles on which the organization is founded: labor is not a commodity; freedom of expression and association are essential to progress; poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. 2. A

social Bill of Rights which asserts that the central aim of national and international policy must be the creation of conditions under which all human beings can exercise the right to pursue their material well-being and spiritual development. It is the responsibility of the ILO to "examine and consider" all international economic policies in the light of this fundamental objective and to make appropriate recommendations, 3. An extensive program of economic welfare in which the first item is "full employment and the raising of standards of living." Among other provisions are recognition of the right of collective bargaining, social security, protection of the workers' health, assurance of equality of education and vocational opportunity. 4. A pledge that the ILO will cooperate with whatever international bodies may be intrusted with the tasks of promoting economic cooperation. 5. A declaration that, while the manner of the application of the principles set forth in the resolution must take into account the stage of social development reached by each people, they are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere.

The Philadelphia Charter, it will be agreed, is broad enough in its aspirations to satisfy almost any social idealist. But is it so broad as to run the danger of remaining a "paper" resolution which reactionaries can indorse without fear of being called upon to put its principles into practice? The very unanimity with which the delegates, representating the governments, workers, and employers of forty-one nations, voted for the charter might seem grounds for dismissing it as a purely pious declaration.

Nevertheless, at the risk of being labeled "starryeyed" we are prepared to maintain that the charter, and still more the discussions which preceded its adoption, represents a new point of departure in international cooperation. The war has brought home to all but the most opaque minds the fact that "peace is indivisible." The trend of thought at Philadelphia indicated a widening recognition of the equally important truth that prosperity is indivisible. Again and again in the course of the debate delegates stressed the interaction of national economic policies. A slump in one country, particularly if it is highly industrialized, is rapidly reflected in the economies of others. It follows that no one country can hope successfully to promote full employment while others are enforcing restrictionist measures. We can no longer claim that national economic policy is solely our business. It is everybody's business, and we, in turn, are concerned with the budgets voted by the British Parliament or the production decrees of the Supreme Soviet.

Planning for prosperity, therefore, must be undertaken internationally as well as nationally if we are to find a cure for the cruel spasms of alternating economic contraction and expansion. The ILO at Philadelphia has helped to turn men's thoughts in this direction; it needs no other justification.

## Avery and the G.O.P.

C EWELL AVERY'S private war goes on. A substan-Utial majority of employees at his Chicago establishment have reaffirmed their allegiance to the C. I. O.'s Mail Order, Warehouse, and Retail Employees Union, but this clear-cut expression of opinion has in no way curbed Avery's anti-union crusade. In costly newspaper advertisements, prior to the election, Avery had piously declared he could not renew a maintenance-of-membership agreement until his employees had a chance to vote. Now they have had their chance, and Avery announces he will not sign a maintenance-of-membership contract under any circumstances, for reasons which he has outlined to the public on many previous occasions. The new declaration is a pretty pointed commentary on the sincerity of Ward's advertising campaign.

Meanwhile the scene of Avery's sitdown strike has shifted. The War Labor Board has certified to the White House a two-year-old conflict involving workers at the Hummer plant in Springfield, Illinois, a Ward subsidiary engaged in extensive war production. The pattern of the dispute is entirely similar to other Ward cases: the company has defied a unanimous WLB order; the workers, after an impressive display of patience and good faith, have finally struck. But the change in locale may be of vital importance. The editorial writers, columnists, and random orators who have invented rationalizations for Avery's conduct in Chicago—on the ground that no war production was involved—can no longer use this smoke screen. Hummer produces carburetors, propellers, gun mounts. The issue is reduced to unmistakable simplicity: can Avery wreck our war-time labor-relations machinery by a successful revolt against the WLB? Even Arthur Krock will find it difficult to show that the Hummer case is more complicated than this statement of it.

There may be divergent views as to the wisdom of the government's course in restoring the Chicago property to Avery before Judge Holley could render a decision on the legal questions involved in the seizure. We would have preferred to see a clear judicial verdict on the government action. But the important fact is that Avery and his associates have served notice they will not be swayed by the outcome of any NLRB election, and that their attitude toward the WLB is in no way affected by the extent to which one of their plants produces war materials. They have just begun to fight. The prospect of imminent European invasion has not diverted them from their major preoccupation-to drive unionism out of their business.

The far-reaching political implications of the battle are plain. The Chicago Tribune gaily informs us that a "prairie fire of indignation" is sweeping the country over the Chicago seizure. The photograph of Avery being

transported out of the plant will be a major Republican document, the same journal reports. One year ago it was a Republican labor leader named John L. Lewis who was engaged in a nation-wide war against the Administration's labor program; now it is a Republican industrial baron who carries the banner of revolt. We suspect that this is the real clue to the duration of the fight. If it is humanly possible, Avery will prolong the shooting through the campaign months. The Administration has no choice except tough and resolute action. If Avery wins, labor's no-strike pledge is dead; the rebellion against the no-strike agreement at the Steel Workers' convention last week, quelled only after an extraordinary appeal by Philip Murray, reflects the mood of large groups of industrial workers. Unless Avery's revolt is crushed, labor disaffection may assume grave proportions. This fact is recognized by most government officials, and it is entirely possible that by the time The Nation is off the press the Hummer plant will be in government hands.

This time we hope Administration leaders will make a more serious attempt to tell the country the full story of Avery's war-time record. At his first press conference after his return to the capital, President Roosevelt complained that the press and radio had suppressed the essential facts of the Chicago controversy. As far as most influential organs of opinion are concerned, his charge seems eminently justified; certainly the climate of editorial opinion has been overwhelmingly favorable to Avery, but part of the blame for that result rests in Washington. Neither James F. Byrnes nor other high officials connected with the seizure intelligently utilized the available means of presenting the government's case to the public. Seemingly none of them realized the degree of confusion which would ensue; none of them took the elementary step of going on the radio to explain to the country that the seizure of a mail-order house did not mean the socialization of American society and the expropriation of victory gardens.

Not much reliance can be placed on the two Congressional committees named to investigate the Ward case; Senator McCarran, heading the Judiciary Committee probe, has already dispelled hope that his group will tell labor's side of the story and has indicated that the committee will stick to "legal" aspects of the seizure. Although the House committee is headed by able, progressive Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, the present temper of that body is not precisely sympathetic to labor or to the Administration. So we may expect a new rash of irresponsible doubletalk unless the Administration itself sets forth its case through every medium of opinion. The urgency of such action cannot be overestimated. For Avery is undoubtedly willing to lose half a dozen union elections if he can help the Republicans win the big propaganda war of 1944.

## Thomas E. Dewey

BY I. F. STONE

Albany, May 11

LBANY fascinates me, but I can't say the same for Dewey. The capital of New York would in-A spire Dreiser and depress De Tocqueville, but its Governor is a Republican Presidential candidate, very standard model. I've waded through a foot-high pile of Dewey messages, speeches, and statements kindly supplied by his affable press secretary, James C. Hagerty. I listened to the Governor address the American Newspeper Publishers' meeting in New York and watched him being charming to the hopeful on the platform after it was over. I've read almost everything written about him, except the Rupert Hughes work, which seems to have confused him with George Washington and Lucky Luciano with a cherry tree. I've talked to people who work closely with him and to people who hate him, the latter being easy to find in Albany and New York, where Dewey has been seen in close-up. And all I can report is that for the first time since becoming a Washington correspondent and on one of the few occasions since I became a newspaperman, I found myself with an assignment that bored me.

On international affairs, Dewey might be Warren G. Harding, an internationalist but-. On domestic affairs, where straight Hooverism is no longer possible even for Republican, Dewey might be Alfred Landon, unalterably opposed to the New Deal, four square against its threat to the American way of life, but in agreement with its basic principles, though he thinks they are poorly administered. As a public figure, he is as familiar a type -the "clean-government" reformer who is death on all crooks except the really big and respectable ones of our society. As a man, he is competent, courageous, hardworking, but extraordinary only in his drive, his singleness of purpose, the intensity of his ambition. I don't think he is wicked, sinister, dishonest, or fascist, though I suppose he will have such epithets thrown at him when the campaign gets heated; I think he is a good American, very far removed from anti-democratic crackpots, racial bigots, and Bertie McCormicks. But the man is uninteresting because he presents no complexities, deviates in no way from type. I can see nothing but the commonplace in his mind. I sense no lift of idealism in his spirit; his motivations seem to me wholly self-seeking. And the personality is completely lacking in human

This may sound harsh and it may be unjust, but it is said only after much thought and consideration, and it

checks with the reactions of people who are his friends as well as with those of his enemies. Dewey has been called "a boy scout," and he is one in the sense that he sees the problems of our society purely in the obvious and elementary terms of personal morality; I say obvious and elementary because he would not see the profounder immoralities in our customary ways of living and doing business. But he is not a boy scout in the sense that he would let a naive but praiseworthy and wholesome sense of duty stand in the way of personal aggrandizement. He chose the law as a profession because he thought it offered the prospect of greater and more secure financial rewards than singing; none of those who have written of him or who know him claim that he was attracted to the law as a useful way to spend one's life, or because he was inspired by the example of some great judge or advocate. There is nothing in him of the Galahad or the Quixote. His sensational splurge as prosecutor in New York was a quick stepping-stone to the Governorship, not the beginning of a job that he felt had to be completed in the interest of civic duty or clean government, and the Governorship is a stepping-stone to the Presidency. He is a kind of Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford in politics, a man who plays for the quick rise and the big profit. That the profit is in personal advancement rather than money is a detail, not an essential. Dewey's eye has always been on the headlines, not the stars. The men who worked with him as D. A. will tell you that the press was as constantly in their thoughts as the jury.

A certain humility makes a man lovable and marks him wise. Dewey reeks of self-assurance. You look at him on the platform and think of Browning's line, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp," but only because the two spring from such different worlds. It is only in the most superficial sense that Dewey would ever think of himself as unfit; he is said to be busy boning up on American history now in preparation for the Presidency. He would never think of himself as unworthy. Big men usually have a sense of fun. Roosevelt has it, Churchill has it, Lenin had it, so saintly a figure as Gandhi jokes and frolics. Dewey would never dream of making a joke at his own expense. His humor, or what passes for it, is heavy-footed, as when he referred to newsboys at the publishers' dinner in New York as "purveyors of your products." (I was there; I heard it.) He is not what we call a regular guy. There is nothing in him of Willkie's rich curiosity, human interest, or careless vitality. Dewey is small stuff and cold fish, handsomer and physically

robust but really a good deal like Coolidge, frugal spiritually, a man who does not give himself freely.

I saw Dewey for the first time at the publishers' dinner, a trying event for most of those present because so many long-winded speakers preceded him, a trying occasion for him because Eric Johnston of the United States Chamber of Commerce tried to steal the show, and almost succeeded. Johnston's speech was the improvisation of a shrewd high-school boy, and I remember it chiefly for its gorgeously mixed metaphors, but it went over big with the publishers. Dewey seemed restive until his moment came. He went forward like a singer, chest out, enormously self-possessed. He sounded like a man who had studied with a first-rate elocutionist in a smallish town. One could have written a musical score for the speech. His gestures, the modulation of his voice, the measured emphasis and stress, were too perfect to be pleasant; the manner was conceited. When he praised Secretary of State Hull, it was with the gracious condescension that he might have used in patting a small boy on the head. The speech was expertly prepared and made Johnston's seem as amateurish as it was. Dewey gave an orotund solemnity to such hollow stuff as "When we have ceased to wage war, we shall have to wage peace," with the air of a man delivering an epigram.

In Albany I found those close to Dewey devoted to him. Four investigations are going here full blast, and the town is overrun with racket-busters who used to work for Dewey in New York. They like him, irrespective of political differences, for Dewey is competent, a good executive, and the young lawyer's ideal of a prosecutor. The young men in his immediate entourage are capable rather then brilliant, and already envisage themselves as the Harry Hopkinses and Louis Howes of the next Administration. It is a giddy thing to be on a Presidential band-wagon, and those few of them who have New Dealish backgrounds are rapidly throwing earlier ideas overboard as excess baggage. Even in this innermost circle one has the feeling that Dewey inspires fear and respect rather than affection. "He's very selfcentered and never seems interested in you personally," said one racket-buster reflectively in answer to a question. But outside the circle of Deweyites, one encounters only dislike of the Governor.

In part, this dislike is to Dewey's credit. The town is comfortably corrupt. So is the Legislature. The Governor's attack on the local O'Connell machine brought reprisal in the shape of an O'Connell investigation of the Republican Legislature. Dewey was forced to take the investigation over to protect his party, but the man he chose as special prosecutor, Hiram C. Todd, is forceful and independent, and there will be difficulty in keeping the investigation within safe bounds. Dewey started out to investigate favoritism in assessments in Albany, the payment of current expenses out of bond issues, and

election frauds. He hoped to duplicate in Albany the success he had achieved as a gang-buster in New York and break the one important Democratic machine upstate. But an investigation of the Legislature, which has been Republican-controlled for many years, was not part of his original plan. The fears this investigation has aroused in his own party have served to make Republican legislators subservient to him, and he has ruled the Legislature like a little dictator. But the inquiry itself will not be allowed to go too far because it would hurt the Republicans more than the Democrats in an election year and would inevitably involve big money interests with which Dewey is himself allied.

To understand the political problems that confront Dewey in Albany, one must understand this old Dutch town at the head of navigation on the Hudson. It exhibits the slatternly side of the Democratic process. For the first twenty years of the century it was solidly Republican. During the past twenty years it has been as solidly Democratic. During both periods it has been corrupt, and during both the respectable elements have shared widely in the benefits of machine government. They resent these investigations. The Democratic era began with an alliance between Dan O'Connell, son of a saloon keeper, and the old-family owner of the Alleghany-Ludlum steel works. Albany's political revolutions have not been the result of uprisings by an outraged citizenry but of internal feuds in aging political machines. A legislative investigation before the last war plus some fiery attacks by Teddy Roosevelt upon the Barnes political machine only increased the Republican vote at the next election, and there are many people here who think local resentment will enable the O'Connells to pile up a larger majority than ever before. Dewey's unpopularity in Albany might cost him New York State and the Presidency.

From all I can see, the O'Connell machine is still united and vigorous. Unless Dewey can unearth evidence of some major crime, it is unlikely that he can shake its popular strength. But the O'Connell machine has been in power so long that it has been many years since any rough tactics were required to keep either its henchmen or the populace in line. Public standards are higher than they were a generation ago, and in some respects conditions under the O'Connell regime are better than under Barnes. The "Gut," Albany's old tenderloin, no longer flaunts its red-light section. The principal "crimes" Dewey has been able to lay at the door of the O'Connell machine are not of a kind to bring ordinary Albany citizens tumbling from their beds in alarm. "Bookmaking" establishments operate pretty openly. There are plenty of slot machines around. Saloons are open all night selling Hedrick beer, the O'Connell family brew. Election frauds seem to be common, but the O'Connells have so tight a grip on grand and petit jury lists that not much could be done about them.

Albany's city government seems to have been holding down its tax rate by paying current expenditures out of capital borrowings. Assessments seem to be adjusted to aid the deserving and teach the independents a lesson; Dan O'Connell's first political job was as tax assessor, a post he used to good advantage in building his machine. These are dishonest practices no one could wish to condone-except the property owners and lawyers who benefit by them, and their beneficiaries are many. We Americans are for clean government in theory and political favors in practice. This makes the Dewey type popular-at a distance. One of Dewey's advisers in Albany is a nice young Republican lawyer who represents large property interests through his father-in-law's estate, helps run a leading real-estate firm, and does a substantial volume of business representing the Republican minority which has to take its assessment appeals to the courts instead of to the district leader. Dewey assigned him to investigate assessments, and the investigation will make it easier for a time to be a Republican in Albany, but an assessments scandal will neither break the O'Connell machine nor make dramatic headlines elsewhere.

In part Albany's dislike for Dewey is mesult of his shortcomings as a person. Other Governors were gracious and became part of the life of the town. Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Lehman lived, shopped, and entertained in Albany. Both were me familiar sight downtown. "Albanians," must hey call themselves, have the civic patriotism of a Greek city-state. "We never see Mrs. Dewey," they complain. Albany feels that Dewey is only me man on the make, hurrying through on his way somewhere else. It is contented in its corruption, thinks its civic misdeeds no worse than those of most cities, believes it is being smeared and sacrificed to provide a Dewey triumph, resents a certain ruthlessness and self-righteousness in the Governor's attitude toward it.

There are many complaints that Dewey is rude and standoffish in dealing with the townspeople. Lehman was chairman of Russian War Relief in Albany; as a matter of courtesy Dewey was invited to succeed him. The invitation went unanswered. The Inter-Racial Council runs a Booker T. Washington Center here. It held a musicale to raise funds. Tickets were sent the Governor. They were returned unacknowledged. The 4-H clubs held their annual meeting here. It is customary for Governors to address the meeting. Dewey refused because the Mayor of Albany had also been invited. He agreed to speak only when the Mayor withdrew. "He can't put his political ax aside for a moment," said one Albany newspaperman. Albany would agree with the irate Republican lady who once said, "You have to know Dewey to dislike him."

[In a later issue Mr. Stone will continue his discussion of Governor Dewey, with particular reference to his ideas on national and foreign issues.]

## 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

TITH CHARACTERISTIC SECRECY, the revised Covenant of the League of Nations was made public only on the morning that it was laid before the delegates. . . Even those who have opposed the present League as inadequate and misleading ought to give it the benefit of the doubt, and to hope that out of this beginning there may develop a League worthy of the name.—May 3, 1919.

BOTH OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC OPINION in Europe are beginning to take Lenine seriously. However hatefully much of his performance may still be regarded, it is coming to be recognized that a man of intellectual force, of marked personality, and of iron will has let loose a new idea in the world.—May 3, 1919.

THE DEEDS THAT MANNERHEIM did in Finland as leader of the White Guard were not reported in the newspapers. It was not recorded how the White Terror in Finland systematically executed 60,000 officials of labor unions, heads of cooperative enterprises, and Socialist leaders of different grades of radicalism. . . . It is the government of this reactionary general, this imperialistic murderer, that America has now recognized in Finland.—May 17, 1919.

IT WAS NOT TO BE HOPED that there would be a generous peace. The wickednesses of the German armies were too obvious, the bad faith of the German imperial government had been too clearly demonstrated, to admit of any settlement which did not impose heavy penalties. . . For a rigorous peace, in short, the world was already somewhat prepared. But it was not prepared for a peace of undisguised vengeance, for a peace which openly flouts some of the plainest dictates of reason and humanity, repudiates every generous word that Mr. Wilson has ever uttered regarding Germany, flies in the face of accepted principles of law and economics, and makes the very name of democracy a reproach. In the whole history of diplomacy there is no treaty more properly to be regarded as an international crime. —May 17, 1919.

"TWELVE MEN," by Theodore Dreiser. . . . A fruitful attack upon Mr. Dreiser's substance can be made only by invalidating his facts. But this no one has sought to do. . . . His powers of observation and of vicarious experience are of the first order. By virtue of them he ranks among the major novelists. . . . In the narrower sense, however, he cannot write. No man of equal power has ever written so poorly. . . . So that one finally gains a vision of him as of a giant in chains. In chains, indeed, but a giant none the less. —May 24, 1919.

THE LATEST NEWS FROM PARIS is that the Council of Four has decided to recognize conditionally the Kolchak and Denikine governments. . . . Diligent search by *The Nation* among the Russians of all shades of opinion in New York has thus far failed to disclose one willing over his own name to write an article favoring this old friend of the Czarist regime.—*May 31, 1919*.

# TVA on the Jordan

BY GEORGE W. NORRIS

THE TVA idea has gone round the world. Its fame has spread to every place where men have struggled with the problems of nature, for it is a blueprint turned into a reality. Actually, it is a very simple idea, based upon the principle of preserving the natural resources of the country.

Until the advent of the Tennessee Valley Authority men built dams upon streams almost solely to develop power, and the location of one dam had no relation to the location of any other on the same river system. The TVA considered a whole river system as a source of power, and prepared to develop it as a whole, not piecemeal. Before the TVA our fertile valleys were being ledeled of their soil and their natural fruits. Annual floods swept through them at terrible cost to life and property. Erosion was unchecked upon the hillsides, and the swollen rivers carried thousands of tons of top soil down to the sea. The dams built by the TVA prevented flood damage, and also kept open navigable channels.

A comparatively small additional sum enabled the Authority to utilize the waters impounded behind the great dams for the generation of huge amounts of electric power. This power has been carried into the homes of farmers and provided amenities they never knew before; it furnishes cheap electricity to city dwellers; and in factories and industrial plants throughout the South it is contributing mightily to the war effort and bringing prosperity to the people.

From the very beginning, as soon as the TVA revealed the tremendous scope of its plans, the project excited the curiosity and admiration of engineers and scientists the world over. Dr. Walter Clay Lowderrailk, eminent soil conservationist, scholar, and world traveler, was one who expressed his deep interest, and in 1938 the United States Department of Agriculture sent him to make a survey of the use of land in the Near East, in the interest of land conservation in the United States. Dr. Lowdermilk returned with a project for the reclamation of Palestine which he recently presented in book form under the title "Palestine, Land of Promise." He calls the project, which is modeled after the TVA, the Jordan Valley Authority. "The Tennessee Valley Authority," he says, "has set the pattern whereby agriculture, power, and manufacturing can be developed in a coordinated way in the highest interests of the people of a given area. And this pattern can be applied to Palestine."

Centuries ago Palestine was a prosperous country,

covered with fertile fields and forests. Its fertility was destroyed by man's failure to conserve its natural resources. After Palestine was set aside as a Jewish homeland, it became a great experiment in reclamation. The Jews built cities and formed agricultural colonies and brought the soil back to abundant production. But the area of their efforts was necessarily limited, and vast stretches outside "the fertile crescent" lay untouched. "It is practically impossible," says Dr. Lowdermilk, "to estimate what the final absorptive capacity of Greater Palestine could be if all its unoccupied and underpopulated areas were rejuvenated by the same vigor and understanding love of the land as have characterized Jewish efforts on a tiny fraction of the land, and if such an allinclusive reclamation program as that of the IVA were put into effect."

Dr. Lowdermilk advocates a system of dams on the Jordan River and its tributaries to irrigate the arid lands of the Jordan Valley. He points out, too, that in the rush of the river down to the Dead Sea, more than a thousand feet below sea level, there are wonderful possibilities for the generation of hydroelectric power. Enough electricity, he says, can be developed upon the Jordan River and its tributaries to supply the entire country with an abundance of electric power for all purposes. But power and irrigation are only part of Dr. Lowdermilk's project, Like the TVA, the IVA would include water conservation and flood control among its activities. Supplementing the work of the Jewish Agency and the government, it would reforest lands unsuitable for farming or grazing and would undertake to extract important minerals from the Dead Sea on a far greater scale than is now being done.

This work would be extended into the Negeb, the south country, which has an area almost equal to that of the rest of Palestine, and into Trans-Jordania, transforming these regions from desolate wastes into thriving agricultural and industrial communities. The Jews, says Dr. Lowdermilk, who has become a convert to the idea that Palestine can be developed by the Jews as a national homeland, would be made the "custodians" of this work and directors of the Jordan Valley Authority under the United Nations. "If the forces of reclamation and progress that Jewish settlers have introduced," he says, "are permitted to continue, Palestine may well be the leaven that will transform other lands of the Near East. Once the great undeveloped resources of the countries are properly exploited, twenty to thirty million people may

live decent and prosperous lives where a few million now struggle for a bare existence. Palestine can serve as the example, the demonstration, the lever, that will lift the entire Near East from its present desolate condition to a dignified place in a free world."

Other reclamation projects patterned after the TVA have been proposed, though none have been so carefully worked out as Dr. Lowdermilk's. Some time ago the president of the National Association of Manufacturers declared that we were not fighting this war to supply Hottentot babies with milk or to build a TVA on the Danube. He spoke derisively, implying contempt for the idea of the TVA, but the expression "TVA on the Danube" took hold, and many thoughtful progressives began to wonder whether the idea was not a good one. If the TVA could be developed here without regard to state lines, why could not Europe, the Near East, or any other region develop a TVA without regard to national boundaries?

The economic backwardness of the eight countries which form the Danube basin—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and

Greece-does not derive from a lack of natural resources. The region has always had a great agricultural potential and rich mineral deposits, and in the Danube River it has a tremendous source of hydroelectric power. Its economic backwardness stems from a surplus farm population, causing overcrowding and a hunger for land, from neglect of scientific farming methods and a lack of working capital, and from the resulting low monetary vield. A program of industrialization such as a TVA on the Danube would make possible would absorb workers no longer needed on the farms and stimulate agricultural production. The political-economic structure of all these countries is based on the peasantry. Were the peasants granted the benefits which would flow from a great scientific project patterned after the TVA, who knows what the effect would be on the future peace of the world?

While the TVA idea reaches out to the Near East and Central Europe, opposition to it, strange as this may seem, is displayed in the land of its birth. This opposition comes primarily from the private power interests, properly known as the power trust, and is aroused by



Drawing by Stig Hook in the Swedish Gotehorgs Handels och Sjofarts Tidning "It's only the clock—five minutes to twelve."

the generation and sale of hydroelectric power by the TVA. There would be little or no objection to the TVA if this aspect of the project had been turned over to private power interests. The power trust opposes the TVA because it interferes with its profits and with a monopolistic domination which extends over almost the entire United States.

The power trust has thrust a hand into every field of American politics. It is active in every election, whether it be that of a district school board, of members of Congress, or of a President of the United States. It has controlled and corrupted state legislatures the country over, and it has lobbied unceasingly for the passage of laws that would legalize its greedy claims and take from the people the control and management of the natural resources of their country.

Paradoxically, much of the opposition to the TVA has come from the South, which has derived the greatest benefit from its success. It is startling, indeed, that a Tennessee Senator is now fighting the completion of the TVA program, and with telling effect. I do not mean to charge that opponents of the TVA have always been

moved by selfish considerations. Many opposition leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives have honestly believed that the national government should not go into the business of developing and transmitting electric power. But what other instrument would have been able to carry the project through? No state, no corporation organized by a state, could properly develop a system extending into many states. The only agency great enough to plan and implement such a development was either the national government itself or a corporation created by and representative of the national government. The government entered a field where no private corporation had ever ventured, where, from the very nature of things, no corporation could successfully venture.

The evil and dominating influence of the power trust made the TVA a necessity if we were to attain the happiness, comfort, and prosperity that can come from the preservation of our God-given gifts and from respect for the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. The forces which seek the TVA's destruction must not be allowed to halt the tide of progress.

# Polish American Politics

BY ERIC ESTORICK

Patther Orlemanski is no longer a little-known leader of the Polish American opposition to the Polish government in exile. His interviews with Stalin have lifted him from obscurity into the limelight and entitled him to speak with authority of the Soviet government's intentions toward Poland. If the message he brings, on the strength of two private conversations with Stalin—that the Kremlin desires an independent Poland and looks with friendliness on the Catholic church—attains any considerable degree of acceptance among American Poles, the congress of Polish American organizations to be held in Buffalo over the Memorial Day week-end will be troubled with grave doubts about its position.

The conference purports to be a meeting of American citizens of Polish origin to discuss American foreign policy as it affects Poland. But it will be used to bring pressure on Washington to support the Polish government in exile and oppose the Soviets in the Polish-Russian boundary dispute. No organizations or individuals who do not support the Polish government in exile have been invited to attend.

The anti-Soviet feeling among Polish Americans which will be expressed by the congress has been fomented for years by certain Polish leaders in this country. Chief among these is Ignacy Matuszewski, a brilliant writer and skilful politician who was Minister of Finance under Pilsudski. When Premier Sikorski, first head of the Polish government in exile, announced a policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, Matuszewski launched a violent campaign against him in this country, using as his vehicles the principal Polish-language newspapers published here—among them, the Nowy Swiat of New York, the Dziennik Polski of Detroit, and the Dziennik Dla Wszystkick of Buffalo.

At first Matuszewski's flood of invective seemed to win little response. On the whole the Polish population here trusted Sikorski and respected his admonition—stated explicitly during his second visit to the United States in March, 1942—that the raising of issues with the U. S. S. R., especially the boundary question, should be avoided. However, by the time Sikorski arrived in the United States for his third visit in December, 1942, Matuszewski's counter-movement had definitely set in and Sikorski found himself on the defensive respecting Russia. Opposition had also developed in London, where anti-Russian campaigns were being carried on by Tadeusz Bielecki, an extreme rightist, in the monthly Mysl Polska, and by Stanislaw Mackewicz, formerly an editor in Vilna, who also contributed to the New York Nowy Swiat.

The death of Sikorski enabled the ultra-nationalists to gain dominance in the Polish government in exile; except for a few Socialists in the Cabinet, notably the Minister of Labor, Dr. Stanczyk, there was no one to raise an effective voice for a rapprochement with the Russians. Matuszewski, thereupon, ceased his attacks on the government, while continuing his denunciations of Soviet Russia. But long before this his fascist predilections had been apparent. I have in my possession photostatic copies of documents concerning him written in longhand by the Polish ambassador to the United States, Jan Ciechanowski, and his press attaché, Wladislaw Besterman, approximately two years ago, when General Sikorski was still alive. These documents declare that after Poland's defeat in September, 1939, Matuszewski "hoped to become a minister in the new Polish government but was so involved with the former regime and had been so close to fascist ideas that he could not be fitted into a government of national unity representative of all democratic parties. His rabid opposition to General Sikorski and his government then began."

Matuszewski and his group, according to Besterman, "definitely interfered in American affairs and disrupted American unity," tended to destroy Polish unity and to injure United Nations solidarity, showed "distinct fascist ideology," and "by publishing Hungarian anti-Czech newspapers worked for the disruption of Polish-Czech relations at a time when Poland and Czechoslovakia, after years of unpleasantness, had declared for confederation." According to the Polish ambassador, Matuszewski "financed between 1937 and 1939 the only openly fascist newspaper in Poland, the Jetro Polska."

For the last two years Matuszewski has been carrying on an unrelenting campaign not only against the Soviet government's course with respect to Poland but against all Russian culture. In direct opposition to official efforts by the United States to consolidate relations with the Soviets, the Polish press, for which he provides intellectual leadership, has proclaimed that collaboration is impossible, that the Russians are not Slavs but Mongols, and that Stalin intends to become the Red Czar of Europe. Matuszewski even went so far as to say in the pages of Nowy Swiat that, as a result of the alliance between Poland and Great Britain, in legal right a state of war now exists between Great Britain and Russia.

Recently Matuszewski addressed seven articles to American Poles under the sly title "Your Sweat." Pegged on lend-lease, the argument ran thus: Four per cent of lend-lease to Russia is the work of American Poles; Russia is set to destroy Poland; therefore American Poles on the production lines work and sweat only to enslave their relatives and destroy their homeland. Making use of Under Secretary of State Stettinius's book, "Lend-Lease—Weapon for Victory," Matuszewski asks American Poles if they are not forging a "weapon for

defeat." He also asserts that President Roosevelt, in giving priority to the defeat of Germany and in making initial lend-lease shipments to Russia, "subordinated the needs of the country to the needs of a foreign nation."

Nor does he stop with Russia. He inveighs even against the British and of course against the Czechs and Benes. At the same time he enlists American Ukrainians and Lithuanians in the so-called common cause and throws out negative suggestions that the Germans, by comparison with the Russians, may not be so bad after all.

Matuszewski and M. F. Wegrznek, who is the publisher of Nowy Swiat and owner of Amerikai Magyar Nepszaram, a pro-Horthy Hungarian daily published in New York, founded the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent (KNAPP) primarily as an instrument to embarrass the Sikorski regime. After Sikorski's death KNAPP succeeded in enlisting the support of many conservative and liberal elements in the Polish American community. Perhaps the most prominent was K. Rozmarek, who as president of the Polish National Alliance had originally supported Sikorski. The KNAPP was the chief group behind the call for the Buffalo congress.

A Chicago meeting which planned the congress declared that its object was to support the war against the enemies of democracy opposed to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, to work for the achievement of a just peace, and to help Poland, as represented by its legitimate government in London, safeguard the frontiers which are threatened today. It has been announced that the congress is to result in the creation of a central organization representing all American Poles—apparently American Poles not supporting the Polish government in exile will lose their status as American Poles!

The purpose of the congress was further elaborated by Mr. Rozmarek in a speech quoted by the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy* of March 9. All American Poles, he said, are unanimous in defense of Poland's claims, and the congress is to express that unanimity. In doing so it will try to bolster the claim of the London government to be the true representative of, and indeed the only spokesman for, the Poles now under German domination. Critics of the government in exile assert that there is no substantial evidence that the Poles beleaguered in their homeland look to London for their leadership.

Since the congress is timed to coincide with the deeper penetration of Russian forces into Poland and the possible opening of a second front, and will shortly precede the Democratic and Republican national conventions, it is clear that the main purpose of its sponsors is to stage a demonstration in support of the Polish government at a moment when that government may be confronted with a severe crisis. The planned appeal to Americans of non-Polish descent indicates that the congress will try to mobilize all public opinion in this country against

Soviet Russia. It will directly propagandize other foreign elements dissatisfied with our present foreign policy—Hungarians, Slovak separatists, Croatian separatists, Serbian royalists, Finns, and Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nationalists. The political intent of this propaganda is seen in a statement by Frank Januszewski, treasurer of KNAPP and publisher of the Dziennik Polski. The votes of Poles, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, and Finns, he said, "will be directed against the Administration which sold these European countries to Soviet Russia."

Matuszewski, Wegrznek, and Januszewski, together with their allies in London, were specifically mentioned by the Russians as principal agents in building up the exasperation which finally led the Soviet government to break off relations with the Polish government on April 25, 1943. For a long time their inflammatory and subversive campaign aroused no adequate protest from Polish Americans or from others who knew of it. (Matuszewski, however, was obliged to register with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent.) Finally, the American Polish Labor Council; the Kosciusko League, led by Father Orlemanski; Professor Oscar Lange of the University of Chicago, a well-known Polish American Socialist; Dean Frank X. Swietlik of Marquette University, and a few other individuals realized that something must be done. They knew that some three million Poles were concentrated in key war cities-Chicago, Buffalo, New York-and working in essential war industries. They knew that these Polish workers had considerable influence with other Slavs in America, who constitute, it has been estimated, 50 per cent of the men employed in heavy industry. They saw that Matuszewski's campaign against Soviet Russia struck at the heart of America at war and must be offset; according to Leo Krzycki, president of the American Polish Labor Council and vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the effect upon Polish labor has been marked: discontent and unrest have led to serious slowdowns.

The most important action taken so far to counteract the totalitarian tactics of the machine working for the Polish government in exile has been the muchpublicized trip to Moscow of Father Orlemanski and Professor Lange. The KNAPP has tried to convince people that both men are anti-Christians, Communists, and stooges of the Kremlin, but there is evidence that the rank and file of American Polish workers, practically all of whom are trade unionists, do not accept the Matuszewski line. The Kosciusko League desires an independent Poland, respecting the legitimate claims of Ukrainians and White Russians, and does not regard the 1939 Polish-Russian boundary as inviolable. The number of workers who have recently joined the league certainly contradicts the claims of the congress to represent all Americans of Polish descent.

# In the Wind

SOUTHERN POLICE DEPARTMENTS, unlike the Boston department, do not take upon themselves the responsibilities of literary criticism. Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit" is having good sales all over the South. The reviews in Southern newspapers have been almost 100 per cent favorable.

FIGURES COMPILED BY the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor show that high-school enrolment has dropped 14 per cent since the war began.

FROM A COLUMN OF BOATING GOSSIP in *Motor Boat*: "Leathem D. Smith, boat and shipbuilder of Sturgeon Bay, Wis, has tossed his bonnet into the ring with a bid for the Senatorial nomination from his state. . . . Two things stand out in regard to Mr. Smith no matter what other matters can be brought to bear for, or against him. One is that he is opposing the present Administration, and the second is that he is a practical boating man. Even if we discover that he beat his aged mother and kicked puppy dogs we would still be for him on the strength of the other two points." The grammar is *Motor Boat's*, not *The Nation's*.

A LONDON AIR-RAID WARDEN, surveying a recent night's bomb damage, was surprised to hear organ music—Handel—issuing from the smoldering ruins of a large church. He entered the building cautiously and found the organist playing in a cloud of dust, with water pouring down on him from above. The organist looked around and explained that this was the only way he could get the water out of the pipes. He was playing Handel's Water Music.

BRITISH THEATRICAL PRODUCERS are having a hard time these days finding young girls for their choruses. Before the war most chorus girls were from eighteen to twenty-four years old; now they are twenty-four and up. The others are doing war work.

INCENDIARIES NOW AVERAGE 60 per cent of all American bomb loads.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The course of the war can be discerned in the changing Nazi propaganda slogans used in Norway: 1940, "We have won!" 1941, "We shall win!" 1942, "We must win!" 1943, "We will never capitulate!" 1944, "Toward brighter times!" . . . Viennese wits are circulating a new definition of high treason: "To remember a speech of the Führer for more than three months." . . . From a recent broadcast by General Kurt Dittmar, radio voice of the German army: "If one speaks of Festung Europa, it is only in a figurative sense."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# The Tasks Ahead in France

BY JULES MOCH

BOTH the French Committee of National Liberation and the Consultative Assembly in Algiers are studying the problems of economic reconstruction that will face the government of liberated France. Eventually the entire economy of the country, as indeed of all Europe, must be rebuilt, but the two most pressing needs will be to resettle the millions who have been driven from their homes or deported and to provide food for the starving people.

The population of metropolitan France before the war was about 40,000,000. Of this number one in seven has been uprooted; one in ten has been deported to Germany. According to reliable statistics, 850,000 Frenchmen are still held as prisoners of war-four years after the capitulation at Bordeaux, which was supposed to assure their speedy repatriation. Another 350,000 ex-soldiers have been impressed into the service of the enemy as laborers. and 900,000 French workers have been deported to Germany as "volunteers" or under the man-power levy. Some 60,000 more men and women, classified as Jews or resistants, have been removed from the country to an unknown fate. Men of Alsace and Lorraine to the number of 180,000 have been drafted into the German army as German subjects and sent to the eastern front. Finally, many thousands of patriots have fled to Africa or England, either to escape persecution or to serve with the Fighting French forces. In all, therefore, nearly 3,500,000 Frenchmen must be repatriated.

But even this figure does not tell the whole story. More than 1,500,000 people have had to leave their homes in the border regions and go to central and southern France. At least 50,000 were evacuated from the frontier zone by the French government in 1939, 180,000 refugees from the battle areas joined them, and 80,000 residents of Alsace and Lorraine were transferred to the interior by the Germans. Another million were recently ordered out of the coastal region by the German High Command, and the number grows daily. Some 100,000 men have been forcibly enrolled in the so-called Todt organization and sent to work on fortifications, and at least another 100,000 young Frenchmen have taken to the maquis. In one way or another, then, more than 5,000,000 people have been uprooted in France alone.

These millions must be returned to their homes, and at the same time almost a million foreigners now living in France must be sent back where they came from. At least 500,000 Germans have "colonized" the frontier

departments, to escape the bombings at home and to "justify" the annexations proclaimed by Hitler; others are scattered through the rest of the country. Also, between 1940 and 1943 some 150,000 Italians settled in Savoy and the other provinces claimed by Mussolini.

Similar mass deportations and migrations have occurred in Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia. If we add the slave laborers brought to Germany from the Axis satellites and the prisoners taken in Russia, we get a total of probably 30,000,000 people who must be moved—east, west, north, south—across Europe.

How is this to be done; how organize the transportation of these millions of men, whose only desire will be to flee headlong from the hell in which they have been living? None will want to wait, not for a day. From all the camps and factories of Germany long lines of haggard men will start toward the frontiers of their homelands. How will they live on their weary march? The first punishment of Hitler's Germany will come from the columns of deportees turned conquerors.

At the frontiers or in occupied territory close to the frontiers it will be necessary to establish temporary rehabilitation centers for feeding, clothing, and supplying medical care to the returning men. Barracks will be required to shelter them. Bureaus will have to be set up to help them find their families; for the families themselves in many cases will have been evacuated from their old homes. The returning men will not tolerate red tape and delay. But the Algiers government has not even a complete record of the German camps and factories where Frenchmen are held and therefore cannot tell at what points along the frontier the columns will converge.

In order to be prepared to cope with the whole repatriation problem the French Committee of National Liberation has set up a special ministry to study it—the Commissariat for Prisoners and Deportees—and has named M. Fresnay, leader of one of the strongest resistance groups in France, as its head.

The other most urgent task before us—providing food for the French people—presents equally staggering difficulties. The returning French will find a country stripped bare of food. Stockpiles have long since disappeared. There will be no wheat unless the liberating forces reach the productive regions at or before harvest time; no wine unless the landing is made in the south. Most if not all

### Down with Badoglio!

The anti-Fascist militants who still live in an atmosphere of battle in northern Italy cannot forget that Badoglio was the general of the Ethiopian campaign, the attack on France, and the ruinous acquiescence in the German occupation in September, 1943. Although today the Allies consider him the most suitable collaborator, and the anti-Fascist parties, who cannot estrange themselves from what goes on in Italy, agree to work with him, militant patriots who offer their lives for their country cannot forget his misdeeds.—From a Milan dispatch in the Swiss paper Libera Stampa.

of the livestock has already been seized by the enemy. There will be no fats, oil, or soap. Transportation will be hopelessly disorganized.

It is clear, therefore, that the food requirements of large percentage of the population will have to be brought in from abroad. What will this mean? Suppose for the moment that food from outside will be needed for only one-seventh of the population. Even that would call for a million tons a month, the cargo of a hundred Liberty ships. Powerful Allied organizations will help, to be sure. The U. N. R. R. A. has been set up for the purpose. The Allies are building up stockpiles of food. A French minister, M. Monnet, has been assigned to work in the United States with American officials. But the U. N. R. R. A. will not establish itself in any area until the Allied army holds the upper hand there. And if the Germans put up a desperate resistance on our soil or at the frontier, ships needed to bring in civilian supplies will be diverted to military demands. Allied trucks moving from the ports to the interior will carry ammunition, not bread.

The Algiers committee, therefore, wishes to have its own stockpiles and shipping with which to supply the French people. It wants to form stockpiles as near as possible to France-in Corsica, Algeria, England-and to acquire ships, however small their tonnage, which will be able to make frequent trips along the French coast carrying food, clothing, and medical supplies. Efforts in this direction have thus far had little success. The committee has been able to build up some reserves of fats in Senegal, of olive oil in Tunisia, of sugar in Réunion. But it has no ships. For those which slipped out of German-held France or were seized by the Allies in Allied ports or North Africa have been placed in an inter-Allied pool and are carrying munitions to Italy or troops to Great Britain. Even the little wheat reserve built up by the French in Algeria for aid to France was sent to Italy to feed the starving civilians there.

The French people inside France who consider the Algiers government their government expect it to look

out for them. If the National Committee accepts this responsibility, it must have the material means of fulfilling its obligations. We have seen that the scant resources of the National Committee, as in the case of the merchant marine and the wheat stock, may be diverted to military needs in the common interest of the United Nations. France will need much help from the Allies, but what it receives will have been partially paid for in advance by the diversion of the French fleet and of French colonial products.

Aid to France should not be administered for any long period by the Allied armies or the U. N. R. R. A. The French merchant marine should be assigned the task of transporting foodstuffs; the colonies and overseas France should grow what cannot be raised at home. Allied aid must be immediate, but it need be only temporary.

[In a second article M. Moch will discuss the problems of employment and industrial reconstruction that the French government will face.]

# Poland's Frontier Claims

BY JERZY NEYMAN

SINCE the dispute about the future Polish-Russian frontier is still in progress, Nation readers may be interested in some relevant documentary material taken from the "Statistical Yearbook" issued by the Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Poland. The map reproduced here is from the 1939 edition of the "Yearbook." It shows the sixteen administrative districts, or voievodships, into which Poland was divided. The figures on the map give the percentage of the population of each district whose mother tongue was Polish as declared in the general census of 1931. Published by a Polish government agency before the war, these figures can hardly be suspected of

m is representing the situation in the interest of a foreign power. They may be presumed rather to exaggerate the number of Poles in the eastern and southern districts, since the non-Polish pop-



ulation there was notoriously subject to persecution and the admission that one's mother tongue was not Polish required a certain amount of courage. It will be seen that in the three districts in the southeastern corner of Poland the percentage of people speaking Polish at home is less than 50 per cent. In two others on the eastern border the percentages are only 16.6 and 14.5.

On the other hand, in the districts adjoining Germany, including the "corridor," the density of Polish-speaking people is very high. The percentages are the more remarkable because the pro-German policy of the government at that time relieved the German inhabitants of any compulsion to pose as Poles.

Cultural affiliations are frequently mentioned in the dispute over the eastern provinces, and I believe that the cultural unity or lack of unity of border provinces is a valid argument for territorial adjustments between neighboring countries. No cultural ties exist between the Poles and the inhabitants of the eastern border region of pre-war Poland. Moreover, no serious efforts were ever made by the government to develop such ties. On the contrary, the eastern provinces were treated largely as colonies; schools were few and unsatisfactory, and no improvement of living conditions was attempted. This policy resulted in appalling illiteracy among the population, in poverty and filth in the villages, revolts and assassinations in the cities.

One must conclude that Polish claims in the west are better justified than those in the east.

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ALL newspapers in the Königsberg district carried on April 20 the following announcement by the head of the criminal police (Kriminal policeitstelle):

It has been repeatedly noticed of late that people who want to go into hiding temporarily or indefinitely find asylum in private homes and thus evade police control. Tenants of private apartments who furnish lodgings to strangers without immediately registering them with the police as required by the Reich Registration Act incur the risk of severe punishment, since persons who do not wish to be registered are often criminals wanted by the police. Tenants found guilty of an offense against the above act will moreover be subjected to permanent police supervision.

This column has frequently spoken of the growing number of Germans who "disappear" and afterward live in hiding, officially non-existent and hence without official income or ration cards. The warning by the Königsberg police is one more sign that a *maquis* flourishes also in Germany.

To a greater or less degree all countries at war are acquainted with the phenomenon of black markets for certain commodities. Germany even has a black market

now in services. This has arisen as a result of the attempt of the Nazi authorities to ration the work of the few artisans who are left. Direct contracting between artisans and the public is being forbidden in one city after another. People who want any kind of repairs made must apply to an official agency, which will investigate their necessity and then give out the job. In consequence mechanics are taking black-market work in their free time-especially after air raids. It is reported that they do not charge more money for this forbidden and risky work but ask instead to be paid in goods. The customary rates for certain jobs are given in the Stockholm Arbetaren for April 15. For repairing a roof, for example, the charge is a dozen eggs or a pound of butter; for putting new glass in a window, two pounds of meat or twenty cigarettes; for repairing a slightly damaged wall, one medium-sized sausage.

Private housekeeping is dying out in Germany and is being replaced by communal meals. A dispatch from Berlin published in the Swedish paper Vestmanlands Laens Tidning of April 28 says that at least 26,000,000 people eat their principal meal or all their meals in some 25,000 communal dining-halls, camp kitchens, factory canteens, and the like. They have to give ration points for these meals, but they are spared the immense difficulties and loss of time connected with marketing.

Yet the public kitchens themselves do not always function smoothly. The failure of the potato crop, in particular, was a calamity for them as for private housekeepers. In the late summer of 1943 these kitchens, like every family in the country, were asked to lay in a supply of potatoes which, reckoned very exactly, so many per person, would last until April 30, 1944. During the winter, however, the shortage was discovered to be much greater than had been anticipated, and a new decree declared that stocks must be made to last three months longer, until July 31. The public kitchens have addressed earnest appeals to the authorities for a supplementary allotment, but the Reich Food Ministry recently refused once and for all to grant them any relief. The Völkischer Beobachter for April 24 commented on this decision as follows: "Those who have prematurely consumed the potatoes allotted to them have no claim to new supplies. The decree, therefore, denies all applications made by communal kitchens, factory canteens, and the like." An ingenious way out of the difficulty-for the kitchens-was suggested. "We have been informed," the Beobachter said, that "the arrangement by which employees bring their own potatoes to factory canteens has worked out very well." In other words, the unhappy individual is again asked to shoulder the burden. The public kitchens were organized to relieve people of marketing cares. Now the kitchens say, "You get the food and we will cook it for you."

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Great Books and Scientific Method

PAIDEIA: THE IDEALS OF GREEK CULTURE. Volumes II and III. By Werner Jaeger. Translated by Gilbert Highet. Oxford University Press. \$3.75 Each; Three Volumes, \$10.

S A manifestation of post-war planning, educational controversy at the moment is at a peak of intensity which has not been equaled since the years following World War I. Since this controversy often takes the form of a dog fight between the partisans of the Great Books and the partisans of Scientific Method, it is valuable to have an authoritative account of the educational enterprise of the Greeks, who both invented Scientific Method and wrote . good share of the Great Books. They were also the people who, as Professor Jaeger argues, most persistently related all of their activities, from the moment when they began to be articulate, to the central aim of creating a higher type of human nature. This aim, inadequately expressed either by our word education or by our word culture, or by the two in combination, gave content to the term paideia. Its original meaning of child-rearing was expanded to designate the whole effort to shape the life of man, individual and social, from eugenic selection and pre-natal care to the guidance of the adult by politics, art, and religion; and it was conceived as the responsibility not of a few professional educators but of the entire community.

There is a recurrent disposition, shown particularly today by some of the proponents of the Great Books, to take the ideas of the Greeks as timeless verities which can be studied outside of their historical context. Although this approach is not without a measure of justification as a reaction against that type of historicism which is concerned with the conditions under which ideas occur, to the exclusion of questions of their truth or falsity and hence of their application, such is not Jaeger's procedure. If the Greeks sought an educational ideal that would be universally valid, this was not in fact, he insists, "an empty abstract pattern, existing outside time and space. It was the living ideal which had grown up in the very soil of Greece, and changed with the changing fortunes of the race, assimilating every stage of its historical development." The historical approach can be, and too often has been in our educational institutions during the past century, a vast quicksand which swallows up the very urge of paideia itself—the urge to turn all knowledge to the delight and ennoblement of man. But before ideas can be applied they must be understood, and this can occur only with some perception of the problems they were intended to solve and of their consequences in action. It would seem to follow for our own educational effort that the historical approach is neither something to be avoided nor a resting place, but something to be worked through. In practice, this might mean that our students would profit less from the inclusion in the curriculum of twenty Greek classics than from reading seventeen of them together with three volumes like those of Jaeger's, or ten classics plus "Paideia" plus seven books, not all of them necessarily destined for immortality, about analogous problems of our own culture. The students would then be better fitted, and perhaps also more eager, to go on and read the remaining classics for themselves.

The first volume of "Paideia," which appeared in German in 1933 and in Gilbert Highet's excellent translation six years later, traced the development of Greek education to the end of the fifth century. During this period it was largely the poets who were the acknowledged educators of mankind, and Solon and a few others were its legislators as well. The aristocratic ethos found its first clear image in Homer, and its first great critic in Hesiod, who with his advocacy of social justice played something of the same role for the Greek moral consciousness as the prophets for the Hebraic. With Tyrtaeus and Solon, Sparta and Athens began to define their respective national ideals. If such poets as Pindar and Theognis were reactionaries yearning for the restoration of aristocratic society, they succeeded in educating the new middle classes in some of the heroic virtues. It was the Ionian and Aeolian poets, and later Euripides, who gave expression to the rising individualism and made the Greeks aware of the nuances of personal emotion and the inner life. Aeschylus adapted myth to the presentation of the religious, ethical, and social preoccupations of the Periclean Age, and Sophocles turned it to the acquisition of self-knowledge. With Aristophanes the comic mask expressed an educational energy which turned its searchlight of criticism on matters topical and perennial.

Volumes II and III deal with the maturity of Greek educational thought in the age of Plato, and bring Jaeger's project to a conclusion, since he holds that the fundamental ideas had all been stated by this time, and that the Hellenistic age, of which he conceives Aristotle to have been the chief spokesman, did little more than elaborate tendencies already at work, and showed a decline in the intensity of the ideals themselves. Even before the fourth century the Sophists and Thucydides had attempted to develop the insights of the poets into a theory of paideia. From then on the ideals of Greek culture were articulated chiefly by prose writers—the philosophers, scientists, and rhetoricians.

Although the Sophists first spread the idea that virtue should be founded on knowledge, Socrates and his followers insisted that the core of this knowledge should be ethical wisdom, and that "care of the soul"—which Socrates understood primarily in humanistic rather than supernatural terms—was the most important business in life. In commenting on the two chief schools of thought about Socrates, Jaeger supports the moderate thesis that Socrates was neither a mere speculative philosopher nor a mere hero of the moral life, but that his person "united the contradictions which even then or soon after his death fell apart." These com-

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ponents of the Socratic paideia continued, however, to be held in solution by Plato, who not only founded the first university and made the first plea for state-supported education in Athens but wrote his dialogues in pedagogical form and devoted his two greatest works, the "Republic" and the "Laws," to the development of an educational system. The "Laws," the work of Plato's old age, tried to construct in detail a life-long educational program for every member of the community, while it reserved the more exacting training for an aristocracy of ability.

Although the larger part of the new volumes is devoted to an exposition of Plato, Jaeger also treats fully the rhetoricians Isocrates and Demosthenes, who as the first great publicists took as their aim the political education of the adult community, and he includes a study of Greek medicine, which was the first science to use precise methods of empirical observation and which, in accordance with the Greek emphasis on the harmony of soul and body, was conceived not as an esoteric specialty but as a part of general culture, prescribing for the individual a regimen that was preventive as well as curative. Particularly valuable is Jaeger's discussion of his thesis that the physicians' conception of a single "form" of disease underlying the multiplicity of symptoms was a shaping influence on the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, and of equal importance with mathematics as a key to the understanding of that doctrine.

Jaeger is committed to writing "objective" history in one of the better senses of that term, and he does not, like many classical scholars, draw easy and oversimplified parallels between ancient times and our own. Yet the problems of the Greek city-states in the fourth century have so many points of contact with those of our civilization today that more than an antiquarian interest attaches to his treatment of the struggle between Athenian democracy and Spartan totalitarianism—where he argues that the "Spartanizing" tendencies of Plato have been vastly exaggerated by his interpreters—and of the failure of the Greek educational effort to meet the demands of democracy and internationalism.

The scope of "Paideia" is so wide that criticism of it for incompleteness may seem ungrateful. Yet it does neglect some important factors in the development of Greek ideals about which we should like to be informed. Greek literature is examined almost entirely for the ideas it contains, and for its moral meanings in a narrow, if not the narrowest, sense. There is almost no discussion of its aesthetic qualities, or of the cultural influence of the non-literary arts. Although more space is devoted to the scientists than one customarily expects from a humanistic scholar, Plato's proclamation of the ideal of formal or deductive science in Book VI of the "Republic" is treated superficially, and the "critical" dialogues in which he developed his methodology and his theories of knowledge and reality are ignored entirely. Such matters were considered by Plato to be absolutely central to his educational program; they had a profound influence on the world view of the Renaissance; and, as Whitehead among others has argued, they have come to full fruition only in the logical and metaphysical researches of our own time. The political aspects of Greek paideia are treated in much closer connection with economic and



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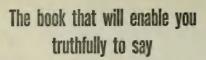
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social factors in the first volume than in the subsequent ones. But all these are points on which Jaeger can be supplemented by other writers, and they will not prevent "Paideia" from standing with such works as Zimmen's "Greek Comonowealth," Murray's "Five Stages of Greek Religion," and Bowra's "Greek Lyric Poetry" among the books which most successfully make Greek life and thought accessible to moderns.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

### Twice-Told Tales

TELL THE FOLKS BACK HOME. By Senator James M. Mead. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$3.

THEN THERE WAS ONE: THE U.S.S. ENTERPRISE AND THE FIRST YEAR OF WAR. By Eugene Burns. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

THIS reviewer knows an able war correspondent who returned from the front and rejected offers to write a war book on the ground that he didn't have anything much to say that hadn't already been said. He is a rare character. The fact is that there is a spate of overlapping war books which must be as tedious to the public as to the reviewers. Much good white paper could be saved if war authors read one another's works or if publishers were vigilant editors. Many of the current war books might turn out to make good Talk of the Town pieces for the New Yorker.

It is regrettable to have to cite as a prize example of repetition Senator Mead's account of his trip around the world's battlefronts with four other Senators. Surely he must have learned more on that journey than he tells in the book, for he could have learned almost everything he tells by staying home and reading books written previously. For instance, it is galling to come once again across the crack which the Aussie made to the Yank about his being a fugitive from Pearl Harbor; this was mildly amusing when John Lardner recounted it more than a year ago, but the mirth has long since been drained out by subsequent retelling. It is wearisome, too, to learn again that the Arabs smell bad; to be told how funny it is to have two Mondays when crossing the international date line; or how odd the New Guinea natives look after chewing betel nuts. Senator Mead even follows the Gunther-Reynolds tradition of telling what he ate here and there around the world-information of little interest to any stomach but his own.

To be sure, there are patches in Senator Mead's book which contain fresh, interesting information—notably his vivid account of the fam'ne conditions in Calcutta. On the whole, however, his work can be recommended most enthusiastically to those who have read no other war book, and then only if the prospective readers don't mind the Senator's style of dictation, which betrays his fondness for Time.

In "Then There Was One," Eugene Burns has written an able, if not very distinguished, history of the aircraft carrier Enterprise from Pearl Harbor through Midway and the Solomons up to June, 1943. This particular kind of reporting job has not been done before. Nevertheless, it just Mr. Burns's hard luck that the public already has heard about aircraft carriers in "Queen of the Flattops," "Torpedo 8," and sections of several other works.

The two books here mentioned just happen to furnish the text for this crotchety sermon. There are all too many which are worse. Would it be too much to hope that publishers gradually will become more hesitant about printing war books unless they contain a generous amount of new information or a fresh interpretation of human behavior in the midst of cataclysm? MARCUS DUFFIELD

# Our Foreign Policy

A MODERN FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. By Joseph Jones, The Macmillan Company. \$1.35.

HIS book, consisting of three articles from Fortune and a brief postscript, reviews the well-known weaknesses of the United States State Department and emphasizes the urgency of reforms. America must accept more responsibility, says Mr. Jones, for the world's peace and prosperity. To this end, he continues, "it is imperative that we develop a new responsibility in the conduct of 'foreign affairs' (a) of the Executive toward the Congress and the people, (b) of the Congress toward the Executive and the people, (c) of the people toward the Congress and the Executive, and (d) of this government toward foreign governments."

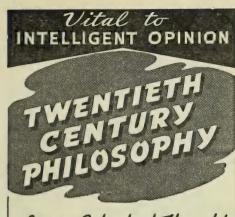
Mr. Jones, unfortunately, seems more excited about a and d than about b and c. The latter are fully as important. And it is especially imperative now that the Administration's opponents, in Congress and on the campaign rostrums, accept their share of responsibility. The doubletalk of the men now most prominent in the Republican Party is even more shocking than the failures of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull.

Quite rightly, Mr. Jones observes that "as national sovereignty crumbles, vast areas of national affairs automatically become international affairs." He seems more impatient, however, with those leaders who have shown some awareness of this than with those who have shown virtually none. VOLTA TORREY

# The Elizabethan View

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD PICTURE. By E. M. W. Tillyard. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

THE commonplace notions and basic assumptions of an age, those elements which determine the form of literature as well as of a society, are difficult to isolate since they are seldom explicitly stated in writing that endures. Dr. Tillyard's method is to examine the ordinary beliefs forming the Elizabethan's world picture. Through an analysis of the manifold relationships between the various components of the Elizabethan "chain of being," from God and the celestial orders to the natural forces, man, and the animal and plant worlds, and through an exposition of the complex correspondences, physical, ethical, philosophical, deriving from them, Dr. Tillyard finds that the Elizabethan notion of the cosmos was still solidly theocentric. It was a simplified version of the hierarchical order of the Middle Ages. Although the main outline of the medieval pattern still held firm, the details underwent an "agile transition



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from abstract to concrete, from ideal to real, from sacred to profane" which made them capable of a freely imaginative and metaphoxical treatment. Thus within the frame of the undisputed fundamental pattern all the intensities and extremes of contemporary thought and feeling could be meaningfully expressed.

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H. P. LAZARUS

## Fiction in Review

AFTER finishing Anna Seghers's new novel, "Transit" (Little, Brown, \$2.50), I thought I had better read "The Seventh Cross," Miss Seghers's previous novel which was so well received when it appeared in 1942. It seemed to me impossible that a book of the quality of "Transit" could have followed a book worthy of the critical acclaim that greeted the earlier novel. Either Miss Seghers's abilities had considerably diminished between books or "The Seventh Cross" had been considerably misjudged.

But it turns out that neither of these conjectures was entirely correct; or rather that both are in some part correct. "The Seventh Cross" is certainly a better book than "Transit"; yet the connection between them is not too remote. And "The Seventh Cross" was, I think, overpraised, but not un-understandably; perhaps I too would have been more impressed by it if I had read it before instead of after "Transit."

With "Transit" in mind, however, Miss Seghers's earlier novel strikes me as one of those novels which flowered because the soil in which it was planted was so richly prepared. We all like nothing better than to witness a defeat of Nazism, and Miss Seghers's intensely dramatic narrative of an escape from a concentration camp excited all our ready and strong emotions. Because in his flight the hero of "The Seventh Cross" moves through a varied landscape and touches many people's lives, we were quick to translate what is only a varied experience of suspense into a deep and various human experience. Because Miss Seghers's courageous hero pits himself alone against large hostile forces, we accepted the illusion that the author was herself grappling with large literary materials. But actually "The Seventh Cross" is only an adventure story on an unusually high level. and it occurs to me that if we were to change the political allegiance of its hero-as, say, in the movie "The Invaders" -the story would be equally exciting, although there would then be no temptation to read into it artistic significances beyond those it really achieves. What I mean is that from literary point of view "The Seventh Cross" very much trades on the advantage of our political sympathies.

Of course this is no a priori fault in a novel; it is simply something we must take into account in judging it. And

similarly we must take into account the possible disadvantage of writing to an already prepared audience. In "Transit" Miss Seghers suffers from being out of line with our established feelings. She is writing about refugees; and precisely in the degree that we have strong emotions against Nazism, most of us have strong emotions of sympathy toward the people whom Nazism has made homeless wanderers. But Miss Seghers deals with refugees so unsympathetically that at least one reader's sentiments were deeply violated.

Technically, "Transit" is even more skilful than "The Seventh Cross," if only because it is more closely knit. It is the story of a young man-the narrator-who escapes from French labor camp before the German occupation and makes his way to Paris and then to Marseilles. In Paris he accidentally comes into possession of the papers of a German writer named Weidel, who has committed suicide, and in Marseilles he falls in love with Weidel's beautiful wife. Like all the refugees crowding Marseilles, Mme Weidel and the doctor-lover with whom she is traveling are caught in the terrible maze of transit visas, exit visas, and steamship accommodations, and it develops that the narrator, by using his false identity, can expedite Mme Weidel's departure. But he is infatuated with her and wants to keep her near him. Since he doesn't learn until very near the close of the book what the reader has guessed all alongthat although Mme Weidel has been estranged from her husband, she still loves him-he feels no scruples about encouraging the delaying action which Mme Weidel is herself playing against the moment when she must depart with the doctor. Although the woman he is supposed to love roams the streets and cafes frantically searching for her husband, the narrator never confesses to her that Weidel is really dead and that it is only his own use of Weidel's papers that has spread the report that Weidel is in Marseilles. And even at the end, when he has learned that she still loves her husband, he lets her leave believing that she is about to be reunited with her husband on board ship.

This is the plot of Miss Seghers's new book, and to me it is a cruel joke of m plot. And if "Transit" is more than its plot, I fail to recognize it—unless, indeed, the "more" is the embroidery of scenes among Miss Seghers's subsidiary characters. The subsidiary characters are the refugees whom the narrator meets daily in the cafes and consulates and steamship offices; I can only describe the author's treatment of them as something between ironic superiority and a sneer. The narrator himself, it is pointed out, has no desire to get out of the country. His willingness to remain in France is given no political purpose, but it is shown to be a kind of affirmation of life in contrast to which the effort at departure of the other refugees is m weakness or a negation. This is m new and unpleasant slant on the people who fled Europe.

I have said that the connection between Miss Seghers's first and second novels is not too remote. It must be traced, I think, through Miss Seghers's political point of view. In "The Seventh Cross" the author frankly expresses her Communist sympathies, but although "Transit" has no such open political bias, it is profoundly rooted in a Communist philosophy of means justifying ends. The "end" in "Transit" is no longer political, it is personal; the hero, however, pur-

sues his love, as he would no doubt pursue his political objective, with ruthlessness, cunning, and small regard for truth-and this despite the fact that his author thinks of him as a good person. Miss Seghers's novel, in other words, can be read as a rather frightening statement of the outcome, in personal morality, of a political morality which never stops to question the methods it employs.

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# IN BRIEF

THE BLACKBOOK OF POLISH
JEWRY. Edited by Jacob Apenszlak.
Roy Publishers. \$3.

The first and longer part of this book is "an account of the martyrdom of Polish Jewry under the Nazi occupation," based chiefly on material smuggled out of Poland. Here is the appalling story of a community which comprised threeand-a-quarter million souls in September, 1939, and had been reduced through starvation, epidemics, and wholesale slaughter to less than a third of that number by the end of 1943. Yet the remnants of Polish Jewry continue to fight the invaders. The second part deals with the thousand-year history of Polish Jewry, and its numerous contributions to learning and art. The book is illustrated with striking photographs and reproductions of documentary evidence of Nazi atrocities.

THE STORY OF PAINTING: FROM CAVE PICTURES TO MODERN ART. By Thomas Craven. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

The title of this book is a misnomer. for it is concerned only with Western painting. Mr. Craven writes less brazenly than usual. Something has taken the wind and vinegar out of him, and he seems to be addressing himself to children. All the standard facts and interpretations are here, with now and then some egregious error, such as the statement that Leonardo "invented chiaroscuro." Mr. Craven credits Burchfield, Curry, Grant Wood, Marsh, and Benton with being "leaders of the most important art movement thus far produced in America." He also says that Seurat, Renoir, and Cézanne utilized the discoveries of Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro, when the opposite would be much closer to the truth.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Clifford L. Lord and Elizabeth Lord. Henry Holt. \$3.

The Lords' comprehensive collection of maps is not intended as a work of reference but rather as a collateral text, requiring only the application of a fair degree of imagination to make it serve as a striking graphic illumination of the country's history. The distribution of natural resources, population, geographical advantages, etc., as demonstrated through these maps, throws a strong light on the nature of our sec-

tional differences and on the origins of such major crises as the War Between the States.

JEFFERSON AND THE PRESS. By Frank L. Mott. Louisiana State University Press, \$1.

In an interesting little monograph Dr. Mott here restores Jefferson's remarks on the press and its freedom to their context. Jefferson has sometimes been quoted against himself by those who have seized on sentences in isolation from their place in his correspondence and in the political developments of his time. This book should leave no doubt that Jefferson was an earnest and ardent champion of a free press.

# ART

MIRO belongs among the living masters. He is the one new figure since the last war to have contributed importantly to the great painting tradition of our day-that which runs from Cézanne through fauvism and cubism. During the last ten years his work has maintained a very high level with a consistency neither Picasso nor Mondrian has equaled. The adjectives usually applied to Miró's art are "amusing," "playful," and so forth. But they are not quite fair. Painting as great as his transcends and fuses every particular emotion; it is as heroic or tragic as it is comic. Certainly there is a mood specific to it, a playfulness which evinces the fact that Miró is comparatively happy within the limitations of his medium, that he realizes himself completely within its dominion. But the effort he must exert to condense his sensations into pictures produces an effect to which playfulness itself is only a means. This is "pure painting" if there ever was any, conceived in terms of paint, thought through and realized in no other terms. That Miro's imagination is ignited by its contact with the anatomy of sex takes nothing away from the purity. In Picasso, who is indeed a more profound artist, we can sense 1 dissatisfaction with the resources of his medium; something beyond painting yearns to be expressed, something which color and line laid on a flat surface can never quite achieve. Miró, on the contrary, seeks the quintessential painting, is content to stay at the center of that exhilaration which is only felt in making marks and signs.

Picasso is more ambitious, more

Promethean; he tries to reconcile great contradictions, to bend, mold, and lock forms into each other, to annihilate negative space by filling it with dense matter, and to make the undeniable twodimensionality of the canvas voluminous and heavy. Miró is satisfied simply to punctuate, inclose, and interpret the cheerful emptiness of the plane surface. Never has there been painting which stayed more strictly within the two dimensions, yet created so much variety and excitement of surface. With an exuberance like Klee's. Miró tries other textures besides canvas and paper-burlap, celotex, sandpaper-a kind of experimentation Picasso usually finds irrelevant to his concerns. Picasso piles pigment on the surface; Miró sinks it in. Yet despite the restricted scope of his ambition, one or two of the large canvases which Miró executed around 1933 are in my opinion more powerful demonstrations-because more spontaneous and inevitable-than Picasso's Guernica mural. And Miró's smaller pictures frequently during the last five or six years before the war manifested greater conciseness and lucidity than anything produced by Picasso during the same period, except for his drawings and the "Femme endormie" of 1935, the "Femme assise au fauteuil." and the "Girl with Rooster" of 1938.

The present Miró exhibition (at the Matisse Gallery, through June 3) contains paintings done between 1934 and 1939, with one oil dating from 1927. Most of this work has not been seen in New York before, and it confirms, if it does not raise, Miró's standing.

André Masson has been an ambitious painter from the beginning, one who accepts and tries to solve the most difficult problems proposed by art in this age. Very little he has done is without interest; yet little so far seems capable of lasting. There is some lack in Masson of touch or "feel"-a lack dangerous to an artist who relies, or professes to rely. so much on automatism or pure spontaneity. A line either too Spencerian or too splintery weakens his drawings; an insistence upon multiplying and complicating planes, while combining two such color gamuts as violet-blue-greenyellow and brown-mauve-red-orange, renders his painting turgid, overheated, and discordant. Energy is dissipated in all directions.

Masson strains after that same terribilità which haunts Picasso, is obsessed by a similar nostalgia for the monstrous, the epically brutal, and the blasphe-

mous. But being nostalgia, it has something too literary about it-too many gestures and too much forcing of color, texture, and symbol. The latest showing of Masson's oils and drawings (at the Rosenberg and Buchholz Galleries respectively, through May 20) does reveal a small advance, especially in two recent oils, "Pasiphae" and "Histoire de Thésée." In the first, black-brown, a dull red, and a mouldy yellow-green are unified into a whole that is cooler and more clarified than any of its parts, with a surface which is alive but not restless. In the second, happily, almost everything except calligraphic line is eliminated. Self-control, elimination, and simplification would seem to be the solution for Masson. But not as these operations are exemplified by two paintings in a new style, which permit thin, curling lines to describe figures over diluted lavenders, mauves, pinks, and greens, arriving at a kind of fermented-sweet decoration. This is impoverishment, not simplification. But even here, possibilities can be glimpsed of better things. There is a chance Masson will surprise us all some day.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

# FILMS

ASLIGHT," Metro-Goldwyn-TMayer's production of "Angel Street," is very handsome, generally well acted, especially by Ingrid Bergman, and in most respects a pleasure to see. It is the story, as you probably know, of a man (Charles Boyer) who tries to drive his wife out of her mind. Some of it is fascinating in its demonstrations of pure psychological skill and of the mutual progressions of deceit and pain; it even suggests with what tragic exquisiteness and biological absoluteness the torturer and the tortured are liable to be made for each other. Morally, however, it smells bad to methough I realize that that may only be, in the language of the pure in heart, my own upper lip. I feel that my own unconscious resources of cruelty are too shrewdly titillated by it, that there is not sufficiently deep understanding or illumination of the subject matter, or any rebuke. Confused about this, I can only report my confusion; but I mistrust the film as I do Ivan Albright's horribly meticulous paintings of wrecked fleshbecause of a feeling that the artist, and his admirers, not being mature enough for the subject, have dishonored it and made it immature. JAMES AGEE

## MUSIC

HERE are a large number of concerts and broadcasts to comment on, the first of which that comes to mind is Leonard Bernstein's concert with the New York Philharmonic. It is natural to begin by looking at a conductor as he conducts; but I find that Bernstein's movements are something I don't like to look at. However, a conductor has a right to do what he wants to achieve his results; and a critic's proper concern is solely with those results. One of Bernstein's mannerisms-his exaggerated, sharp upbeat-might lead one to expect tense and nervous performances; actually the performances of Mozart's "Figaro" Overture and Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony at that Philharmonic concert were all suavity and grace and unstraining brilliance. But then came a performance of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" which was full of violently and hectically discontinuous shifts from slow tempos that were excessively slow to fast ones that were excessively fast, and the other way around. As for Bernstein's symphony "Jeremiah," which he conducted at the concert, it gave me the impression of a facility in pouring forth sounds that proceed from nothing more than this facility. Since then there has been his score for the ballet "Fancy Free," which several hearings have convinced me is atrocious not only as music but as ballet music, because of the way it competes with the choreography for attention.

One of the memories I treasure is of a marvelously light and winged and radiant performance of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto by Toscanini and the New York Philharmonic, with Corigliano playing the solo part with delicacy and purity of style. Toscanini's recent performance of the work at his final General Motors broadcast had the great Heifetz playing with pretentiously mannered and sentimentally distorted phrasing; and someone I know who plays the violin exclaimed: "He exaggerated his staccatos to the point where they didn't have any musical sound!" People have found it difficult to understand how Toscanini could play some of the music he has played; I have found it more difficult to understand how a man who is himself a performing artist with a passion for plastic perfection in phrasing, and who would explode in anger if a solo wind-player in his orchestra were to commit the slightest of

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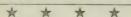
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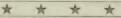
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the phraseological vulgarities committed by Heifetz-how such a man has come to have Heifetz with all his vulgarities as soloist in performances of concertos.

Then, curious to hear a performance that had been described to me as "simply fantastic," I listened to the New York Philharmonic broadcast at which Horowitz played the solo part of Rachmaninov's D minor Concerto. I might say first that my attitude toward the products of men like Rachmaninov and Ravel has changed. A couple of years ago, when I deplored Webster Aitken's devoting part of recital to Debussy's Etudes, on the ground that they were examples of mere Debussy piano style in a vacuum, I saw the force of Aitken's reply—that as a pianist he was obligated to play, among other things, what had been written to exploit the resources of his instrument. There were of course things like Chopin's Etudes-and indeed all of Chopin's music-which exploited the resources of the piano and in addition had expressive content that gave them value as music; and this was true also of Debussy's "Images." But Aitken's argument made me realize that some of the piano pieces of Ravel, which could not provide musical experiences of any value with the expressive or evocative power of their content, did provide exciting experiences of a different non-musical kind with the effectiveness of their exploitation of their medium. Or rather they did so when they were played in way that realized this effectiveness. The force of Aitken's reply was derived largely from the magnificence of Debussyan piano sound that he produced with those Etudes, the humor that he imparted to their play with the varieties of the Debussy piano style. In the same way Ravel's exploitation of the orchestra in "Daphnis and Chloë" is something to listen to when the piece is performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony. And Rachmaninov's D minor Concerto-with its piano part that is an exploitation not just of the piano but of the piano as Rachmaninov played it in his unique incisively rhythmic and dramatic style-was something to listen to when he was the solo pianist in the performance. But it proved not to be worth listening to when the piano part was played by Horowitz merely with phenomenal technical virtuosity, and with appalling sentimentality.

Aitken's feeling for his medium and his feeling for music were evident in the beautiful sound and superbly contoured phrasing of his playing in a per-

formance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.271 broadcast from WOXR. The conductor was Leon Barzin, who, whenever I have occasion to watch him work and hear the result, always impresses me with his complete technical competence and his first-rate musicianship. And that is interesting in connection with something else. When you try to find out why an Ormandy was engaged for the Philadelphia Orchestra (and why the only other man considered was Iturbi), why a Barbirolli was engaged for the New York Philharmonic, why a Rodzinski was engaged to succeed him, why a Defauw was engaged for the Chicago Symphony, and why in each case a Beecham was passed over, the answers invariably include the statement "And the directors wanted a young man who could grow with the orchestra as Stokowski did in Philadelphia." This is the consequence of having orchestras run by men with smart financial and legal minds but with an understanding of orchestral affairs which caused them to reason that since a young conductor named Stokowski produced the Philadelphia Orchestra, what they had to get was a young conductor-men who, in other words, did not understand that Stokowski produced the Philadelphia Orchestra not with his youth but with his competence, and that what they had to get was not a young conductor but a competent one. Not only that; but having decided to have only a young conductor these men engaged an Ormandy, Barbirolli, a Rodzinski, a Defauw, but in each case passed over the one young symphonic conductor-Barzinwith the technical competence and musicianship for the job.

B. H. HAGGIN

### CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE W. NORRIS, Senator from Nebraska from 1913 to 1943, is the father of the TVA.

ERIC ESTORICK is the author of "Stafford Cripps: Prophetic Rebel," and general editor of Duell, Sloan, and Pearce's British Commonwealth Series.

JULES MOCH was a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France. He is now a member of the Consultative Assembly in Algiers.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Kenyon College and managing editor of the Kenyon Review.

# Letters to the Editors

### It Won't Do

Dear Sirs: The radio address on Wednesday night, April 12, by the Honorable James F. Byrnes was one of the most terrifying symptoms of the bloody mess coming up that has appeared in many months. Looked at in another way, it was the best argument for communism that has been offered since Strachey's "The Nature of Capitalist Crisis." If Byrnes, the highest official of the government specifically designated to worry about the post-war economy, hasn't been able to think up anything better than federal aid to the states to deal with "nation-wide unemployment," it is clear that those who are trusting the government for brains and leadership are going to get their hands pierced by a broken reed.

Unemployment relief and WPA projects won't do, and to attempt to make them do is to ask for a very brutal awakening. Neither civilians nor soldiers are in a mood to be put off with empty phrases. It has been demonstrated that the technological and human resources of this country are capable, even while blowing two or three hundred million dollars' worth of effort a day on war, of turning out the goods for a decent living for everybody. That decent living we are going to get-or a good many heads are going to have to be broken to stop us. If the government cannot produce, we will get another government that can. We're not going to take unemployment, bread lines, Hoovervilles, and undernourished children. No better service could be done Brother Byrnes than to wake him up to that fact right now.

JOHN H. COLLINS Colonial Park, Va., April 13

### Citizenship for Indians

Dear Sirs: Bills have been introduced in both houses "to authorize the naturalization and the admission into the United States under a quota of Eastern Hemisphere Indians and descendants of Eastern Hemisphere Indians." The people of India do not ask for any special privilege or for unrestricted immigration. Every country of course has the right to have immigration laws and fix such quotas as it may see fit. But they do wish and ask that the stigma of inferiority be removed, as it has been in the case of the Chinese.

Under the Immigration Act of 1924 only tourists, students, visitors, etc., from India may enter the United States, and only as non-quota immigrants. The bill now under consideration would provide that about seventy-five nationals of India may enter the United States annually as immigrants, a number so small that it obviously would create no economic or social problem.

Also, according to the Nationality Act of 1940, nationals of India are ineligible to citizenship in the United States. This bill makes qualified nationals of India eligible. At present there are about 3,000 nationals of India in the United States.

People in India will watch anxiously the progress of these bills in Congress. Questions have been asked in the India Legislative Assembly in New Delhi about it. The Council of State (upper chamber) of the Government of India recently passed a resolution recommending that early steps be taken to obtain United States citizenship rights for the nationals of India.

One of the powerful weapons that Japan possessed in the psychological warfare against the United Nations was removed when the American Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, another when the Congress passed an amendment to make India a beneficiary of the U. N. R. R. A. Passage of this bill would be a staggering blow against Japanese propaganda, and for the cause of a democratic world order.

Readers of The Nation who agree with the purpose of the bills are asked to write to their Congressmen, to urge that they support the bills in Congress.

J. J. SINGH, President, India League of America

New York, April 28

### A Little of Both

Dear Sirs: In one and the same issue of The Nation (April 15, 1944) the state of Wisconsin is called (1) in an editorial, "the Bible Belt of isolationism." and (2) by I. F. Stone, "the home of progressive Republicanism." Now, I am wondering whether progressive Republicans are Biblical isolationists, or whether the doctors disagree as to the malady-or health-of Wisconsin. Per-



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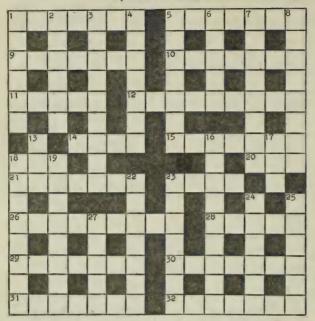
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# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 64

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 Feebly gave vent to the ghost of a caw, in the *Ingoldsby Legend*The right water-bottles for R.A.F.
- aces Legendary Rhine maiden
- landed many a sailor on the rocks
  10 Man and lion in a mix-up 11 The head of a mongoose is in the
- middle 12 Lake Superior is the largest one in
- this hemisphere (two words, 6 and 3) An obstruction confuses the nags
- Off to a bad start, but honest on the whole
- 18 Appears to be the right drink for father
- 20 He sounds a bright lad 21 Scent dogs will follow for miles
- Quite poetically
- Scaremongers perhaps, but they may be right at that This road tells you what you should
- do on it
- 29 One who casts the metal or gives the "brass"
- Some five thousand of them in the British Isles
- Issued to Chief Petty Officers in the Royal Navy (two words, 4 and 3)

### DOWN

- Apostate or saint Vegetable which might produce auto
- deterioration
  "The mother of good fortune"
- 4 Fish sometimes seen with its tail in its mouth

- 5 Snuff-just a pinch now and then Don't go to bed with this kind of
- candle
- 7 Artifices bridge players are not above resorting to 8 German soldiers-or disguised Eton
- lads, perhaps
- 13 Scotsman (pardon my French!) 16 Greek capital issue for Egyptian irrigation (two words, 4 and 5) 17 Look up a New York radio station
- to find the cause of the disturbance 18 Burning oil-the Air Force are
- partly responsible
  19 "Any ice up?" (anag.)
  22 "Far from mortal cares retreating, Sordid hopes and vain -
- (Taylor) 23 One must have a tree in this style
- 24 He's no saint
- 25 Flotsam's underwater partner
- 27 The reward is a letter in the middle of a repast

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 63

ACROSS:-1 KNEELING; 5 POTHER; 10 EYOTS; 11 WHOSOEVER; 12 IRON ORE; 13 CRILLON; 14 NICENE; 15 MANAGES: 18 ARSENIC; 21 SPACER; 24 CARIBOU; 26 MARINER; 27 DESULTORY; 28 AVAIL; 29 SPEARS: 80 IDLENESS

DOWN:-1 KEEP IN; 2 ECONOMICS: ILIS-SOME; 4 NOWHERE; 4 OXONIAN; 7 HOVEL; 8 RARENESS; 9 NONCOM; 16 GREENGAGE; 17 CASCADES; 19 NEBU-LAR; 20 CRUSOD; 21 SAMOYED; 22 AIR BASE; 23 FRILLS; 25 ROSIE.

haps you can enlighten me. It does seem as though the patient has been with us long enough for his case to be diagnosed S. G. MORLEY correctly. Berkeley, Cal., April 18.

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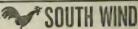
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LUME 158

NEW YORK: SATURDAY · MAY 27, 1944

NUMBER 22

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ished weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Assos, inc., 20 Vessy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, ember 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act farch 8, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 818 Kellogg Building.

# The Shape of Things

IN WARNING AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN THE guise of a "realistic" policy of post-war military alliances. Sumner Welles has sharply clarified the basic foreign policy issue now before the American people. Mr. Welles was profoundly right when he declared that isolationism is dead and that the choice facing us is between a true world organization and system of military alliances involving "the indefinite piling up of armaments and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism." His analysis of the danger of relying on force or a system of alliances to preserve peace was one of the most trenchant yet made by an important national figure. He pointed out that such alliances at best provide a "temporary and precarious balance of power," and that even while they exist the members will inevitably engage in jockeying for individual influence and selfish advantage—as they are, in fact, doing in the course of the war. This rivalry can only be held in check by an international organization strong enough to establish security on the basis of law and equity. The formation of such an organization cannot safely be postponed until some convenient time after the war. Basic decisions affecting the future of the world are being made every day-chiefly by the three great powers. If these decisions are to reflect anything more solid than the interests and rivalries of those powers, they should be worked out by the United Nations as a whole. Mr. Welles appeals for the immediate establishment of some kind of United Nations political council-a move we have long advocated.

V

THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT TO FIND THE way out of the Soviet-Polish impasse. In the course of the summer the Red Army will probably complete its reoccupation of the controversial eastern provinces and cross the Curzon Line into undisputed Polish territory. A dangerous situation will then arise if there is no Polish government in existence which enjoys both popular support in the country and good relations with the Soviet government. The Polish government in exile claims it commands the allegiance of the vast majority of Poles—a difficult matter to prove under present circumstances—but it certainly does not command the confidence of Moscow. Some commentators here profess to see in the

Russian demand for a friendly regime in Poland an insistence on a communist puppet government. The close relations between Moscow and the definitely non-communist Czechoslovakian government ought to dispel this idea. The Soviets have not made any pronouncement on the future social system of Poland. They have, not unreasonably, indicated that they will not tolerate a Poland dominated or influenced by elements who, to quote Walter Lippmann, "even before they are liberated from the Nazis conceive themselves as the spearpoint of a hostile coalition against the Soviet Union." Recently hostility to such elements has become manifest among the London exiles. Criticism of reactionary officers, brought to a head by revelations of anti-Semitism in the army, has resulted in a demand by the National Council that the commander in chief, General Sosnkowski, be divested of his appointment as successor to the presidency. Against this timid first step to check the militarists who surround President Raczkiewicz must be set the enforced resignation of Stefan Litauer, an able journalist who has worked for agreement with Russia, as chief press officer of the Polish Ministry of Information.

\*

SPRING HOUSE-CLEANING FOR GOVERNMENTS in exile is part of the preparation for D-Day. In Lebanon the conference of all Greek political parties and resistance groups called by Premier Panpandreou has signed a "national charter" as a basis for an inclusive coalition government. The unity program is believed to include the formation of a national army which will consolidate the regular forces with the various partisan contingents. This brings hope for an end of the internecine warfare which has so reduced the effectiveness of the Greek resistance. But plans may still be upset by the recalcitrance of the King, relying on British backing. In London the Yugoslav government is in the midst of one of its perennial crises. King Peter has made a gesture to Marshal Tito by announcing the dismissal of General Mihailovich as Minister of War, and is seeking to reorganize the Cabinet. It is reported that four men are under consideration as the new Premier, among them Dr. Ivan Subasich, former governor of Croatia. Dr. Subasich is one of the ablest leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party and from the beginning has been a strong supporter of Tito. But at the same time he retains a warm devotion to the royal family, and the fact that he has the approval of the British and American governments suggests he may have been brought forward to bolster up a shaky monarchy.

THE RESULTS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE of British Commonwealth prime ministers give hope to people distressed by recent signs of a return to power politics. Many feared that the conference itself was an attempt to forge an empire bloc to match the strength

of the "Soviet colossus" and the United States. As Pr fessor F. H. Underhill forecast in The Nation of May nothing of the sort has taken place. Accepting the lea ership of MacKenzie King of Canada, the conferen expressed its devotion to the Commonwealth in its exis ing form and refused to entertain proposals for a mo closely integrated empire. Mr. King, in a speech befothe British House of Commons, stressed the autonom and freedom of each of the British nations. Canada its relations with the United States provides "surely th supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fulle security and harmony with a powerful one." But the con ference went far beyond refusing to consider an empir bloc and insisting that each nation be free to direct i own foreign policy. Twice in a generation the Commor wealth nations have banded together to wage a commo war against aggression. Now they declare there must I set up "a world organization . . . to maintain peace an security . . . endowed with the necessary power an authority to prevent aggression and violence."

\*

IN THE PRE-WAR DECADE LATIN AMERICAL countries suffered from raw-material surpluses and a lac of foreign exchange to pay for imported manufactures Today they have a hungry war-time market for most c their raw materials and a large and growing surplus o dollars. They are prosperous, but as Mr. del Vayo show in his examination of Mexico's economic position or page 621, it is a feverish kind of prosperity. Speculator are flourishing, but inflation is impoverishing the masses There is an abundance of capital, but it is not possible t invest much of it in ways that will permanently increas the industrial equipment of the country. Obviously wit many lines of production restricted in this country it i not easy for Latin American countries to offset the mone receipts from their raw-material exports by importing consumer goods. And war priorities make machinery an other forms of capital goods almost equally hard to buy But it ought to have been possible to set up south of th border some of the war plants, redundant here when peace comes, which could have made a permanent con tribution to the industrialization of our neighbors. Fo instance, we might have permitted the export of copper fabricating machinery to Mexico and taken some part o the copper we are deriving from that country in the forr of shell cases. It is, of course, commonly argued that b assisting the industrialization of "backward" countrie we ruin the market for our own goods. This hoar fallacy ought never to be disinterred after the buria it received in the past week at the first Conference o Commissions of Inter-American Development. Again and again government speakers and business men alik stressed the point that the more other countries wer able to build up their wealth through industrialization the better customers they became.

THE DIES COMMITTEE'S UN-AMERICANISM eceived its third major jolt within a fortnight when Representative John M. Costello was defeated in the California Democratic primary by Hal Styles, a pro-New Deal radio commentator. The setback was as unexpected s the earlier defeat of Representative Starnes in Alaama and Martin Dies's own withdrawal before the pitter opposition within his constituency. The public's epudiation of Costello was the more significant since ne had sought to feather his political nest by violent ttacks on the West Coast Japanese American évacués. n these attacks he had the enthusiastic backing of core of California's super-patriotic organizations and of nost of the press. The unanticipated collapse of antiapanese racialism as an effective political weapon in California is particularly encouraging in view of the imilar failure of the white-supremacy issue in the Florida and Alabama primaries and the defeat of the Blease machine-campaigning on an anti-Negro, anti-New Deal platform—at the South Carolina Democratic convention. The results of recent elections have so badly rightened demagogues like Rankin of Mississippi and Hoffman of Michigan that they have launched violent ttacks against the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which they credit with responsibility for the elimination of Starnes, Dies, and Costello. However, the trend gainst reaction has appeared in such widely separated parts of the country under such diverse circumstances hat it can hardly be credited to any one agency.

X

THE RETTREMENT OF MARTIN DIES MAKES US vonder about the next stage of the fascinating career f his research director and chief informer, J. B. Mathews. All sorts of possibilities must present themselves Mr. Matthews's fertile mind. He could tie up with Gerald L. K. Smith or one of the other fascist tub-thumprs still at large. He could sell his considerable talents Henry Ford or to Sewell Avery. But a more imaginawe move would be back to the left. Just as Mr. latthews, through his long association with Commuist-fringe organizations, was able to initiate the Dies ommittee into the mysteries of transmission belts and nnocent fronts and splinter groups-and also to hand ver membership lists and letterheads—so today, through is years with Martin Dies, he must know all about the lans and purposes of the Extreme Right. Why not offer is services and this rich collection of fasciana to some aterprising labor organization or progressive political roup? The C. I. O. Political Action Committee, last najor victim of the Dies vendetta, might take on Mr. fatthews. How about it, gentlemen? Here we have one rst-class renegade, only slightly soiled, his coat lining most as good as new. He can be had, we'd say, for a odest sum—the traditional thirty pieces of silver, peraps. . . . What, no bids?

HIT BY GUNFIRE FROM A LOW-FLYING NAZI plane, the young Serbian patriot, Nicholas Mirkovich, has died in Yugoslavia. We record his death with intimate regret and admiration. For Mirkovich was one of the finest and most courageous among the liberal Yugoslav group in America. By profession an economist, he came to this country to serve in the Office of Economic Reconstruction as associate of the chairman, S. Kosanovich. He was also chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board and a member of the Economic Committee of the United Nations Information Office. He often contributed to The Nation and we turned to him for guidance in many problems connected with Balkan affairs. When the government-in-exile revealed its extreme reactionary tendencies, Mirkovich enlisted in the American army and asked to be sent to the Yugoslav front. Before he left this country he told his friends that for him the time had come to turn science and political theory into living realities. In an American contingent he fought side by side with Tito's Partisans. His death is a profound loss to his people and indeed to the democratic cause in the Balkan countries as whole; it can serve a purpose only if the world that emerges from the bitter struggle is the one for which he gave himself so freely and with such complete lack of self-concern.

# The Empty French Seat

THE great Allied invasion machine, we are told, is all tuned up and ready to be slipped into high gear whenever the word comes. But the political trailer which it must pull behind it is not yet fully loaded. Representatives of Norway, Belgium, and Holland are in their seats, each equipped with an agreement with the United States and Britain enabling them to get to work reconstituting the civil administration in their countries as soon as the military situation permits. But the place reserved for France remains empty, while somewhere in the rear the long wrangle continues about the terms on which the nominee of the French Committee of National Liberation is to be allowed to occupy it.

We noted in these pages two weeks ago that negotiations on this question had been interrupted by the difficulties which British security rules had placed in the way of communications between London and Algiers. It has since become known that this breach is rather less serious than it then appeared. General Koenig, the French representative, is continuing his talks with General Eisenhower, and apparently the British have allowed him to send some coded messages to General de Gaulle. But although it is some weeks since Mr. Hull said that the Anglo-American authorities were "disposed" to see the French Committee "exercise leadership" in freed

France and Mr. Eden declared that civic responsibility would rest on its shoulders, there have been no hints that a final agreement is near conclusion.

What is causing the hitch? We can be sure that the French Committee will not be disposed to accept an agreement any less favorable than those signed last week by the United States and Britain with the exile governments of Norway, Belgium, and Holland. The terms of these pacts have not been published, but it is understood that they closely resemble the occupation agreement between Russia and Czechoslovakia. This is a brief and uncomplicated document which gives the commander of the invading army supreme authority to the extent that military necessity dictates but provides for the reversion of the civil administration to the Czechoslovak government in any part of the liberated territory which ceases to be an actual war zone.

There is no reason to suppose that the French Committee would refuse to sign a similar agreement. The question is whether the United States and Britain are prepared to grant the committee recognition as a de facto provisional government, for that is what such an agreement would imply. Hitherto this recognition has been refused, usually on the ground that it would compromise the right of the French people to decide their own future. But the French Committee has prepared elaborate plans for holding elections and summoning a constitutional assembly as soon as the military situation permits. How long a period must elapse before these plans are put into effect obviously depends on the speed with which the Nazis are defeated. Meanwhile civil administration will have to be carried on in the liberated regions and preparations made for free elections, including the repatriation of millions of deportees.

There must be one authority to perform these tasks. Both the American and British governments are on record as denying any intention of dealing with Vichy, and this would seem to leave the field clear for the National Committee unless the State Department is hiding some other group up its sleeve. It is inconceivable, however, that any third group could have credentials which would carry any weight with the French people. Every refugee escaping from France brings evidence that it is to De Gaulle and the National Committee that the French people are looking for leadership. The latest proof of this fact is offered by Louis Marin, veteran conservative leader, who declared on arrival in London: "He [De Gaulle] is the only man the country will stand for as a constitutional leader, until normal conditions can be restored."

The rift between the French and the Western powers is growing in a dangerous manner. It can only be bridged by general and prompt recognition of the right of France to command its own destiny under leaders of its own choice and to have a full share in the resettlement of

Europe. We must stop harping on the miserable division which defeated France in 1940 and accord full weigh to the resilience of spirit that is showing itself in the heroism of the underground and on the Italian battle field. France is recovering its strength, and we should not take offense if that process is marked by sharp de mands for equality. For a strong and healthy France mus be the cornerstone of European reconstruction.

# Poll Tax—Second Round

THE anti-poll-tax bill, twice passed by overwhelming majorities in the House, has been blocked again in the Senate. Ostensibly the bill's passage was made impossible by the threat of a filibuster and by the unwillingness of the necessary two-thirds to impose cloture against this traditional minority weapon. Actually a majority of the Senate, pledged in writing to passage of the bill, used theoretical objections to cloture as a means of breaking their word. The abolition of the poll tax would work a revolution in the Senate, blasting from key positions the old reactionaries whom the Southern oligarchy returns to Washington year after year, and whom the rule of seniority elevates and maintains in the committee system.

The defeat of the anti-poll-tax bill in the Senate must be laid at the door of the Republican Party, which ir alliance with progressive Democrats could have forced cloture and prevented a filibuster. The party leadership chose instead to continue its covert comradeship with the Southern Democrats. Last year the latter betrayed their party by blocking the soldiers' vote bill. This year the Republicans returned the favor by betraying their party and blocking cloture, the one measure which could have saved the poll-tax bill. Governor Dewey might have forced Republican Senators to vote for cloture had his reply to Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. been specific and forthright instead of vague and disingenuous. Dewey said he had "always fought against the poll tax and every device to deprive free people of their votes." But many of the Southern Senators, including even Bilbo, declared themselves opposed to the poll tax. If one took their statements at face value, they were opposed only to abolition of the poll tax by federal legislation. This was the crucial question, and Dewey left it unanswered.

While Dewey was craftily evasive, his party's Senate leader, White of Maine, was openly hostile to the antipoll-tax bill. It was Senator White who bluntly interpreted the vote against cloture as a vote against the bill which it was. Had the Republicans made a party issue of the poll tax, few of the thirteen Northern and Western Democrats who voted against cloture would have dared to do so. As it was, a Northern Democrat like Walst of New Jersey could safely vote against cloture; his Re-

publican colleague, Hawkes, voted the same way. Most of the Northern Democratic votes against cloture came from the Mountain States of the Far West, often allied with the Southerners. In the South itself Lister Hill spoke against the anti-poll-tax bill. Thomas of Oklahoma, who was absent, was supposed to be paired for cloture. Only Pepper of Florida, not a poll-tax state, pleaded for cloture and for the bill.

Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. was fully justified in calling the performance in the Senate "a farce" and in deploring the "lackadaisical attitude" of the anti-poll-tax Senators. The White House felt that it could not get the anti-poll-tax bill through the Senate and put up no fight. At the last session the anti-poll-tax bill was introduced in the Senate by Pepper. This year, with bitter primary fight on his hands, he seemed only too ready to heed the Administration's request that he softpedal the campaign against the poll tax, and he did not again introduce the bill. The White House felt understandably reluctant to split the Democratic Party wide open on an issue it could not win. It is pleasant to note nevertheless that the majority leader, Barkley of Kentucky, acquitted himself most honorably in the final showdown in the Senate, and spoke with vigor and ability for the bill and cloture.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax is confident that despite this second defeat in the Senate the poll tax will ultimately be abolished. The Nation agrees. A major reform of this kind cannot be accomplished overnight. In a few short years the committee has made the country conscious of the poll-tax evil and of its national significance. That in itself is an accomplishment; the vote against cloture was a cowardly gesture, but that it was necessary is encouraging. For a majority of the Senate thereby indicated that public pressure against the poll tax has become so strong that they dared not risk a vote on the merits.

# China's Present Danger

A LTHOUGH fierce fighting is still reported from some sections of the Honan front, nothing is to be gained by hiding the fact that the Japanese have won a major victory in that area. The full extent of the military setback suffered by China is yet to be seen, but even if the Chinese at Loyang succeed in escaping the trap that the Japanese set for them, the defeat must still be regarded as the most serious suffered by China since the loss of Hankow in 1938. If the substantial Chinese armies still fighting in Honan are wiped out—a fate that is not unlikely—the Japanese would be in a position to launch a drive southward against Changsha with a view to opening direct railroad communications from Manchuria all the way to Canton, a distance of some 2,000

miles. A secondary drive up the Lunghai railroad to Sian and the province of Shensi would also be a distinct and dangerous possibility.

The gravity of the situation can best be appreciated if it is considered in the light of the announced United Nations strategy for the defeat of Japan. Admiral Nimitz has indicated that the goal of the present naval drive in the Pacific is the seizure of a port, presumably in the southern part of China, to provide adequate supplies for an all-out aerial bombardment of Japan's industrial centers. The Ledo road, the opening of which is the object of Stilwell's present successful campaign in Burma, would provide a supplementary flow of supplies. The first part of this plan obviously presumes United Nations control of the railway from Canton northward, for this is one route which could be used for transporting heavy equipment and supplies from the port to air bases in the north. A Japanese drive into Shensi would block the alternative overland route to North Central China via the Ledo road, Kunming, and Chungking. Furthermore, possession of the north-south Peking-Canton rail route and the east-west Lunghai railway would enable the Japanese to strengthen their Chinese defenses to such an extent that it might require years to drive them out.

Some Chinese have declared that the present crisis is a result of America's failure to send adequate supplies to China. That the problem is considerably more complex than this is indicated by the fact that some 500,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's best-trained and best-equipped troops have been immobilized within a hundred or so miles of the present conflict by their long-standing assignment of blockading the Chinese Communist armies. The American government can hardly be blamed for not sending more supplies to Chungking as long as a strong possibility exists that such supplies would be used, not against the Japanese, but to encourage a disastrous civil war. Nor is America's hesitancy in providing aid directly to Chiang Kai-shek likely to be lessened by statements recently made by prominent Chinese in this country to the effect that the Chinese Communists are "greater enemies than the Japanese."

Fortunately, the political situation within China has shown distinct signs of improvement within recent weeks. Statements such as those of Sun Fo acknowledging the justice of Western criticism of the anti-democratic tendencies within China are clearly straws in the wind. After months of vain pleading, the foreign correspondents in Chungking have at last been granted permission to visit Yenan, the capital of the Communist special district. And on top of this comes news that Lin Tso-han, chairman of the Communist administration, has arrived in Chungking to attempt to negotiate a settlement with Chiang Kai-shek. If an agreement could be reached, the

military picture would be changed overnight. For such an agreement would release not only the 500,000 first-line Kuomintang troops which have been enforcing the blockade but would make possible the arming and equipping of at least an equal number of soldiers attached to the Chinese Red Army who are stationed near the threatened area.

To date the United States government has followed a wait-and-see policy toward China's internal conflict. To some extent this would seem to be justified because of the threat of civil war. But it has had the effect of leaving China in the lurch militarily—and thus lengthening the war—while contributing nothing to the solution of China's problems. Democratic groups within China have been bitterly disillusioned by the negative

nature of our policy. They feel that China could easily be revitalized and united in the war against Japan if the United States would only throw its immense prestige in the direction of unity and democracy. Obviously, this cannot be accomplished as long as we hold aloof and refuse to give adequate aid. Assistance should be made available on as large a scale as possible, but it should be made contingent upon concrete assurances against civil war through a Kuomintang-Communist settlement and upon elimination of such policies as the recent attempt to exercise "thought control" over Chinese students abroad. The present visit of Vice-President Wallace to Chungking offers an excellent opportunity for some plain speaking regarding the mutual obligations involved in our common war against Japan.

# A Catholic Looks at the Dies Committee

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 19 T KNOW of no more important long-range political task for American progressives than to prevent the continuation of the Dies committee, even sans Dies. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, the ranking Republican on the committee, has already called for its reconstitution as a permanent body, and Thomas is, if anything, a shade worse than the Texan. In this connection I should like to call attention to a book bearing the copyright of the Catholic University of America Press. The book is "The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938-1943," by August Raymond Ogden,\* a Christian Brother, a member of one of the teaching orders of the Roman Catholic church. The first full-length study of the Dies committee, the book was written by Brother August Raymond as his Ph.D. dissertation for the Faculty of the School of Social Science at the Catholic University. The author's opinions are of course his own, but the dissertation was published, as the preface notes, "with the permission of Brother A. Ernest, Provincial." One of the Catholics to whom the author acknowledges a debt of gratitude is Father Wilfred Parsons, the former editor of America, an astute Jesuit publicist, teacher, and historian, and hardly, I may add, a leftist.

In directing attention to the author's calling, the circumstances under which the book came to be written and published, and its associations, I intend no condescension. The book is a good book, a solid, competent, and comprehensive job. I do not agree with all the Las Vegas, New Mexico. \$2.

his ability as a writer and his honesty as a reporter. And there are no ifs and buts, lay or clerical, about Brother August Raymond's belief in democracy and in fair procedure. This book, from any source, would deserve the very widest attention. I am stressing its source and its context only because these may give it a hearing and inspire confidence in its conclusions in circles no radical like myself could hope to reach or persuade. The author believes "the confusion and violent change brought about by war will tend to foster extreme movements of both the right and the left." He thinks there are "many aspects of subversive activities that only a Congressional committee could thoroughly and completely expose." His basic point of view is made clear when he says, "Throughout this study it is borne in mind that a good end never justifies improper means and that the anomalous use of undemocratic means, even in the slightest degree, in order to preserve democracy constitutes, in effect, a threat to democracy itself." The author feels that "if the country ever reaches a stage where democratic means are found inadequate to preserve its liberties, then democracy will have become a hollow shell." He reaches his conclusion after 275 pages of careful and objective history and analysis, and that verdict is of immediate relevance and importance. Brother August Raymond says:

author's conclusions, but I finished it with respect for

This study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities indicates that the said committee is neither an ideal nor a desired means of exposing subversive activities. It has not

wholly failed in its endeavors, but with different methods and better procedure it could have performed far more efficient service. Hence, without disparaging the accomplishments of the committee or impugning the motives of any person connected with it, it seems that the Congress should discontinue the Dies committee as the first step to a solution of the very difficult problem facing it. Improvement in the procedure of the Dies committee cannot be recommended because its past history does not furnish any guaranty that such improvement would be permanent or, indeed, that the committee could be expected to change its ways.

The book opens with an interesting discussion of the Congressional investigative process itself and then surveys the predecessors of the Dies committee. The basic pattern of most of them was visible in the first. It was precipitated by a public meeting in favor of Soviet Russia held in Poli's Theater, Washington, on February 2, 1919. The Senate, after a flurry of alarmed speeches, instructed the Attorney General to investigate. The Attorney General, T. W. Gregory, was a brave and honest man and found nothing wrong with the meeting. But the Overman committee, then investigating the brewing industry and German propaganda, seized on this overpublicized meeting to obtain a year's extension in which to study Bolshevist as well as German propaganda. Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California had the honor to be the first of the line of solitary and thoughtful men who have objected in Congress to these hysterical inquiries. Characteristically, the committee from that point on seems to have paid more attention to Bolshevist than to German propaganda. And Meyer London, then the Socialist Representative from New York, turned up at the hearings to protest. "Mr. Chairman," he said, "... every new idea, every new suggestion, every new thought . . . is immediately denounced as Bolshevism. It is not necessary to argue any more . . . it is enough to say, "That is Bolshevism." And that is Diesism.

In 1924 a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations investigated subversive activities as means of blocking recognition of the Soviet Union. In 1927 Sosnowski of Michigan introduced a resolution for an investigation of communism, but it was buried in the House Rules Committee. In 1930 Dickstein and Fish protested against religious persecution in Russia, and Fish got his chance in the uproar over the Amtorg documents produced by Grover Whalen, then Police Commissioner of New York. These were exposed as forgeries by the Graphic and attacked on the floor of the House by LaGuardia; and the Fish committee itself was later forced to report that "the testimony failed to establish the genuineness of the so-called 'Whalen documents.'" The House established the Fish committee and gave it \$25,000, although Lindsay Warren of North Carolina, now Controller General, tried to strike a note of sanity by saying, "Remove the causes of discontent, and there will be no danger of communistic activity." The Fish committee was noteworthy largely for its fantastic discovery of 500,000 Communists and Communist sympathizers in the United States and for the thoughtful minority report by Nelson of Maine: "Communism thrives during periods of economic depression and social suffering... we should proceed to put needed reforms into effect sanely and sensibly, without hate or haste or hysteria... we should approach with reserve the consideration of any criminal statutes that seek to fetter the operation of the human mind."

Dies made his debut in this field in 1932 with a bill to deport alien Communists. It won the two-thirds' vote necessary for suspension of the rules in the House and was passed over the objection of LaGuardia, but it was blocked by La Follette in the Senate. The immediate predecessor of the Dies committee was the McCormack-Dickstein investigation into Nazi and other propaganda activities authorized by the House in 1934. This committee, Brother August Raymond finds, did a "good job." It focused attention on Viereck, the work done by the publicity firms of Carl Byoir and Ivy Lee, and the Silver Shirts and other domestic fascist movements, as well as on the Nazis. The author contrasts its procedure with that of the Dies committee: "All witnesses were examined in executive session and then only, if it were deemed necessary, were public hearings held." This, Brother August Raymond writes, "eliminated much useless publicity and prevented the committee from becoming the sounding board for fanatics of any type, as too often happened in other investigations of a like nature." There were twenty-four executive hearings, "at which it was determined if the witnesses had information that was reliable or germane." Only seven public hearings were held, and the records of the others, to protect innocent persons, were placed under seal in the Library of Congress and can be made available only by special act of Congress.

It would be incorrect to say that Dies did not understand the importance of such procedure. For in 1938, in asking the House to approve the resolution for what became the Dies committee, the Texan said, ". . . all depends upon the way the committee is handled. I can conceive that a committee constituted or composed of men whose object is to gain publicity, or whose object is to arouse hatred against some race or creed, might do more harm than good." In an effort to placate Maury Maverick and other opponents of his resolution, Dies declared, "Always we must keep in mind that in any legislative attempt to prevent un-American activities, we might jeopardize fundamental rights far more important than the objective we seek." Maverick, unconvinced, predicted that after the McCormack inquiry one run by Dies would be a "fake side show," and Coffee of Washington

warned that it would only be a disguise for an attack on all liberal organizations. The warning may have been a recommendation. The House passed the resolution 191 to 41.

It would also be incorrect to say that Dies never followed the wise procedure established by the Dickstein-McCormack committee. Brother August Raymond's examination of the hearings demonstrates that when the Dies committee dealt with fascists and their sympathizers, the procedure was usually of such a character as to protect many of the people involved and to assure them fair treatment. A striking example is provided in the case of Edward James Smythe, now on trial for sedition in Washington. "The latter's files had been seized," the author writes, "and revealed an extensive correspondence with many of the known fascist clique." In similar circumstances, where the left was involved, Brother August

Raymond cites case after case in which names and hearsay were made public without the slightest effort to check. But in dealing with Smythe's files, the author says, "it was decided not to release the information, since Dies was afraid that innocent people who had repudiated the movement might be injured." And when Fritz Kuhn, the Bund leader, was before the committee, "the entire hearing was honestly conducted and all due regard paid to Kuhn's rights." But when Dies released to the press the list of government employees belonging to the Washington chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Brother August Raymond notes that the committee "never produced an iota of evidence that, individually, the persons on the list were Communist sympathizers."

This is the first of two articles on "The Dies Committee." The second will appear next week.

# Europe in Exile

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE days of exile are drawing to a close. The invasion of the Fortress of Europe will open the gate for the return to their native land of the thousands who sought refuge abroad from the Nazi blitz or joined the fighting forces of the United Nations after their own countries had been occupied. How will they be received, these returning exiles, by the peoples who for four or five years have been living under Nazi tyranny?

One group of political refugees enjoys a special status in their exile. These are the kings, the cabinets, the former members of parliaments who are recognized as the legitimate governments of occupied countries by the other members of the United Nations. The regimes which they attempted to preserve by neutrality treaties, by diplomatic negotiations, even by force of arms, have been overthrown, but the governments survive in exile, claiming to represent the spirit of the nation that is still unconquered, of the new nation that awaits rebirth. In some cases they cling to the threadbare garments of legitimacy even when these no longer evoke the reverence of their people back home.

Another group consists of the leaders and the rank-andfile fighters in the free movements. They went into exile not merely because the old order collapsed but because they would not tolerate fascism or Nazism. Frequently they were bitter opponents of the pre-war governments which paved the way for the fascist victories, governments which still enjoy prestige abroad. They are fighting for an idea. They understand that this is a people's war. The conflict between these men, inspired by a passion for democracy, and those other exiles who simply wish to restore the old order may seriously impede any integrated effort to build a durable peace.

The governments in exile are of course not all alike. A modern Dante would place some in Purgatory, some in Limbo, and some in an everlasting Hell. In Purgatory, to await their final reward, he would put the governments of four constitutional monarchies-Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway. They have served the cause of the United Nations well. Apparently they have retained the full respect and confidence of their people. To Limbo would go two governments which have been guilty of no sin except that, in Dante's words, "baptism was not theirs." The exiled governments of Czechoslovakia and France were formed outside the countries they claim to represent. They must obtain Allied blessing before their full legitimacy is recognized. Two governments which have betrayed their people, and which their people have obviously repudiated, Greece and Yugoslavia, would be placed in Hell. Poland presents a problem, since it is difficult to learn the real attitude of the Polish people toward the London government. An objective consideration of the dominant elements in the Cabinet would certainly condemn them to this lowest circle.

Where would the free movements be found in the vision of a modern Dante? I suspect that he would be as perplexed about their status as the Allied diplomats and hesitate to assign them any fixed abode.

### WAITING IN PURGATORY

The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, whose government conducts its business in a few rooms in an office building in Montreal, still stands at the head of her Lilliputian state. Her people do not question her legitimacy, and their response to her return is assured. They will never forget that she was the first ruler in Europe to lift her voice against fascist aggression.

Nor need Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, be concerned about the security of her throne. Even the Communists support her. So does the underground. One of the underground newspapers, Je Maintiendrai, recently outlined a post-war program calling for a constitutional, democratic monarchy. That is exactly what the House of Orange is.

At the beginning of its exile the Dutch government had a little trouble with its Premier, Jonkheer de Geer. He was an old man, long in service, and when he found himself in London with a Cabinet comprising all the political parties—Catholic and Protestant, Social Demorat and liberal—he felt doubtful of its legality and was hesitant about signing any statement it prepared. He became homesick for his country and his wife, and resigned his post. When he was given a special mission to the Dutch East Indies, he flew to Lisbon instead and from there was transported to Holland in a Nazi plane. Then he simply retired, refusing to become either a Quisling or a leader of the resistance.

His successor, Pieter Gerbrandy, is considered somewhat authoritarian. Two members of his Cabinet, Steenoergh, the Minister of Economic War, and Welter, the Minister for the Colonies, resigned because they could not agree with his policy. But the government has been strengthened by the arrival of Jacob Burger, who has entered the Cabinet as a representative of the resistance movement. A special committee is now engaged in the preparation of post-war plans.

Among the questions most hotly debated is that of the reconstitution of Parliament, only three of whose members are in exile. A group of the younger officers and civil servants favors the suppression of Parliament and f all free political life in Holland for some time after the liberation. The Cabinet, however, seems to favor a return to regular constitutional procedures in full copperation with the leaders of local resistance movements.

The principle of monarchy is not disputed in Belgium either, but certain difficulties are offered by King Leopold and his attitude toward the war. The New York Times on April 15 quoted the Belgian Premier, Hubert Pierlot, is saying that Belgium would remain a monarchy under Leopold. "King Leopold's position," said M. Pierlot, was fully understood by the nation in his uncompronising refusal to exercise his functions under enemy occupation. Once the King regains his freedom, he will untomatically resume the exercise of his constitutional

prerogatives, of which he was deprived the moment he became prisoner of war."

There has never been a serious republican movement in Belgium, but if the Premier believes that his nation has unshakable confidence in Leopold, he is simply deluding himself. It is true that Leopold's decision to remain in the country and to share the trials of his people under the occupation increased his popularity. Many persons hoped that his presence would protect them from German terrorism. When it did not, when starvation, labor deportations, and the severity of the Gestapo were used to crush Belgium together with the other conquered nations, a great part of the country turned against the King and now desires his abdication.

The attitude of the government in exile toward the King has varied. At a meeting in Limoges, France, on May 30, 1940, two days after the surrender, the Cabinet placed the blame squarely on the King. In 1944 M. Pierlot, for the nation, expresses "full understanding" of the King's behavior. During the past year the government has sent many emissaries to the King seeking closer collaboration. But Leopold has always refused to give it, perhaps because he cannot forgive the government for its early accusations, perhaps because he wants to retain his independence. Whatever the existing relationship, his picture is displayed in every Belgian office in Washington and London.

Before the Cabinet left the country it obtained a unanimous vote of confidence from Parliament and the authority to remain in the war until Belgium had been fully liberated from the Germans. The government is the only one in exile which has not undergone changes or modifications; it is composed of Catholics, Liberals, and Socialists and represents 90 per cent of the voting population.

The Belgian Cabinet, like the Dutch, maintains close relations with the resistance. In 1942 the Minister of Justice, Antoine Delfosse, was smuggled back from France into Belgium, where he became chief of the underground. Later he joined his colleagues in London, and through him the Cabinet is able to direct the underground's activities. A committee for post-war planning has been set up which has elaborated a great many projects. The Socialist underground in Belgium has also outlined a post-war program seeking improvement of living conditions among the workers, woman's suffrage, and simplification of the social laws. Some of these suggestions have been accepted by the government, others rejected. The government is ready to report and ask approval of every action it has taken in exile; then to resign and permit the constitution of a new government.

Like the Belgian, the Norwegian government in exile has the authorization of the people. On April 19, 1940, the Storthing convened at Elverum and granted the Cabinet full authority to govern until the Storthing should again convene on free Norwegian soil. The Norwegian

Cabinet, nevertheless, stamps every decision "provisional" as a sign of respect for the will of the people.

Contact with the underground is close. Its approval is sought before any law or decree is signed, and the Minister of Finance, M. Hackman, came to his post from the resistance movement. Norwegians are still distrustful of those Cabinet members who based their pre-war policy on the assumption that Norway would never be attacked, and many believe that Mr. Koht, who was the Foreign Minister at the time of the invasion, placed far too much reliance on Norway's proclaimed neutrality. The ministers have indicated their willingness to resign as soon as they return to Oslo.

Detailed plans have been prepared for restoring normal life in Norway within a year after the liberation. As reported by the United Press on April 15, they were formulated in secret conferences with delegates from Norwegian industries, who shuttled back and forth between London and Norway. King Haakon, more popular than ever before, will return to Norway as soon as any part of the country has been liberated. Some 12,000 Norwegians who have been training in Sweden will take over police duties immediately. Newspapers will begin publication the second day after liberation. Fishing, whaling, and commerce will be quickly resumed. Sweden will furnish tools and steel for industrial reconstruction in accordance with a trade agreement already signed.

The position of the governments of Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium has recently been strengthened by an agreement which they have signed with Great Britain and the United States concerning the control of civil affairs in those countries during the struggle for liberation. Norway has also signed a similar pact with Russia. The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygbe Lie, had the satisfaction of seeing his draft proposals serve as blueprint both for the agreements signed in London and for the Czechoslovak-Russian pact.

### KEPT IN LIMBO

One great purpose motivates the Czechoslovaks in exile—the nullification of the Munich pact, which betrayed their nation. In July, 1940, Benes succeeded in gaining London's recognition of his government, and in that recognition was implicit rejection of the pact. In 1942 De Gaulle canceled France's signature. Since Mussolini's signature is no longer valid, Hitler's alone remains.

During the First World War Eduard Benes was in the forefront of the battle for democratic principles and for recognition of the sovereignty of the small nations of Southeastern Europe. Today he continues in the same course. But he knows that Czechoslovakia, facing a permanently hostile Germany, must stand with Russia. More than that, he believes that the mission of his small nation is to further, 25 far as moral action can, mutual under-

standing among the great powers and to neutralize any effort to separate Russia from the West.

No abyse exists between Benes's government in London and the people of Czechoslovakia. Many observers believe, in fact, that Benes has the support of 90 per cent of his people and that the bewilderment and disappointment which followed his resignation have completely disappeared. Nor do the complicated relations between Czechs and Slovaks limit his authority. Slovakia became an "independent" state under Hitler. Benes understands that the Slovak people were not responsible—only some separatist leaders—and that anti-Slovak action would undermine the unity of the Czechoslovak nation.

The Slovak people agree. In 1943 the Slovak under ground, in what is known as the Bratislava Memoran dum, declared that the "Czechoslovak government ir London is the only legal government of our nation." Five Slovaks are on Benes's council. Many of the diplo matic representatives of Czechoslovakia in the capital of the Allied nations are Slovaks, Ambassador Hurbar in Washington is one. Three Slovak brigades now serving with the Red Army take orders from the Czecho slovak embassy in Moscow.

The Czechoslovak program for the post-war world i generally considered one of the best yet formulated be an exiled government. It seeks a more democratic economy and a decentralized administration for Czechoslovaks, and Ruthenians. An agreement placing Czechoslovak territory under the Soviet military command as is liberated by Russian armies, but providing that Czech administration shall take over when the area in longer a battle zone, was recently announced by the government in London.

Through the heroism of the resistance, France has regained its national honor. In Algiers under the leader ship of General de Gaulle, the Committee of Nationa Liberation, which recently renamed itself the Provisiona Government, is planning a new France, which can provide inspiration for the democratic reconstruction of a Europe.

Unfortunately, not all French exiles are sharing is the revival of the great French tradition. Many liber leaders, like Henri Laugier, Jacques Maritain, Emi Buré, Pierre Cot, Paul Rivet, and Henri Forcillon, who untimely death robbed France of one of its wisest patrots, have served the cause of French liberation brave and effectively. But others have proved poor represent tives of the new France. A certain decadent analytic spirit has pervaded their writings, and Bonapartism hen been stronger than the impulse of the French Revolutio When you read Henri de Kerillis, you are faced with tame dilemma which tortured France between the twars: fascism or anti-fascism, democracy or totalitaria ism, Franco or Stalin, Giraud or De Gaulle. Whe Pertinax discusses the small nations of the Balkans, page of the staling of the staling of the Balkans, page of the staling of the stali

ticularly the Mihailovich-Tito issue, he supports the rulers, not the people. He follows the same line as Alexis Leger, former Permanent Secretary of the French Foreign Office, who for a decade before the war bolstered the dictatorial governments of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece. Many French people regret that Leger's influence should be so strong in Washington today.

But French underground leaders continue to arrive in Algiers. The Fourth Republic is taking shape. Though De Gaulle is still fighting for his formal recognition, it seems fairly certain now that liberated France will be governed, at least provisionally, by the committee of National Liberation and the underground, in cooperation with the Allied Military Government. The forces of democratic France are united in Algiers. The Frenchmen who look to the past cannot obscure the clear design of that unity—a unity around which the new Europe aspires to be rebuilt.

[In Part II of this article, to appear next week, Mr. Raditsa will discuss the Yugoslav, Greek, and Polish governments in exile and the free movements.]

# When War Contracts End

BY KARL KEYERLEBER

EARLY three months have passed since Senators Murray and George introduced a joint bill setting up machinery to facilitate the settlement of canceled war contracts and the reconversion of industry. It is two months since the Baruch-Hancock report tressed the importance of acting promptly. Yet we still ack legislation which will assure not only an orderly reurn to the production of civilian goods after the war but he effective harnessing of our industrial power to the lemands of the coming invasion.

The problem is not one for tomorrow but for today. Iready government agencies have canceled fifteen bilion dollars' worth of war orders—about three times the ollar value of all contracts settled after victory was won a the last war. Slow settlements have impeded war prouction. They have tied up materials and factories. Legistion to simplify procedure, to unify policy, and to asure prompt payment is needed urgently.

The International Harvester Company, operating a overnment-owned plant in Bettendorf, Iowa, lost a 217,000,000 tank contract last year after only thirteen nks had been turned out. It took three months to transorm the plant into a producer of prime movers to haul eavy cannon, which the army now needs more than nks. The paper work of the settlement is taking much riger; more than a year after cancelation it is still untished.

Harvester is a \$500,000,000 concern, and the delay d not seriously interfere with its other war work. Less runate was the Dover Stamping and Manufacturing ompany of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which also had contract canceled last year—one for war-head coniners for torpedoes. According to the company's presint, J. Whitney Bowen, testifying before Senator urray's subcommittee on contract termination, "beteen the time the contract was canceled and the time

of the partial payment of \$93,798 in July, five months had elapsed, and during that time we had a factory ready and willing and anxious to produce war products but we were unable to do so."

The Hazeltine Electronics Company of New York had \$5,500,000 contract for Radar equipment which was terminated by the navy. The settlement took more than a year, and for much of that period scarce materials needed elsewhere by the war program were frozen tight in the warehouses of Hazeltine suppliers.

The settlement of a canceled war contract as conducted at present is a tremendous accounting job. International Harvester has a hundred employees devoting their full time to it. An executive of a big Detroit corporation told me that one division of his firm had thirty-two persons working on it full time and sixty-four part time. In this company's plants work is going forward on 40,000 separate government contracts. The man with whom I talked looks forward gloomily to the time when his entire office staff will be occupied with settling and auditing the claims of thousands of subcontractors.

One contractor is carefully preserving a vault full of time cards—millions of them—against the day when some federal auditor may want to check on the number of workers engaged on a terminated contract. Another man has a warehouse full of old packing cases. Technically they are government property, and the law is specific: government property may not be disposed of until all the proper forms have been filled out.

Cancelations have been running at the rate of \$1,500,000 a month, and unsettled claims are piling up. One Cleveland contractor still hasn't got his money for a claim presented in November, 1942, for a contract that was canceled by the Maritime Commission. It is obvious that new methods are needed to speed up the process. The old structure of multiple government checks and

audits must be overhauled, and it is for Congress to say how it is to be done.

The George-Murray bill passed by the Senate and now awaiting action by the House creates an office of contract settlement headed by a \$12,000-a-year director and a nine-man advisory board of government officials, including the Attorney General and the Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the Treasury. The director and the board are charged with coordinating policy, but terminations are left in the hands of the procurement agencies which let the contracts. In other words, the bill is designed to secure a uniform policy but to decentralize the handling of claims in order to avoid a logjam in some Washington filing cabinet. The General Accounting Office may not review settlements except for fraud.

One section of the bill provides for the prompt removal of materials. Before factories can turn to new war work or civilian manufacture, they must be cleared of government machinery, work in process, and stocks of parts and materials. If the government does not provide for removal of such stuff in sixty days, the contractor may do so. Other sections deal with advance payment and interim financing to keep companies liquid. Contractors may receive up to 90 per cent of their claim without waiting for a final settlement. Some concerns, notably in the aircraft industry, have so much working capital tied up in inventory that they would be pinched by any delay.

A provision for over-all settlement permits a company which has many contracts canceled to file a claim covering all of them, instead of preparing individual claims. This reduces accounting and bookkeeping. Informal contracts are authorized to assure payment to a contractor who to save time loaded himself up with parts and materials before he got a contract. The requirement of thirty days' advance notice of cancelation, not always possible, is to prevent such a situation as that which occurred at Lowell, Massachusetts, last November when an ordnance plant employing 5,700 persons was shut down. Workers were told on a Saturday afternoon that it was their last day on the job. Neither they nor the company had a chance to plan for termination day. Provision is made for court appeal and umpires to rule on disputed claims through an expansion of the Court of Claims.

The bill cuts through red tape and sacrifices traditional government safeguards against inflated charges because of the pressing necessity for speed. Overpayments may occasionally be obtained by avaricious contractors. In this connection I cannot do better than quote the words of Colonel Bryan Houston, tough chief of the army's contract-termination branch. Speaking before a group of automobile executives, he said: "You are going to pay some two hundred billion dollars for this war. Your children and your grandchildren will be paying on it.

The difference between the most penurious, hard-fisted, careful, ruinously slow settlement which could be made of these terminations and the most liberal which could be made won't amount to five hundred million dollars. It is very poor poker playing, dice shooting, or business, to gamble a two-hundred-billion-dollar peace against a quarter of one per cent."

# 10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE VAN SWERINGEN BROTHERS, astute wielders of vast financial power through the manipulation of other people's money, are at present endeavoring to teach an important group of security holders in the Allegheny Corporation, the key holding company in the Van Sweringen railroad empire, that a bond, even when equipped with a fancy title, need not carry with it the protective safeguards implied by its name.—PETER HELMOOP NOYES, May 2, 1934.

IN BERLIN ARE three Americans representing American firms which are helping Germany to build up the best air fleet in Europe. It is an open secret in foreign official quarters in Berlin that the Hitler regime has already ordered and received from British and American companies special parts for the making of 2,500 modern bombing and fighting planes. The companies supplying these parts are Pratt and Whitney, Curtiss-Wright, and Douglas Aircraft in the United States, and the firms of Vickers and of Armstrong, Sidley in England.—May 9, 1934.

DEAR READERS of *The Nation:* On the twenty-seventh day of this July I will begin my nineteenth year in durance vile for a crime that I was acquitted of on the twenty-fourth day of last May. With the verdict of "Not Guilty" still ringing in my ears, the judge admonished all to remain seated while the bailiff snapped the handcuffs on me and speeded me back to San Quentin Prison in less than one hour—for the rest of my natural life. That is Democratic Capitalist Class Justice—with a vengeance. . . . Sincerely, TOM MOONEY (31921). (ADVT.)—May 16, 1934.

THE DOLLFUSS GOVERNMENT in all private and public pronouncements continues to speak of the "Socialist revolution" in February. The Nazis a year ago "saved" Germany from the "Marxist" danger; the Austrians similarly put all the blame for the February bloodshed on the Socialists. This lie should be spiked once for all. . . . The Austrian Socialists were about as aggressive as the Belgians were in 1914.—JOHN GUNTHER, May 16, 1934.

DURING THE FEVERISH DAYS when leaders of the steel industry were discussing the proposed code of fair competition prior to its submission to the NRA, one of the lesser rulers asked one of the greater ones to explain a certain obscure provision. The latter replied without a moment's hesiatation: "There is no mystery about this code. It just means that the industry is going to be run as it has always been run, only more so." The last three words furnish the key to an understanding of the steel code.—May 23, 1934.

# Mexico's War-Time Boom

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

TN TEN years Mexico has changed impressively. The capital has lost nothing of its charm. Mexicans have too profound a sense of fitness to allow material progress to affect the beauty of their cities. The capital has spread outward into new suburbs. The old buildings have not been affronted by the appearance of new, modern structures rising defiantly in their faces. There is no square whose trees confront the stare of wide modern windows. But in the new developments rebuilding can be carried on without hesitation, and it is being carried on very rapidly indeed. New streets are opened from one week to the next. New houses appear practically overnight. Some of them are handsome villas, others homes for workers. Even in the most modest of them either the architect or the tenant has applied a touch of good taste.

The capital grows. It must grow in order to absorb the rapidly increasing population. According to a report issued by the Departamento Central (the office of the Mayor), published while I was there, Mexico City has 2,200,000 inhabitants. It was a surprising figure to me. Since my stay in Mexico in 1931-33 the population has almost doubled. And not only the capital has grown. Acapulco has been transformed from a beach with a ew hotels and a few modest houses into a seaside resort hat can compete with any in the world. Here too a fever of construction is evident. People pay any price for land. Where a square meter of land formerly brought two pesos, it is now sold for fifty. In Cuernavaca and Taxco the hotels cannot handle the influx of visitors. In order o spend a week-end there, reservations must be made wo weeks ahead. As always Americans frequent these places of recreation, but in some of them Mexicans are now more numerous than foreigners.

Americans with their dollars continue to pour into Mexico, but the time when \$5 a day would provide the ife of a potentate is over. As the supply of money swells, o do the prices, though they have not hampered trade. In a sticle finds a buyer. French decorators now in Mexico told me that they could not fill the many calls for their ervices. If certain branches of production have been mited, it is only because of a lack of raw materials. ailors complain that recently they have not been able a get English woolens. Certain articles which have praccally disappeared from American markets—nylon stockings, French perfumes, wines of a certain vintage—are ure in Mexico too. But if anyone has any of these goods to offer, he can be certain that people will jump to take

them off his hands. He can even advertise in the papers the items he has for sale and ask as high a price as he wishes. Mexico has no rationing system and no price control. Fortunes are made quickly. "The difficulty," said a Mexican friend of mine who is fighting against the evils of this rapid enrichment, "is not in becoming a millionaire in a month. The difficulty is to keep oneself from becoming a millionaire in twenty-four hours."

With all these manifestations of external prosperity, it is natural that people who have not been in Mexico for some years and have visited there in recent months return with fantastic tales about the immense progress of the country. Undoubtedly there is progress, but one must distinguish between solid, lasting prosperity and a war boom.

A certain number of important industrial enterprises have been created. Mexico follows the general trend in Latin America toward increased industrialization. The most important of these new enterprises is the iron and steel company Altos Hornos de México, which has a working capital of sixty million pesos. It will begin to run at full capacity within a year. It is one of the industries that will certainly remain after the war. Fundición de Monterrey, an already existing heavy-industry plant, is being expanded. Certain cement factories are expanding too, and new ones are being built. Sometime in the future Mexico may well be able to export cement. Other factories have been established in connection with heavy industry. There is one, for instance, for the production of tin cans. The chemical industries, particularly the manufacture of drugs, have received great impetus in recent years.

Much more could have been done in this last field. A project was developed at one time to take advantage of the break with the Axis to end forever German control of the chemical industry; it is well known that the German chemical combine was the spearhead of German penetration in Latin America. The authors of the project believed that with the help of North American techniques and machinery a real Mexican chemical industry could be built which would dislodge the Germans entirely and provide a pattern for similar action throughout Latin America. The Mexican group had money to work with. They were even ready to accept American capital so long as it did not attempt to capture a majority of the shares. But there was little understanding of the project in the United States, and the resolute opposition of certain official departments has frustrated the plan.



True, some small drug plants were created, but not on the scale originally conceived.

Negotiations are on the way for building a cellulose industry in Jalisco and a plant for producing artificial silk. In other states similar industrial activity is noticeable. Altos Hornos is promoting the establishment of some small shipyards. A number of industries have been born under the impulse of the boom, as, for instance, a factory to turn out calculating machines. No one expects them to lead an easy life once the war is over.

The tendency toward serious industrialization, toward the creation of actual, positive wealth in Mexico, is offset by a tempest of war-time speculation. This fever is obvious in commercial as well as financial fields. Mexico is selling products to the United States and Central America which no one believed would ever be exported. On a far greater scale than any other is the export of liquora kind of "gin," a kind of "vodka," a kind of "tequila," which resembles the original only in name. To a liter of alcohol a few drops of essence are added, and there is a bottle of gin. So far, the Americans seem to have had little hesitation in drinking the stuff. A single railroad carload of such liquor brings a profit of 80,000 pesos. Great fortunes have been amassed in this trade, and since the mood is to spend, an impression of vast prosperity is created. Obviously, that kind of prosperity is ephemeral.

Curious things have been exported from Mexico in the last years. In 1943, for instance, rosaries were shipped to the value of 2,000,000 pesos, and great quantities of religious ornaments as well. That shows how active the Catholic church has become in recent years. Some of these boom exports have had serious effects on the Mexican population. For a certain time the unrestricted export of guarache made shoe leather very difficult to obtain in Mexico, and the Indian peasants had to go without sandals. In 1943 a quantity of pipas—squash seed—was shipped out of the country in a frenzy of exportation, depriving the Indians of one of their favorite delicacies and an important source of oil and vitamins.

If such exports have injured Mexico, they have not helped the United States. On the other hand, the exportation of metals and man-power has been a great contribution to the American war effort. Nearly 100,000 Mexicans have come into the United States to work.

They would have come in greater numbers if there had not been so many complaints about their treatment here. These complaints have been the subject of heated discussion in Mexico. Only the other day (May 16) the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Mexican Senate heard a vigorous speech by Senator Ramiro Tamez asking for the establishment of a special investigating commission. Tamez described with indignation the way Mexican workers have been exploited in the United States. They have enjoyed none of the social services that American workers enjoy, and they are paid wages far below those of United States citizens. Tamez added that the complaints have come not only from workers in Texas, where discrimination is traditional, but from other states as well. It is a serious affair, and one which gravely affects the relations between the two countries.

The widely circulated weekly Mañana gives us an idea of how Mexicans feel about this subject. "The Nazis in Texas," it said, "are not political partners of the Führer of Germany, but they are slaves of the same prejudices and superstitions. Mexicans have become the victims of the theory that blond hair and blue eyes denote racial superiority."

On the subject of the rise in prices many contradictory figures have been circulated. A high official in the Mexican Department of Finance told me that 180 per cent would be a fair average for the past year. Prices have risen for various reasons. First, monetary inflation. The inflation started in 1936, when General Cárdenas distributed the rich cotton lands in La Laguna. The government found it necessary to make large loans at low rates of interest to the peasants in order that they might work the land they had been given. This new money in circulation forced prices up. But the chief cause of the inflation lies in the tremendous flow of American capital into Mexico. No one knows exactly how much American money fled across the border between December, 1942, and June, 1943, in order to escape taxation. But the monetary reserve of Mexico quadrupled. The inflation became really dangerous.

In order to counteract this process, several measures have recently been taken. Summarizing them briefly:

1. The government of Mexico has begun to import corn, wheat, and butter. That will mean 3,000,000 pesos withdrawn from circulation. Simultaneously with the increased imports, exports are being cut down. While in Mexico I had occasion to see a letter from the Secretary of Finance, Eduardo Suárez, to the governors of the different states outlining this new policy. "No effort," said Secretary Suárez, "must be spared to assure the equilibrium between supply and demand as an essential condition for stabilizing prices, for wiping out the black market, and for ending speculation. To the same end, the government has decided to increase the production of essential articles, especially food, to increase imports,

and to restrict exports to the limit, sending out of Mexico only the surplus above what the people need."

- 2. A rise in taxes, especially income taxes. That will force the withdrawal from circulation of some 2,000,000 pesos in 1944.
- 3. A bond sale by the Nacional Financiera, a government-controlled institution, also designed to withdraw money from circulation.

These, of course, are classic methods, and no one pretends that anything new has been invented.

The Nacional Financiera will utilize established commercial techniques, that is to say, it will compete with private business in many fields in an effort to stabilize the economic development of the country and to prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a very few private interests. It means a departure from the old policy of holding prices down by decree. In Mexico there is a profound belief that such decrees result in nothing but black markets.

Mexico's double task in the economic field is to prevent its rapid prosperity from running into the same kind of crisis that shook the United States in 1929 and to concentrate upon those enterprises built on solid ground, not for the enrichment of a few but for the benefit of the nation. The trend toward industrialization is already rendering obsolete all the talk about "backward" countries on which big business has relied so comfortably, confounding inter-Americanism with exploitation. Like other Latin American countries Mexico will emerge from the war with its economic structure changed. It will depend very much on the wisdom of the United States whether the friendship of today continues to inspire the trade relations of tomorrow, or whether it is replaced by a sordid kind of economic warfare. I always remember what President Alfonso Lopez of Colombia once told me: "Collaboration between the United States and Latin America means for many of our friends in Washington and New York that we should go on forever hunting through the jungle for materials to make cosmetics for American ladies, but should never dare develop any enterprise that might collide with the interests of American business."

[This is the second of a series of articles that Mr. del Vayo, who has recently returned from a month's visit in Mexico, is writing on current Mexican problems. The first was printed two weeks ago; the third, on the Mexican army, will appear in an early issue.]



# In the Wind

A FRIEND OF OURS reports a distressing sign of intellectual decay among the youth. Chalked on a sidewalk, along with the usual urogenital monosyllables, he saw these words: "Snap, Crackle, Pop."

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY reports that a reputable New York bookseller has been forbidden to mail out his current catalogue unless he deletes one-line entries of "Candide," "The Well of Loneliness," and Balzac's "Droll Stories." It seems that the Post Office has a list of unprintable titles. We called up the New York Postmaster on that one. The man to whom we were referred was not familiar with any of the books mentioned, but he said yes, there is such a list, and he is in charge of enforcing it. "Candide" has been on the list since 1931, "The Well of Loneliness" since 1933, and "Droll Stories" since 1927. Vincent Miles, Post Office solicitor in Washington, decides what books are unmentionable.

LILLIAN SMITH, author of "Strange Fruit," was recently invited to address the Book Forum of Columbia, South Carolina, but the invitation was withdrawn after a flurry of protests from other organizations. The secretary of the Fortnightly Club, for example, wrote to the chairman of the Forum thus: "The problem of racial adjustment is to us so serious that we are impelled to protest against the discussion of it by Miss Smith. The theme of her book seems to us to be one that better not be tossed about at present. . . . In case she does come may we earnestly ask that she speak on the Orient and not on the Negro problem at all."

OUR GUILELESS CONTEMPORARY, the Saturday Review of Literature, says that Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "wants to consolidate the gains of the New Deal." We looked up "consolidate" in the dictionary, and it doesn't mean that at all.

ON APRIL 15 THIS COLUMN reported that Catholics in the diocese of Connecticut were not allowed to have anything to do with Russian War Relief. A few days later Mrs. B. D. Burhoe, secretary of the interfaith committee of Russian War Relief, phoned us and said Connecticut's Catholics had been most generous and cooperative and would we publish an official denial of the item. We said we would be glad to. The denial came last week. Here it is: "Dear Mrs. Burhoe: I am pleased to inform you that there is no truth in the statement which you tell me appeared in *The Nation* of April 15, 1944. Catholics of the diocese of Hartford are entirely free to participate in Russian War Relief. I have never asked my people to disregard an appeal for charity from any source. With all good wishes, I am sincerely yours, Maurice F. McAuliffe, Bishop of Hartford."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Nazi orders and decrees in Poland are now signed with officials' titles but not their names.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

# The Tasks Ahead in France

BY JULES MOCH

H

IN A previous article I discussed the two tasks which will be the first responsibility of the government of liberated France—the repatriation of the millions of persons who have been driven from their homes and the provision of food for a large percentage of the population. The next thing to be done will be to find jobs for the returning men, at least for all those who do not live on the land. Where are they going to go to work? In their old factories? In most cases only the walls of the factories will be standing. Or if the buildings have escaped destruction, it will be found that the machinery has been removed, probably to Central Europe. Or if the machinery is intact, there will be no power to turn the wheels, no raw materials to feed it. In former highly industrialized regions large numbers of skilled operatives will be unable to find work. At the same time in other regions there may be a shortage of labor-men will be needed to repair highways and railroads, to build houses, to quarry stone, to make cement and bricks.

Since it would not be right to allow men to remain idle because their special skills cannot be utilized when labor is needed in other fields, it will be necessary for the government to undertake some kind of compulsory allocation of man-power. To many this will seem like an inhuman proposal. They will ask if heavy labor, perhaps in another part of the country, is going to be required of men who are exhausted by privations and have been separated from their families for years. The weight of this argument should not be underestimated. On the other hand, the government will be obligated to restore the industries on which the country's economic life depends—namely, transportation, shipping, power, coal mining, and building.

Its ability to do so will depend in large part on its adoption of a trade-union and wage policy that conforms to the wishes of the workers. I expect the trade unions to offer no obstacles. Purged of their traitors, they will be reconstituted with the same full liberty that was formerly theirs and will play a major role in the republic of the future. As to wages, Vichy and the German conquerors have systematically lowered the purchasing power of wages in order to force workers into the theoretically more productive German industries. Since 1939 wages have risen 50 per cent, while prices on the official market have tripled and on the black market multiplied ten times. Monetary considerations will make

it impossible to restore the purchasing power of wages to 1939 levels—such action, moreover, would have no point owing to the scarcity of consumers' goods—but a general, immediate, and substantial rise must be effected. The problem is complicated by the necessity of maintaining a proper relation between buying power and the amount of goods available. To meet this condition two solutions have been suggested. One is to revise wage scales upward as larger amounts of rationed foods become available; the other is to pay wages partly in food or in ration tickets.

What is to be the length of the work week in liberated France? After 1936 many social-welfare measures were introduced in France, among them the law for a forty-hour week. This law was modified to strengthen our war production, but it has never been abrogated. Similarly, the law that entitles every salaried worker in France to two weeks' vacation with pay after one year of service remains on the statutes. Obviously, after the liberation, maximum production will be required in the essential industries. In these industries, therefore, hours must be lengthened. The unions themselves do not dispute it.

But while there is complete agreement about the object to be attained, people are divided about the method to be used. One school of thought holds that the 1936 law must stand; that in the interest of the international working class France must remain the champion of the forty-hour week. It proposes, therefore, that industries be divided into two classes: those essential to reconstruction, in which overtime will be paid automatically, and those not essential, in which overtime will be permitted only under the circumstances specifically cited in the law of 1936 and after careful investigation as to its necessity. A second school of thought would apply the forty-hour law only in non-essential industries and establish a longer work week for essential industries. The two schools are united in insisting that any modification of the forty-hour law must be obtained by legislative procedure.

This debate is relatively unimportant. What is important is the complete unanimity of opinion on the need for a longer work week to speed the reconstruction of the country. Accordingly, both the National Committee and the Assembly are working on a legislative program that will legalize the necessary action.

In Algiers today the government is proceeding on the principle that it has not the right to institute any profound changes in the structure of the French state. Only the French people, it holds, have that right. Only a Constituent Assembly, duly elected by universal suffrage, can set the French house in order. But some political decisions cannot wait on the repatriation of prisoners and deportees, on the preparation of ballots, on the presentation of issues in campaign speeches. And for that reason the following compromise has been reached in Algiers: the present provisional government shall have the right to initiate certain far-reaching reforms if no other solution of the particular problem is immediately possible; such measures to be enacted only with the full consent of the Consultative Assembly, the present representative body of the French people.

The industrial reconstruction of France is one of the problems that cannot await the action of a Constituent Assembly. Factories must start operation at once to supply the things the people need. But under whose ownership and direction? To reestablish the status quo ante would mean in many cases to return the factories to men who collaborated with the enemy. Yet to decide that the nation should run its key industries itself would introduce a profound change in the nature of our regime. So far the government has arrived at no concrete proposal. However, in a speech delivered before the Assembly on March 18, 1944, General De Gaulle said: "The French democracy must insure to everyone the right to work and guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources and not to furthering private interests. In this system the great sources of national wealth will belong to the nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance of workers and entrepreneurs." In other words, De Gaulle plans a French "New Deal" such as was first outlined by Léon Blum in 1936.

It is clear that the head of the government is not in principle opposed to profound changes in the economic structure of the country. Indeed, many men who yesterday defended liberal capitalism admit today the failure of the system and seek economic regeneration through democratic socialism, even though they may not admit to themselves that they are thinking as socialists. The Assembly has been thinking along those lines, and the economic program it has worked out is the result. At the end of last year its Commission of Economic Affairs, composed of men of diverse political convictions, unanimously adopted the following principles, as proposed by a Socialist member:

- 1. The corporate system of craft and professional organization instituted by Vichy must be abolished.
- 2. Complete freedom of operation cannot be granted to all industries on the day of liberation.
- 3. Enemy holdings in French industries must be confiscated by the state.

#### Last Chance!

Two years of betraying the people on every important issue which has arisen should have ruined the hope of a democratic victory in this war. But the Allies have greater luck than they deserve. In the invasion a tremendous opportunity is still open to them. The great day approaching is, from any point of view, a momentous human event; hundreds of millions of men all over the earth are placing their hope in it. Its success will raise once more the spirits of those who have been disheartened by the dealings with Darlan, by the recognition of Badoglio, by the continued appeasement of Franco. Here is the eleventh hour, when an end can be put to the policy of fighting fascism in alliance with fascists. Here is the last chance to win the political war.

- 4. Certain industries must be operated by the government in the common interest.
- 5. Certain others may be operated by private interests under strict government control.
- 6. The rest may operate free of all government interference.

Some months later "a broad program of government action and national reconstruction" embodying substantially these proposals was submitted to the Assembly by the Socialist delegation—fifteen of the eighty members. A large number of delegates from metropolitan France, after giving it careful study, declared that it represented the aspirations of the Resistance and that they would support it. The final text has been signed by about fifty members of the Assembly and is thus assured of majority support when it comes up for discussion again. The eight Communist members have not yet pledged definite support, though they agree with the plan in principle.

The original text proposed the "nationalization of economic, financial, and commercial enterprises essential to the life of the nation." In the final draft the word "socialization" was substituted for "nationalization" on the demand of the Resistance delegates, who wanted their position clearly defined. The signatories include a Dominican monk, an army officer in active service, half a dozen Radicals, an equal number of men who might be classed as conservative, six or more Social Catholics, and four or five progressives with no party affiliation. The others have never taken any stand on political or economic questions. Not a single Marxist is among them.

These men have seen the moral and material collapse of the old economic structure. They have seen its leaders collaborating with the enemy while the French workers defied the Laval "levy" and took to the *maquis* to avoid contributing to the German war effort. They recognize that the events of the last few years have demonstrated

the bankruptcy of the business high bourgeoisie and the soundness of the working class. The lessons of Russia's national planning have not been lost on them. Too attached to democratic and parliamentary forms of government to be won over to communism, they have chosen the course long ago pointed out to them by democratic Socialists.

De Gaulle once said that France had been shaken to its depths by its recent sufferings. "But," he added, "the deeper the soil is worked, the richer the harvest."

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

N THE first day of war, textile goods of every kind, including clothing, were rationed in Germany. Since then, for four and a half years, no one has been able to buy enough to replace what wore out. Ten months ago, in August, 1943, all ration points for textile goods were canceled, and their sale, except to victims of air raids, was stopped for the duration.

While people's closets were being thinned out by the impossibility of replacing worn articles, the process was hastened by insistent new demands. In the winter of 1941 a murderous cold wave caught the army in Russia unprepared, and Dr. Goebbels, in desperation, cried out for help from private individuals. Every household was put under strong pressure to contribute all the warm bedding, blankets, overcoats, and suits that it could possibly spare. A year later a similar collection, scarcely less urgent, was organized by Dr. Ley for the benefit of the arms workers. After that, private stocks were considered exhausted. Even the traditional annual appeal for the "Winter Aid" was omitted in 1943.

But this May the situation was such that another attempt was made to gather a few leavings from a field already raked clean. The appeal was signed this time by an unknown Franz Heck who called himself "commissioner for the collection and utilization of salvage and Reich delegate of the Nazi Party." After boasting of the government's achievements in providing clothing—"no soldier at the front and no arms worker has to go in rags"—the notice called on people to offer up their last possessions.

The campaign is proceeding under the slogan "The Nation Needs Textiles." Money prizes are offered for good ideas. The radio instructs collectors on how to get results:

Suppose Frau Mayer visits Frau Lehman to ask her to give something for the textile collection. Frau Lehman may refuse, not without some superficial justification, on the ground that she has nothing left to give. Generally it will be enough for Frau Mayer to ask Frau Lehman to look and see. Some discarded garment is

sure to be found. Old socks and ties may be discovered in forgotten suitcases. Hunting for them will be fun.

The powerful Schwarze Korps, organ of the powerful Himmler, on April 20 sharply rebuked fathers who forbid their minor sons in uniform to marry because they are too young. On the contrary, said the S. S. paper, German boys should marry some time before they go to the front (as a rule they go when they are eighteen). After the last war 1,500,000 girls remained unmarried and had no children. If they had had a chance to bear two children apiece, 3,000,000 German babies would have been brought into the world, half of whom would have been males. As a result, at the outbreak of the Second World War Germany would have had 1,500,000 more soldiers, 100 divisions. With these it would long ago have brought the war to a victorious close.

This time, the *Schwarze Korps* declared, there must be no such waste of possible resources. Young men today must discharge their duty before they go to the front, and girls must be made productive.

At this point the paper made an arresting statement: "Then, even if the present war is lost, tomorrow's war can be won by the children of today's soldiers." A great deal of nonsense has been published in this country about Germany's secret preparations for a third world war. The sentence quoted is, so far as this writer knows, the first authoritative utterance on the subject.

A Swiss paper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, on May 6 printed a few anecdotes which, in the opinion of the contributor, revealed how people act and feel in the Reich today.

A German living in Switzerland returned to Munich, his former home, and met some old friends in a restaurant. He asked them what they thought of Germany's chances of winning the war. They answered with one voice, "We shall win." Walking home some hours later with one of the company, a former schoolmate, the man asked the same question again. Now the answer was: "What do you mean? We lost the war long ago. Germany is doomed. Not one stone is being left on another in our cities. How can we dream of winning?"

A well-dressed woman stood next to an old workman during an air raid. After a while she said grimly, "You see, the British have no more planes. These are the last ones they have. We alone have great numbers of airplanes left." The workman, after a second's surprise, understood her and joined in the tune.

A foreign worker complained to a German colleague about the constant air attacks, which prevented him from sleeping. "Nobody can stand this long," he said. The German answered, "Man, be hard! Become harder! Eat concrete; then you'll become hard. Germany needs hard men, and concrete is wonderful to make things hard."

# BOOKS and the ARTS

### Soviet Life—a Close-up

MY LIVES IN RUSSIA. By Markoosha Fischer. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

AT A time when the most wary of us tend, perhaps in self-defense, to think of the people of the world not as minute particulars of flesh and blood but as units in the round numbers of populations, army divisions, and casualty lists, it is good to read such a book as "My Lives in Russia," which takes us behind the giant scenes of the world's most imposing dictatorship and acquaints us intimately with the men, women, and children who live in it.

Mrs. Fischer is herself a Russian and was committed early to the revolution. She left her native land in 1915 vowing never to set foot on Russian soil as long as carrism ruled. She did not return until 1922, but from 1917 on she was associated, as secretary and translator in the several languages she had acquired, with representatives of the Soviet regime in various countries. After 1922 she lived and worked abroad for another period of years, but from 1927 to 1939 she lived steadily in Russia. She was the wife of a foreign correspondent, but as a Russian and an enthusiastic supporter of the Bolshevik regime she participated fully in Soviet life. The fact that she had two children growing up made her involvement all the more complete.

We see the mighty events of those twelve years—collectivization, the drive on the kulak, the five-year plans, the great purge, the preparations for war—not merely as historical facts and political issues but as the day-by-day and year-by-year experience of a Russian mother, of her neighbors and friends, of her children and their companions.

When Mrs. Fischer returned to Russia in 1927 she was conscious of a pressure toward conformity in every phase of life which had not existed in 1922. As late as 1928, however, Pravda often printed a supplement called The Oppositionists' Page, and the Russian passion for discussion still had scope. But the pressure grew. With the drive on the kulak the government loosed a new class war, and with the First Five-Year Plan came the prohibition of all criticism. Living conditions were difficult, but life was exciting nevertheless. Mrs. Fischer pictures very vividly the energy and pride of the Russians and their faith in the future, which made all present hardships bearable. She also makes us aware of the strains imposed by industrialization in a backward country where, so to speak, the skills for building the house had to be learned in the course of building it. The tendency to rely more and more on arbitrary methods must be seen in this context, just as the excesses of informing cannot be separated from the weariness and tension of a population hard driven and competing for the bare necessities of life.

Her account is simple and direct, and because it is devoid of both art and artlessness it has the impact of unvarnished truth. It is also a dramatic story, of which the inner tension is supplied by the interplay between the author's deep commitment to the Soviet revolution and her gradual, unwilling disillusionment with the government which ruled, ever more absolutely, in its name. She approved of collectivization; she could not justify the stupidities and cruelty—they are connected—with which it was accompanied. She shared the people's pride in the Five-Year Plan: she could not reconcile herself to the tragedy and corruption that flowed from the prohibition of criticism and the license conferred on all and sundry to become informers. She was thrilled by the promise of the Soviet constitution; she was horrified by the anti-abortion law which was decreed almost simultaneously despite universal opposition, and brutally enforced. She loathed fascism and fascists; but she knew that the friends and neighbors who were taken away in the night were not fascists, and the regime provided her with no real evidence that the Old Bolsheviks were fascists either.

Mrs. Fischer left Russia in 1939 when she finally became convinced that the revolution had been taken over by a dictator who had set his course toward absolute power, nationalism, and even empire. But she is frank to say that the developments which led to her own disillusionment did not shake the loyalty of the Russian masses, that the purge, though it affected thousands, disturbed only a small minority of the population. And reading her book, one understands the reasons. They would be even clearer, I think, if Mrs. Fischer had included here another of her lives—her early years in the Russia of the czars.

Soviet loyalty was, in the first place, motivated not merely by demagogic promises but by very solid and elementary benefits received as the result of a genuine social revolution. To the peasant woman who had lost six children because she had not known how to take care of them, the regime, whatever its faults, was no less perfect than the seventh child which it had saved with its hospitals and clinics and was now educating. To the Jewish mother nothing the Soviet government did could be wrong because it had put an end to pogroms and made her children "as good as anyone else." Such loyalty is made of vital and enduring stuff. The Soviet people today, says Mrs. Fischer, are convinced that there are only two possibilities—the rule of the Soviet government, that is, Stalin, or that of landlords, factory owners, capitalist exploiters, German fascists, and Japanese generals. And their choice is unhesitating.

However unreal the alternatives may seem, one cannot condemn the choice. For it indicates that the loyalty of the Russian people is still to a large extent loyalty to a set of ideas rather than to any leader. If that is so, it holds at least the promise of a healthy future development.

"My Lives in Russia" will be called anti-Soviet by the professional Stalinists. It will be deplored by those who think that truth should have its closed seasons. But it is hardly a secret that Russia is a dictatorship—and in a sense Mrs. Fischer merely documents what we already knew. Certainly her account of the purge and its shattering effect on

## JOSEPH E. DAVIES

former Ambassador to Russia, says,

# "Walter Duranty has done it again"

# U.S.S.R.

### The Story of Soviet Russia

"It is a great book. It gave me an over-all perception and insight into the development of the U.S.S.R., which I have found nowhere else. It has balance, restraint and, withal, tells the truth so to both sides of the shield. The forces within, the purposes of, and the development of the Soviet state, are disclosed with lucidity and great strength."

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# On Living Revolution

## JULIAN HUXLEY

In this absorbing collection of random essays, one of our most distinguished scientists considers the varied aspects of a world in transition. His interest ranges from War and the Animal Kingdom to a journey to the Scottish islands ... from Darwinism to post-war reconstruction. On Living in a Revolution reads like the fireside conversation of superbly cultivated man.

1 \$2.50 . HARPER

human lives and character will win no converts for dictatorship and police rule-which is epitomized for me in the senseless confrontation of a child who must be told that his father is a traitor and the mother who must make him believe it. But just as certainly Mrs. Fischer's book, because it is pro-human, will generate understanding and affection for the Russian people. And it is they, after all, who are our allies. Her book dispels the condescending view that "those poor devils" the Russians have neither the desire nor the capacity for the democratic way of life. Because she does not gloss over the bad aspects of Soviet life we believe her as witness of the good-"human equality, economic progress without exploitation, education of the masses, social security, lack of racial discrimination." In this sense her book provides, I think, a basis for communication with the Russian people. And one cannot read Mrs. Fischer's account of their sealed existence without feeling that one hope of democratic development in Soviet Russia lies in free association and exchange with the outside world.

MARGARET MARSHALL

### Portrait of a King

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise De Kay, E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.50.

THIS book is no formal analysis of the forces that have shaped the Italy of today. Rather, it picks out one or another element in the story that appeals to the author, without pretense of proportion. Its chapters are small essays, sometimes prose poems, on episodes in Italian history since the sixteenth century which the author has deeply studied or in which he has intimately participated. The earlier part of this study is stimulating reading for one who already knows his Italian history pretty well. But it is the latter portion, covering the past four decades, that packs a punch through the first-hand, sometimes gossipy contributions from the author's personal experience.

Count Sforza is today a member of the government—albeit with some formal reservations—of King Victor Emmanuel III. When he went from America to Italy a few months ago, he left with his publisher this manuscript, which amply explains his reported pledge of that time never to join a Cabinet under the present king or his son. The motive for his subsequent reversal of conviction is not implicit anywhere in this book.

Sforza is firmly convinced that Fascism would have been destroyed, virtually by a whiff of grapeshot, at the time of the "March on Rome" if Victor Emmanuel had signed the decree for martial law which Premier Facta twice timorously presented to him on instructions from his Cabinet. He says, "I am convinced that [the King] would have signed if an energetic Prime Minister had instructed him that it was his duty, and constitutional king, to sign." He quotes Margherita, the Queen Mother, to the effect that "Victor believes and obeys Elena and the Prime Minister in office, whoever he happens to be."

In support of this assertion Sforza mentions one occasion

on which the King did obey a minister of his—Foreign Minister Sforza. Admiral Millo was believed to be hesitating as to whether to side with d'Annunzio in Fiume. Sforza sketched a letter for the King's signature reminding the Admiral of his soldier's oath of loyalty. "The King hesitated, quibbled: 'I'm willing to do anything you ask me, but if I am not listened to, if I am scoffed at, won't it be still worse?" (P.S. He signed.)

Victor's cousin, the Duke of Aosta, was willing to become a pawn in Mussolini's intrigue because he "had contracted a bad attack of thronitis: for two years he did not leave me a moment's peace, trying to persuade me to have him appointed King of Poland, King of Hungary. . . . When I mentioned it to the King he used to mutter: "If it were only that. . . ."

When the documents which clearly implicated Mussolini as organizer of the assassination of Matteotti were presented to the King, he "stammered: 'I am not a judge; these things ought not to be told to me. . . .' He did not realize that at that precise moment, despite himself, he became an accomplice."

But there were other accomplices in the crimes of Fascism—some blind and well-intentioned, some alert and crafty. Immediately after the Matteotti murder "only in the embassies of the United States, France, and Great Britain was there any sympathy for Mussolini." As the "undeclared war" of the thirties approached the explosion point, "everyone in Europe was guilty of slackness and of lack of the moral courage to face reality. Everyone was guilty, the right as well as the left—the Tories, the Socialists, and the Communists. . . . But the main guilt in this situation of falsehood, of false prudence, of hypocrisy, of lies, in brave nations like France and England, is the guilt of the French Conservatives and the British Tories," especially because "they let themselves be hynotized by the so-called Bolshevik danger."

There is an acid picture of Sforza's interview with Blum, paralyzed in his policy toward Republican Spain by his fear of the reactionary "half of France." There is the episode of Sforza's interview with Premier Reynaud, a few days before the French collapse in 1940, interrupted by repeated private calls from "his mistress, Countess Hélène de Portes," and "Reynaud's frightened look and lavish excuses." There is Weygand's statement: "This collapse [the defeat of 1940] is sent by God." And here is recorded the offer of the French General Hunzinger, Pétain's emissary to secure armistice terms from Mussolini, to supply to the Fascists a list of the fifty thousand Italian "traitors," Italians resident in France who had volunteered as soldiers in the French army to fight the Germans. Even Mussolini's generals pretended not to understand the infamous offer.

Sforza's book is no connected narrative but rather a series of pin-point spotlights on Italian and European history. It is a panorama of futility. Perhaps its sad moral may be summed up in the author's assertion that "if, during the long Fascist period, there had been one man with even one-quarter of Benes's vision and strength of will in power in London or Paris, the Fascist bluff would have collapsed and peace would have been saved."

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

### OUTSTANDING BOOKS

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#### A Case of Heart Failure

HEART OF EUROPE! AN ANTHOLOGY OF CREA-TIVE WRITING IN EUROPE, 1920-1940. Edited by Klaus Mann and Hermann Kesten. With an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. L. B. Fisher. \$5.

THIS anthology has already been criticized for its omissions. But the reviewer of anthologies who merely lists the authors who ought not to have been excluded is performing a rather dubious service. Since selection is a highly personal matter, no anthology can please everyone. To refuse to criticize an anthology on its own terms, to refuse to judge it for what it contains rather than for what it omits, is only to raise anew the question whether anthologies are desirable. The question is reasonable but irrelevant.

Moreover, this is a large anthology, studded with important names. There are twenty-one national sections, each with an introduction by an authority on the subject. The work of 141 chosen authors runs to close on a thousand pages.

If one cannot condemn an anthology purely for its omissions, one must look for the theme which runs through it and holds it together. This is where our difficulties begin with "Heart of Europe." The title is clear. So is Sergeant Mann's intention: "Wherever I may be when this anthology is published, I shall try to serve the very ideas and values discussed and dramatized in its pages." But what are these ideas and values? Mrs. Fisher avers that the "heaped-up treasures" of "Heart of Europe" are rich in remedies for our modern problems. "What better fellow-workers could there be than Maritain, than Croce, than Gorki, than Silone,

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than Hugo von Hofmannsthal, than Hasek?" In all its appalling unanswerability, the question points to the fallacy on which "Heart of Europe" is based.

The argument is this. The Nazis are barbarians; Maritain, Croce, Gorki, Silone, von Hofmannsthal, and Hasek are not; therefore the latter represent a system of values which we can serve. "Read Ortega y Gasset's shrewd and humane reflections!" writes Mr. Mann—and the exclamation marks are all his own; "Be moved by André Gide's fervent appeal for Joy and Progress. ...!" All distinctions are obliterated in a highbrow version of gay Paree and Congress dances. And highbrow uplift is always the most disgusting kind of uplift. Someone should have warned Messrs. Mann and Kesten: "Be moved by Nietzsche's shrewd and fervent exposure of the cultured Philistine!"

"Heart of Europe" is no heart, only scattered limbs. The material is divided according to nations, but since few national characteristics are ever alleged or even revealed, the categories are entirely arbitrary. The prospect of reading some literature of Balkan and Central European countries is in itself attractive, but the attraction fades after one has read the selections of the present anthology. One turns to Russia with a certain expectancy, for at least since Tolstoy, Chekhov, and Gorki, Russian literature has been redolent of the Russian soil and the Russian people. But "Heart of Europe" reveals neither the old Russia nor the new. White Russia is represented by a nice story by Ivan Bunin, and in a short piece by Remisov we are told that "Dostoevski is Russia." The selection from Soviet literature is much worse than discreet. The only revolutionary piece is a short and trivial poem by Mayakowski. The Gorki excerpt is another nice story. Brief passages from Ehrenburg, Sholokhov, and Alexei Tolstoy do more to disguise than to reveal the character of Soviet literature.

The German section is a strange hodge-podge. Most extraordinary is the choice of German poetry. Three stanzas of a poem by Stefan George, perfunctorily translated, are given with no indication that they are only the second half of a six-stanza poem. There are two short poems by Bert Brecht in translations of which the author disapproves and which were apparently chosen because they appeared in Mr. Mann's magazine, Decision. Aside from George and Brecht, German poetry is represented by Carl Zuckmayer and Else Lasker-Schüler. By way of compensation, Rilke's Second Duino Elegy, superb but unintelligible in translation and out of context, finds its place under the heading Czechoslovakia.

The best section is the French, to which Yvan Goll has written one of the few good introductions among the twenty-three of this weighty tome. But even here, after glancing over the impressive array of names, we are disappointed by the actual content. Six pages of Gide, three of Malraux, and one of Aragon are not much in a book where Thomas Mann goes on about Goethe for thirty, where Ivan Bunin speaks of "Natalie" for twenty-eight, and where Mr. Kesten speaks of "Colonel Kock" for sixteen.

"Heart of Europe," therefore, has much more to be said against it than that it omits important authors. Yet, having found a lack of unity in the book as it stands, a lack of critical sense, and a lack of proportion, we are bound to suggest choices which the editors might have made. They might have

made a more historical selection which would have included Berthold Viertel, whose book of poems "Fürchte Dich Nicht!" is almost the only real "literature of exile" which the great exodus of refugees has produced, and Johannes R. Becher, chief of the Moscow group of German exiles, whose poems have been inflammatory propaganda among the invaders. Or they might have had an eye only to literary merit. In that case they would have eliminated most of the poetry, since poetry is largely untranslatable, and have included some dramatic pieces; for drama, despite Klaus Mann, did not "lose its spiritual significance during the period covered in this book," at least not in Germany and Russia. The present anthology is too often invidious or haphazard, and one is never quite sure which. One sometimes has the impression that it gives preference to authors who happened to be in New York or to have friends in New York at the time.

With its fragments of unidentified novels, its limping translations of poems, its scraps of historiography and criticism, its bundles of short stories, its uneven introductions often barely related to the selections that follow, "Heart of Europe" is not a "treasury" but a junk shop; for even valuables become junk when left lying around. This book is not a collection of democratic documents, though it contains Heinrich Mann's splendid Supernational Manifesto. It is not collection of political writing, though it contains some of the literature of war and anti-fascism. It is not a collection of the best writing, though it includes most of the great names of recent European literature. Indeed, if it tells us anything at all about Europe, it is to remind us what a mess European culture will be in even after Hitler is defeated.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

### Anatomy of Nationalism

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND. By Hans Kohn. The Macmillan Company. \$7.50.

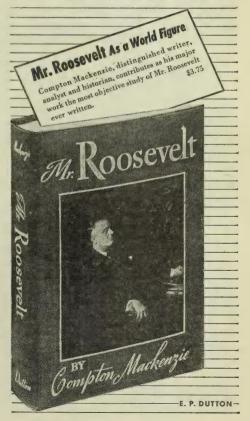
A SPRING cleaning of political terminology is in order. It ought to be less easy, for instance, to call anyone we dislike a Communist or a fascist; and it ought to be impossible to use the term "nationalism" anachronistically. It is generally agreed that nationalism as a state of mind does not exist before it becomes consciously manifest and is "unthinkable before the emergence of the modern state." But historians are seemingly as eager to build up the pedigree of successful ideas as genealogists are ready to invent a family tree for a successful business man.

By virtue of several previous works written over a period of more than twenty years Hans Kohn may claim to be an authority on the subject. Indeed, his introduction to the present volume is a reprint of the second chapter of his "World Order" with slight but significant differences: he has shortened a quotation from Sidney Herbert, and he has substituted a motto from Nietzsche for one from Gooch. According to Professor Kohn's competent view, "nationalism is inconceivable without the ideas of popular sovereignty preceding," and none of its attributes is more essential than "the decision to form a nationality," which becomes manifest in a mass consciousness when it recognizes "the nation-

state as the ideal form of political organization." Is it not inconsistent, then, to trace nationalism back to the tribal consciousness of Israel and to call the Messianic aspect nationalistic? And to term the English Puritan Revolution "religious nationalism experienced by the English people as a revival of Old Testament nationalism" is no more clarifying than to describe a Roman triga as an automobile drawn by three horses.

"If we designate the tribe by the word 'nation,' as many ancient writers did," wrote Carlton J. Hayes more than ten years ago, "we can readily perceive that 'nationalism' is an attribute of primitive society." However, if we do so we deprive the term of its discriminative value. Some "unconscious and inarticulate" national feeling may have existed before nationalism was born, but if nationalism is consciousness of nationality and of the nation-state, the clarity of the conception is blurred if we assume, as Professor Kohn does, hat "both the idea and the form of nationalism were developed before the age of nationalism." One would hardly call a foetus a child in order to explain what an embryo is.

No one will question Professor Kohn's statement that "German national movement did not arise until the nine-teenth century" and that Herder "was the first representative



of German nationalism," of which only Klopstock, Justus Moeser, and Herder "may be regarded as forerunners." But if that is so, why does the author discuss, among the forerunners of nationalism, Frederick II of Prussia, whom Hitler may claim as the "first National Socialist" but who as a matter of fact regarded his subjects as strangers and, accord-

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ing to Mme de Stael, looked upon the French bommes d'esprit as his compatriots? And why discuss Grimmelshausen. who "does not reveal any trace of national feeling," or treat as forerunners of German nationalism Lessing, Kant, and Goethe, who as cosmopolitans were "not concerned with the German nation" and did not have "a German ideal"?

There is no question that Professor Kohn possesses an amazing knowledge of the literature and history of bygone centuries, but I would say, following his example of quoting untranslated German poetry: "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister." His book is scholarly in the German sense of the term: one-fifth of this voluminous study is devoted to footnotes. But fewer quotations and footnotes would have rendered his elaborate work more readable. And though his erudition commands respect, he, no more than Hayes, gives a satisfactory answer to the most intriguing question of our age: Why did evolution reverse itself and change the lovely butterfly of national spirit into the revolting caterpillar of murderous nationalism? Why, indeed, do all ideas degenerate as soon as they become instruments of political power? We hope that Professor Kohn will satisfy our curiosity in his promised volume on the rise and growth of nationalism. RUSTEM VAMBERY

### Sharp as Salt

THE SUN AT NOON. By James Hearst. Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press. \$1.

TAMES HEARST has collected twenty-six sensitive poems written over the past twelve years or so for this small volume. They are not mere observations of rural life as seen from Pullman window but the product of genuine understanding of farm people and the land on which they live. Here are the hired man, the wife with good straight legs, the old dog; and here too are the hardware merchant and the girl who took a course in Commercial and wound up candling eggs in Chicago. It is a good thing in these days of man-power shortages to reflect on our days of lesser plenty, and Mr. Hearst helps a lot with such evocative poems as On Relief.

> Our glances met as glances always meet and sharp as salt was my surprise. I saw I went down the street A man with want-ads in his eyes. For sale he offered to my sight Without the usual signboard's flash A man bewilderment and fright

Mr. Hearst's thoughts on fence rows might well be given a presentation emblazonment and sent posthaste to sundry tories. This particular row was a ripple of ground where a fence once divided a field in two. But, he points out, "the habit of being divided fades slowly and may not be smoothed out in one growing season."

Can mark down cheap when prices crash . . .

soon nothing was left in the wave of the ground but a few wild roses, though lately I found . freshly dug den where a fox of the old school loyal to his party had refused to admit that the fence row was gone. CHARLES ALLDREDGE

### MUSIC

OST of the teaching of the tech-I nique of piano-playing and singing is bad; but the consequences are much worse for the singer than for the pianist. If someone starts with the agile and sensitive fingers that produce facility and beautiful tone he is likely to retain them no matter what he is taught, and to develop them in the mere process of continuing to play now in accordance with the rules of one "method" and now in accordance with the rules of another. But a person who starts with a beautiful voice and who doesn't learn a way of producing the beautiful tones correctly, efficiently, without strain, is likely to lose the ability to produce them at all.

Let it be understood that I make no claim to knowledge of the technique of singing. But some things are obvious to a person with nothing but eyes and ears. To such a person there seems to be a connection between the easy flow of sound that Jennie Tourel produces and the appearance of her face-the rounded open mouth, the relaxed jawas she sings. And conversely he can see that Dorothy Maynor's tremolo is geared exactly with the vibration of her jaw under a mouth that is contracted to a mere slit, and a face that gives other indications of tightened, straining muscles. And he feels like rushing up to her and saying: "Stop doing that to your voice. Already the luscious beauty it had only a few years ago is gone; and the rest will go if you don't stop and find the right way of using it."

The deterioration of Miss Maynor's voice since her New York debut is painful to experience and report; but there is pleasure to be had from her growth as a musician. She sings German Lieder now not with the uncertainty of a person who has been coached but with the assurance of one who has achieved her own understanding of them; she has the power of dramatic projection that can put over one of Mussorgsky's Nursery Songs in an embarrassing English translation. But her assurance and understanding and dramatic power are greatest in Negro spirituals-though a friend told me that colored persons in the audience found her singing of them undignified.

Unfortunately, Virgil Thomson pointed out recently, not even "a correct method of vocal production will prevent premature exhaustion of the vocal powers." Here, for example, was

Elisabeth Rethberg, who "during the 1920's and the early 1930's was known far and wide and justly celebrated not only for her beautiful voice but for the impeccable form of her emission," and who the night before had sung "with no certainty about pitch, no control of coloration, no power of sustained line, literally no technical security of any sort." To Mr. Thomson this meant "that factors of physical health, the vitality of the respiratory organs, the stability of the nervous system, all the elements that go in an athlete to make up what is known as muscular tone, are as much involved in the preservation of muscular skills (and singing well is certainly a muscular skill) as method is." And he concluded that "Miss Rethberg's once masterly and very beautiful singing must be accounted henceforth, I am afraid, a memory. Last night's massive gathering of musical celebrities and of warm personal admirers and the somewhat terrifying display of floral set pieces on the stage were merited tribute to one of the great vocal artists of our time."

I have quoted from Mr. Thomson's review not because of laziness but because of admiration of a difficult task well done. I am not sure he was right about the cause of Rethberg's present singing: the fact that her method of production was perfect once does not preclude its being faulty now; for just as a singer who starts with technical difficulties sometimes gets out of them, one who starts without difficulties can get into them; and Rethberg's face as she sang gave me the impression of muscular constriction in place of the proper relaxation. But the singing itself he described correctly; and what I admire is not only the justice of this description but the humanity, tact, and skill of the context in which he placed the heartbreaking facts that had to be told. One detail of the occasion I will add: the remarkable way in which Helmut Baerwald worked ahead of Rethberg to lay out every possible support for her voice with his piano accompaniments.

For May Victor has issued a mere handful of single discs concerned with matters of which the weightiest is the engaging Dance from Falla's "La Vida breve," well performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony and excellently recorded (11-8592; \$1). On the reverse side are the Polka and Dance from Shostakovitch's "Golden Age," which I find worse at each rehearing; and on another disc (11-8591; \$1) is Samuel Barber's Overture to

"The School for Scandal," another product of mere facility-this time in modern comedy-overture style-that is well performed by Janssen with his Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles and excellently recorded. On still another (11-8579: \$1) is Mein Herr Marquis from Johann Strauss's "Fledermaus," sung in Spanish with a Mexican orchestra under Ernest Roemer by Miliza Korjus, whose voice sounds curiously altered and occasionally somewhat shrill. On the reverse side is some rubbish from a film "Caballería del Imperio." The rest is too inconsequential for comment; and again I must wonder how these things ever came to be re-



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corded, and why—if Victor has nothing better of its own—it doesn't issue the H.M.V. recording of Schnabel's performance of Schubert's Sonata in B flat.

B. H. HAGGIN

### ART

EGGY GUGGENHEIM'S spring salon for abstract and surrealist artists under forty (at Art of This Century, through June 3) is a much-needed project. Nothing of very high order is shown, but enough that manifests promise. It is true that these young painters and sculptors lack force and erudition, lack profound obsessions, and aim at felicity more often than complete expression; but most of them have discovered at least the direction in which art must go today in order to be important. Fannie Hillsmith's oil is evidence-it is perhaps the best thing shown-also David Hare's large plaster construction, which needs only a more dominant and insistent rhythm. Ouite a few other items give pause to the observer. In Phyllis Goldstein's brownish painting felicity almost makes up for the absence of strength. Robert Motherwell's large collage is perhaps the most interesting work present, but it lacks a certain forthright emphasis which collage usually requires. Perle Fine's Miró-

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esque gouache, Jacqueline Lamba's painting, Eileen Agar's crayon drawing, Hedda Sterne's piece of femininity, Richard Pousette-Dart's over-elaborated oil. Aaron Ehrlich's retarded cubism, Virginia Admiral's dispersed version of Miró, and Jackson Pollock's inflated pastel and gouache-for all their shortcomings, their lack of pressure, these deserve attention. William Baziotes has painted an experiment rather than a picture, but it makes one more curious about his particular future than about that of any other painter present. The salon serves its function by arousing curiosity.

The cire-perdue bronze groups of the Brazilian sculptress, Maria Martins (at the Valentine Gallery, through June 3), are perhaps the last completely living manifestation of academic sculpture. The nature of metal almost denies itself in this monstrous and happy proliferation of plant and animal forms. The impulse is baroque, not modern, and is given by Latin colonial décor and tropical luxuriance. This sculpture expresses conceptions which Western European industry imposed on metal in the first excitement of the discovery that it could be poured into the most pliant and complicated shapes. Mme Martins's subject matter-the exhibited fertility of the open-bellied female figures, the different varieties of life growing out of and into each other in the chaos of an un-Biblical creation-animates the form, but is not quite strongly enough felt to produce more than decorative effects. Design is symmetrical; the formal relations are transparent and predictable. This is the crux of the sculptress's problem. But none of this contradicts the fact that she has immense talent. Look carefully at the piece in metal leaf called "Le Couple," and at the "Macumba" group; also the sculptured jewels, which are the best contemporary examples I have seen.

Luis Quintanilla's temperament seems unsuited to the theme—"Totalitarian Europe"—around which a showing of his latest work in water color and crayon is grouped (at the Knoedler Galleries, through June 2). Line is too graceful color too limpid and singing. The formal combinations are delicate but irrelevant to their motifs. Color is the chief trouble. Even Goya and Picasso felt compelled to restrict themselves to black and white when confronting the horrors of war.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

### FILMS

ATCHING "The White Cliffs of Dover" is like drinking cup after cup of tepid orange pekoe at a rained-out garden party staged by some deep-provincial local of the Englishspeaking Union. Like the Alice Duer Miller "poem" from which it derives, it is a natural for our better Bovaries and their male equivalents. As the whalebone-collar "Tender Comrade," and a lot besides, it may also be unequivocally urged upon anyone who has sufficient appetite for suffering, hatred, and a study of the devout exposition of unqualified snob dream-life. One of the movie trade papers has observed that some well-known Englishman-who apparently did not dare to give his name -thought the film unfortunate, even as an effort to foster Anglo-American amity, but that Lord Halifax liked it very much. This seems adequate check on a story Curt Riess once printed: that on the night before the Anschluss, Halifax kept an Austrian diplomat (I forget the name) who was trying to beg him to avert it waiting for hours on the ground that he was detained with a friend. The diplomat heard their gay laughter, and never saw Halifax. The friend, according to Mr. Riess's story, was von Ribbentrop.

"And the Angels Sing" is a Paramount shy at comedy, involving four small-town sisters (Dorothy Lamour, Betty Hutton, Diana Lynn, and Mimi Chandler) who pursue a dishonest jazzband leader (Fred MacMurray) to Brooklyn. A lot of it-cruel, soggily professional, over-elaborate, and inclined toward snobbish whimsy-makes me tired, and I am especially sorry to watch the exciting potentialities of Diana Lynn turning, more and more, into mere narcissistic chilly cuteness. But Betty Hutton is almost beyond good and evil, so far as I am concerned, and I like a good many bits about the jazz musicians-the vulpine performance of Eddie Foy, Jr. (until he horses it); the jammed, harsh-lighted, pitiful Brooklyn dance hall; the faces of the musicians as they background silly songs; the moment when the band leader leaves the gasping jitterbugs to the mercy of a Hawaiian "prince" "and his Schultz Island Serenaders"; and the show's funniest, most authentic line, warning yapped into the middle of mass attack on the leader-trumpeter, the band's meal-ticket: "Don't hit him on the lip!" JAMES AGEB

# Letters to the Editors

#### Mr. Barzun Detects

Dear Sirs: Grateful as I am for the spirit of Miss Bogan's article on the detective story in The Nation for April 22, I find it based on a "crime" against history so serious that I hope I may be permitted to "detect" it.

Miss Bogan states that the rise of the detective story in the nineteenth century represents a return to "form" and logic while the contemporary literature was abandoning rules and waxing anarchical. This seems to me wrong in both parts: nineteenth-century crime stories are anything but remarkable for tight construction, and the standard novels of the period are anything but deficient in form. Miss Bogan cites Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue" as establishing the strictest of all rules through the convention of the locked-and-barred room. This is to confuse theme and treatment. It so happens that the literary form of that particular story is not more but less rigorous than that of Poe's fantastic tales, where purposely indefinite atmosphere is bounded by clear and solid form.

And when Poe was creating the models of all future detection, Balzac had certainly achieved technical mastery. So had Dickens, Hugo, Gogol, Hawthorne, and their peers. We may not like their devices, we may scorn their plots and think all their painstaking misapplied, but to accuse them indirectly of slovenliness and anarchy is to echo an old error in defiance of criticism and scholarship.

Even leaving "literature" out of ac-count, the fact remains that any hypothesis like Miss Bogan's which lumps together as "detection" everything from "The Mysteries of Paris" to Sherlock Holmes, is bound for shipwreck. Miss Bogan gives as one of her sources a book on le roman policier by Roger Caillois. I do not know the work, but through her use of it I suspect a treatment that fails to differentiate the French police novel from the detective story. The former is a kind of modernization of the historical novel of adventure: D'Artagnan becomes Lecoq, with no diminution of sensationalism. Similarly, Wilkie Collins, Dickens, and later Dostoevski dabbled in murder and mystery, but all of them belong to the school of adventure; they feed an interest in surprise, suspense, and ultimate justice, not an interest in the process of detection.

The true detective story is something else, much more recent. Though fully formed by the prescient genius of Poe, it had to wait for the popularization of science to become itself popular. Sherlock Holmes, we must not forget, made his first bow in 1887, and if Poe was his remote ancestor, T. H. Huxley and Bertillon were his foster-parents. Miss Bogan would be correct if she said that the true detective story resembles the psuedo-classic drama and the debased opera seria in that it presents endless minute variations of one plot for the pleasure of trained dilettanti. This in itself would help clear up her confusion of genres, as well as destroy her false inferences concerning form and filiation in nineteenth-century literature. JACQUES BARZUN

New York, May 15

#### Miss Bogan Gives Evidence

Dear Sirs: I quote the first paragraph of M. Caillois's essay. I think that Mr. Barzun will agree that there is no tone of denigration here; and that the author is evidently on the side of that romantic revolution in the arts that produced the nineteenth-century novel.

Being, as it were, the domain of license, the novel knows neither limit nor law. Its nature consists in transgressing all rules and in yielding to every temptation that solicits its fancy. Perhaps it is not fortuitous that the remarkable development of the novel in the nineteenth century coincides with the progressive rejection of the rules that once determined the form and content of literary genres. The theater emancipated itself, becoming disengaged from the classic conventions and abandoning the unities of time and place. Poetry at first permits itself all sorts of minor lapses, and finally the most grave liberties; without rhyme and indifferent to meter, verse is hardly to be distinguished from prose except by its typographical arrangement. The whole of literature seems to evade regular frames and traditional norms. Henceforth talent alone is held as the single obligation. Only one restriction is imposed upon the arbitrary will of the author: that he compose his work in his own particular manner. It is not demanded that he conform to preestablished canons, and one judges him on his genius alone. It is for him to chose what new exploits he wishes to attempt and how they are to succeed, if they reach the point of suc-

And Caillois is careful to treat not only the "police novel" as it exists in France but English and American detective stories as well. He even brings out the element of "detection" in "Oedipus Rex": the tracing down of guilt by the "detective" who is himself the assassin, the use of irony in that the audience knows the solution and the characters do not. Then there is "Zadig," and "Caleb Williams"; but several writers other than M. Caillois have recently given the name of "first detective" to Vidoqc. And D. W. Brogan has stated that Wilkie Collins's 'detective novels' were in a way written in order to popularize the idea of an English police force! Albert Thibaudet traces the interesting connection between Hugo's early "Notre Dame de Paris" and Sue's "Les Mystères de Paris." Later Hugo takes his own back by being influenced by "Les Mystères" when writing "Les Misérables."

My article used only a portion of the material I have at hand on the crime novel; I hope to write a more solid essay soon. But I cannot see how the detective story can resemble any genre that is based on "the pleasure of trained dilettanti." Surely the modern public of the subway newsstand and the corner lending library are not dilettantes; nor are they in any formal literary sense, as a whole, trained.

LOUISE BOGAN

New York, May 18

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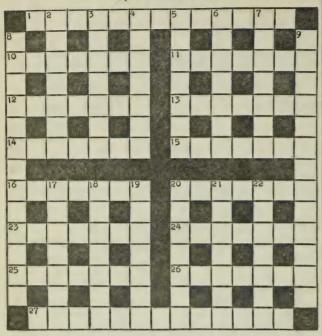
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# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 65

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 Male clerks get them notwithstanding (two words, 5 and 8)
- 10 "Do you believe in -----?" asks Peter Pan; and we all say we do!
- 11 Leaving roly all angular?
- 12 White or red clover perhaps, but strictly the three-leaved variety
- 13 An upsetting fellow
- 14 Part of London from which 'Arry 'Awkins treks to 'Ampstead 'Eath on August Bank Holiday (two words, 4 and 3)
- 15 To-be-continued-in-our-next affairs
- A neat leg is pleasing, it must be admitted
- 20 Empty bottles after a carouse
- 23 It gives you some idea as to what the book is about
- 24 Personal name of Miss B. Daniel
- 25 How great is the fall thereof, as honeymoon couples can attest
- A North Carolinian
- 27 Shows sense in a state of unconsciousness!

#### DOWN

- 2 He rises to present a dollar princess
- 3 Injurious to health
- Tweedledee and Tweedledum did in "Alice"
- 5 Competes with

- 6 His life today, we are told, is 1% being scared to death and 99% being bored to death
- 7 Distinctive symbols of a particular
- Where people go in for swimming (four words, 3, 3, 4 and 3)
- 9 Not fit to be seen
- 17 Cheer at levee
- 18 Moorish kettledrums
- 19 You will find them all in this famous London thoroughfare (two words, 3 and 4)
- 20 Wordy warfare
- 21 One liar (anag.)
- 22 These are the men to make money with both hands!

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 64

ACROSS:-1 JACKDAW; 5 CARAFES; 9 LORELEI; 10 NOMINAL; 11 AMONG; 12 INLAND SEA; 14 SNAG; 15 SINCERE; 18 POP; 20 SON; 21 ANISEED; 23 FULL; 26 ALARMISTS: 28 DRIVE: 29 FOUNDER: 30 ISLANDS; 31 NEEDLES; 32 NEAT RUM,

DOWN:-1 JULIAN; 2 CARROT; 3 DILI-GENCE; & WHITING; & CANDLES; ROMAN; 7 FINESSES; 8 SOLDATEN; 13 MON; 16 NILE DELTA; 17 ROW; 18 PAR-AFFIN; 19 PICAYUNE; 22 DESIRES; FASHION; 24 SINNER; 25 JETSAM; 27 MEDAL

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AMERICA'S LEADING WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JUNE 3, 1944

NUMBER 23

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Tublished weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Asso-iates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act

# The Shape of Things

WE MUST BE ON GUARD AGAINST SEEING THE Allied successes in Italy in the wrong prospective. With the eastern front momentarily quiescent, with the tale of mounting fury in the western air war as monotonous as it is impressive, the battle for Rome tends to loom larger in the headlines than it will in the history books. Even though the Italian campaign has a definite part in this summer's combined United Nations offensive, it is in a supporting rather than a major role. But while we must not attach undue importance to the effects of the three weeks' offensive, at least until its place in the grand design is clearer, we can view the successes gained so far as a hopeful augury. A skilful and stubborn enemy has been driven from two naturally strong lines, and his flank has been turned by the well-timed exploitation of the Anzio beach-head position. As a result the Germans have been deprived of one of their two main lines of communications, while the second—the Via Cassilina is under fire and likely to be out before this comment is read. If this occurs, Marshal von Kesselring's command will be shattered and what remains south of Rome will only be able to escape by infiltration across the rugged Appenine chain to the Adriatic. The destruction of a small but troublesome German army is in sight, and a rapid Allied advance to the Po line is not too much to hope for; this will bring our forces some 200 miles nearer to Berlin and still closer to southern France.

BULGARIA IS A SENSITIVE SPOT FOR THE Germans; they remember bitterly that it was the first of the Central European powers to break in 1918. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should have reacted energetically to counter Allied, and particularly Russian, pressure on the Bulgars to get out of the war before it is too late. Turkish reports of a Moscow ultimatum calling on the Bulgarian government to break with the Germans or face war with Russia have not been confirmed, but the Soviet press and radio have been issuing strong warnings of the ruinous consequences which continuance in the Nazi camp will entail. Meanwhile the country is in the throes of a prolonged Cabinet crisis following the ousting of Premier Dobri Boshilov, who is said to have been carrying on secret negotiations with

Moscow; and the Germans are reported to have reinforced their garrisons in Bulgaria and to have occupied all key positions on the Black Sea coast. In a very confused situation one thing seems tolerably clear: the Bulgarians would be happy to abandon the Axis, and even to lend a hand in expelling the Germans, if they could be sure of retaining their loot, particularly Thrace and Macedonia. But, it is said, Moscow has sternly rejected a bargain along these lines, holding that the disposition of these territories is a matter for the United Nations after the war. So the Bulgars are being forced to choose between fighting Russia and losing the fruits of their German alliance. Both alternatives are unpopular, but if there could be a free choice it is probable that the majority would decide to risk a break with Germany. From the Allied point of view, the crisis is helpful, whatever its outcome, for it preoccupies German forces which Hitler could profitably use elsewhere.

×

THE TEXAS OF DIES, GARNER, AND O'DANIEL has taken action tantamount to bolting the Democratic Party while seeking to retain all of the symbols and prestige of that party. Under the leadership of the O'Daniel forces, including members of such groups as the Christian American Front and the Southern Anti-Labor Crusade, the state convention voted not to support the Democratic Party nominees for President and Vice-President unless the National Convention restores the twothirds majority nomination rule, comes out in opposition to the recent Supreme Court decision voiding the white primary, and expresses disapproval of efforts to eliminate racial discrimination in the schools. Supporters of the Administration, under the leadership of Jesse Jones and House Leader Sam Rayburn, bolted the convention and held a rump session of their own at which a slate of delegates favorable to President Roosevelt was chosen. The spectacle of a state holding two conventions and naming rival slates to the National Convention is not an uncommon one. Election rules are so lax in many states that nearly every national party convention is faced with the necessity of deciding between rival delegations from one or more states. In this instance, however, there seems little doubt that the anti-New Deal clique controls the party machinery and is in a position to make it difficult for the President to be entered in the Texas election on the Democratic ticket. We suspect, however, that regardless of party labels, the people of Texas will vote overwhelmingly for Mr. Roosevelt in November.

X

REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN, NOT SATISFIED with having prevented most soldiers from casting their votes this fall, seems determined to gain the further distinction of denying the soldiers their just reward upon demobilization. The GI Bill of Rights, as passed by the

House after Rankin had personally blue-penciled many of its provisions, has been well described by Senator Wagner as so discriminatory that "it reads like a bill to deny veterans unemployment benefits." By making unemployment benefits dependent on the length of the veteran's service, some veterans will find themselves entitled to as little as nine weeks' benefits, or much less than if they were unemployed industrial workers. In a crude effort to discourage veterans from joining unions a provision would deny benefits entirely to veterans who are members of a union "which is interested in or participating in a strike." Faced by a Senate demand that some modification be made in these absurd and tightfisted restrictions, Rankin has followed the tactics he used with such devastating success in the soldier-vote bill and refused to budge. Thus one little man, who has fought this war in the committee rooms of Congress. may yet succeed not only in denying the millions of men who risk their lives on the battlefield the right to vote but the protection which a grateful country is anxious to give them.

THE EXCELLENT WAR RECORD OF AMERICAN labor has been marred too often by wildcat strikes, the irresponsibility of local union factions. The strong and courageous statement of R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, places such action in its proper setting. Reminding union members of the terrible cost of victory, he insisted that they see to it that "the acts of isolated handfuls are not permitted to continue, to the detriment of us all. . . . Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war effort." Government agencies may be slow, management may be recalcitrant, but the unions must keep their record clean. The streak of anarchism in the American labor movement has left it open to attack: Mr. Thomas correctly emphasizes the fact that labor's influence and standing depend upon the unqualified fulfilment of its pledges.

×

A SENATE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE HAS issued a sweeping indictment of every government agency involved in the Montgomery Ward seizure, but the worth of its findings is totally invalidated by the Dies-like methods to which it resorted. According to Senator McFarland, a member of the subcommittee who refused to sign the report, no opportunity was afforded for interested parties to give evidence, and the report was based solely on documentary evidence, which might not be complete, and the "conclusions of investigators whose testimony is necessarily hearsay and second or third hand." Fortunately the House committee studying the same case is proceeding with less regard for politics. Although many of its members seem to have made up their minds in advance, it is at least holding open hearings

in which the facts are being put on record. Thus Chairman William H. Davis of the WLB was able to point out that the contention that Wards should be exempted from WLB jurisdiction because not primarily engaged in war work would have applied equally to 15,500,000 workers in the distribution, transportation, and service trades. Again, Gerald Reilly of the National Labor Realations Board was able to set forth Sewell Avery's long history of unfair labor practices. If the committee uses these facts in its cross-examination, Mr. Avery's appearance as a witness may be less of a triumph than his publicity men expect.

GERALD L, K. SMITH HELD A PRESS CONFERence at a New York hotel last week. The old rabblerouser was smooth, smiling, poised, and grammatical. Obviously one does not put on the same act for a small gathering of metropolitan newspapermen that one stages for a rally of America Firsters. The only crude thing about the gentleman was his ideas. He and Bob Reynolds are going to tour the country this summer working for the reelection of men like Wheeler, Hoffman, Vandenberg, and Fish; and if the Republicans don't nominate an avowed isolationist for President, Smith intends to run himself as the candidate of the America First Party. He is somewhat upset by Dewey's vague "internationalism." Somebody asked, "If you and Dewey and Roosevelt all run for President, who will be elected?" He pondered for a moment and then said, "It will be between Roosevelt and myself. An internationalist Republican won't have a chance." That was the only time he seemed ill at ease. He laughed shyly, as if he didn't quite believe what he was saying. We wonder what he tells himself when he's alone.

ALL HOPE THAT THE SEDITION TRIAL MIGHT be brought under control by a few stiff fines for contempt of court has vanished in the face of the new filibustering technique developed by the defendants. The government's case is a complex one involving the submission of many hundreds of documents and the calling of scores of witnesses. Under the law each of the twenty-nine defendants may demand the right to read each document before it is submitted as evidence and each has the right to cross-examine every witness. By exercising these traditional rights to the fullest, the defendants would seem to have the power to prolong the trial indefinitely, thus making a farce of democratic justice. It will be noted that the courtroom tactics employed by the defendants closely parallel those used by the Nazis in their bid for national and international power. Like the Nazis, the defendants are bound by no rules of civilized conduct; they violate all canons of taste and decency in order to keep themselves in the public eye; they use the law as a shield when it benefits them, and ride rough-shod over it when it limits their activities;

they are contemptuous of all principles of morality as evidence of democratic weakness, yet they are constantly appealing to these same principles to save their skins. The Nazis went far with these tactics but ultimately the "weak" democracies were goaded into meeting fire with fire. If the defendants in the sedition trial continue to make a travesty of the traditional courtroom procedures, they, too, may find that democratic patience is not unlimited.

IN THE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS SINCE IT WAS founded in an era of academic heresy-hunting, the New School for Social Research has created a remarkable place for itself in the whole field of American scholarship. Its purpose, in the words of Alvin Johnson, its director since 1923, has been to provide "a liberal education for mature men and women." And its dominant principleto quote Dr. Johnson again-has been freedom: "freedom of opinion, of teaching, of research, of publication." Dictation to teachers has been barred: "every teacher in the school is under the obligation to follow the truth wherever it may lead." It was only natural that an educational institution with these beliefs should lend a hand to the persecuted scholars of Hitler's Europe; only natural that under the leadership of Dr. Johnson, whose idealism is infused with a strong dose of practical sense, it should have seized the opportunity to make use of the wealth of learning which the Nazis had so recklessly discarded. In 1933 a permanent Graduate Faculty, often referred to as the University in Exile, was added to the school and manned by scholars from central Europe. When France fell, French and Belgian professors were made welcome and helped to start the Ecole Libre, which functions as a French university. The latest addition to the graduate work of the school is an Institute of World Affairs, in which American and foreign experts can cooperate in an extensive and systematic study of international problems. Thus in many different ways the school is contributing to American life and learning. And when the war is over it sees new work to be done providing returned soldiers, too mature for conventional academic programs, with a chance to complete a liberal education.

\*

EVERY NATION READER WILL APPRECIATE the importance of the political problem set forth by J. Alvarez del Vayo in his article, No Unity with Fascists, published in this issue. The question of how far democratic elements, in their undeniable duty to support the war effort, can go in aligning themselves with the right has become particularly acute since Mr. Churchill's address to the House of Commons. We believe that the question must be widely discussed, and consequently we have asked for the opinions of representative political and labor leaders. They will be printed as we receive them.

# Churchill's Blunderbuss

NE clue to Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons last week—a speech as puzzling as it was shocking-may be found in his remark: "As this war has progressed, it has become less ideological in its character in my opinion." If we may be blunt, the Prime Minister's opinion in this matter is worth very little, for he has never grasped the ideas that are at stake in the conflict. As Harold Laski has written, in an article which deserves rereading in the light of this speech: "The war he [Mr. Churchill] is waging is not the war history has staged. . . . The immense social forces that have gone to make this war are as outside his consciousness as the principles of the Russian Revolution are outside his understanding." \*

Mr. Churchill, indeed, has never understood that Nazism was part of a counter-revolution, transcending the boundaries of Germany, designed to crush government for the people. He could only see the secondary effect—a new attempt to impose German hegemony over Europe and eventually the world. Against that danger he warned his countrymen with all his eloquence. Yet at the same time, since it offered no immediate menace to Britain, he was able to view the fascism of Mussolini and Franco with a large amount of tolerance. He did not realize that these dictatorships were part of a world-wide conspiracy against democracy.

In Churchill's finest hour, when Britain's back was against the wall, when the struggle was one for sheer survival, there would, perhaps, have been some excuse for neglecting ideologies. But now that we are looking forward to framing the peace it is essential that we should learn to recognize the roots of fascism. For if we do not destroy the weed everywhere, if we do not inoculate the political soil against it, we shall find it springing up again to strangle the flowers of peace.

Weeds, unfortunately, seem beneath Mr. Churchill's notice. In his political horticulture he harks back to the formal landscapes of the eighteenth century, and his design for peace is one which Metternich would not disown. He visualizes a world organization controlled by three or four great powers on whom would fall the fask of maintaining a stable order. Twice in his speech he referred to the Anglo-Soviet treaty as a cornerstone of British policy, but he appears to regard it primarily as a mutual agreement not to step on each other's toes. He is prepared to let Stalin have the final word in Eastern Europe, but he seems to regard Western Europe and the Mediterranean as a British sphere of influence.

His plans for this sphere, insofar as he has outlined them, take little account of the popular movements that are so manifest in Nazi-held Europe. Italy, truly, is promised an eventual opportunity to choose any system • The Nation, December 18, 1943.

other than fascism. Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill supports the monarchy and, clearly, hopes to see it survive. For, in general, he clings to constituted authority, however tainted. Even so, it is difficult to understand why, after scolding Turkey for refusing to come into the war on our side, he should positively hug Franco for being so good as not to fight us actively.

Declaring he was "here today to speak kindly words about Spain," Mr. Churchill told the Commons that Spain's internal affairs were solely a matter for the Spaniards. Admitting that the Franco government had been a trifle unneutral on occasion (there was no mention of the Blue Division sent to fight in Russia), he suggested it had made amends by not interfering with our concentration of planes and ships at Gibraltar prior to the North African invasion. The attitude of the Spanish government in the face of this huge display of strength seems to us proof of caution rather than benevolence.

No one in Britain has yet been able to find an adequate explanation for Mr. Churchill's fulsome and uncalledfor eulogy of Franco's Spain. But one result is clear: it has provided some much-needed underpinning for the Spanish dictator, whose throne was beginning to rock as its Nazi foundations crumbled. It has also clarified the State Department's hint that the recent agreement with Spain was softened in deference to British wishes. In appeasing Franco London has taken the lead.

Presumably one bad policy deserves another. When he turned to France, Mr. Churchill obviously spoke from a Washington brief, although making interpolations of his own designed to diminish French anger. The result was that this section of his speech gave a curious effect of blowing hot and cold. He began by paying a tribute to the military and material contributions of the French under the National Committee of Liberation, which he described as "a political entity" providing and directing forces which "give it fourth place in the Grand Alliance." But, he went on, we cannot recognize it even as a provisional government "because we are not sure it represents the French nation." The committee will, he agreed, exercise leadership in the liberated areas, but "we do not wish to commit ourselves at this stage to imposing a government on any part of France."

Mr. Churchill's speeches have been among the most potent weapons of the war. But this one was a blunderbuss fired into his own lines, and it has shaken democratic morale. British liberal and labor forces are outraged, particularly by the reference to Spain, and Edward Murrow of C.B.S. reports that for the first time since 1940 national unity has been impaired. The sight of one of the chief architects of victory undermining the foundations of peace is truly a melancholy one. But we still have faith that the forces and ideas to which Mr. Churchill is blind and deaf will, in the end, prove too strong

for him to resist.

# Parties on the Left

THE formation of the new Liberal Party provides the occasion for a quick survey of the political labor scene.

In New York State the two factions of the old American Labor Party are now in separate establishments. When they were lodged under one roof, their internecine squabbling occupied so much of their energy that their impact on the total political situation grew steadily less. Now it is possible that, apart from the occasional interchange of pleasantries across the party line, they will get about their own business. Oddly enough, that looks to us to be pretty much the same sort of business, to wit, the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt and the return of a liberal slate of Congressmen next November.

We had hoped that after the left-wing victory in the primaries the sectarian scrap would end and that those who could accept the new leadership would carry on inside the American Labor Party and the others vote for the same candidates on the Democratic ticket. We opposed the launching of a new party as untimely and useless. But now that the Liberal Party has been formed, with what appears to be an excellent political program, we believe that it should be given a fair chance. Its realistic program avoids over-friendly gestures in the direction of the free-enterprise boys, steers a straight pro-democratic course in foreign policy, and is pleasantly free from the taint of high-purposed expediency. The new party, therefore, may prove a rallying point for many who in the past have not been drawn into labor politics but have been waiting for the sounding of a new political note in keeping with the gigantic post-war tasks ahead. If the Liberal Party appears today simply as an auxiliary of the Democratic Party, and in that respect in a position similar to the A. L. P. and the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, its independent role may well be established after the November decision.

Two things are to be hoped for. First, that the former members of the A. L. P. who are now active in the Liberal Party will call off their sniping at their erstwhile buddies who now control the A. L. P. And that goes for the A. L. P. as well. If both do their jobs in working for the election of Roosevelt, Wallace, and liberal Congressmen, there won't be much time left for namecalling. Second, just as in an earlier editorial we regretted that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee had become involved in the A. L. P. fight, so now we say that it would be deplorable if the new Liberal Party did anything to embarrass the Political Action Committee in the national field. After all, the objectives of both the A. L. P. and the Liberal Party in New York State correspond to the objectives of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in the country as a whole. These three groups, once they get over their backward-looking grudges, should regard one another not as foes but as allies. The job ahead is too important to have any other thought in mind.

Nationally, it would appear that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee is going to be even more effective than was at first supposed. For the first time an important section of American labor has seen itself as having a positive political role. Already its enemies as well as its friends are claiming that it has exercised a measurable influence in some of the early primaries. Its significance will become even more evident as the campaign develops. The danger is that after November American labor will sink back once more into its chronic slumber. But that is not inevitable. History is cutting new grooves these days. Experience in the depression and the war years is perhaps convincing American labor that it has an independent political responsibility. We should like to see a Political Action Committee formed among the farmers of the Midwest. In fact, if the social and economic gains the farmers have enjoyed under the New Deal are to be conserved and built upon, there should be such a committee in the field right now. Perhaps the Farmers' Union might provide the nucleus.

If we view the picture broadly, there are many signs that the old parties are breaking up and have long since ceased to represent any basic political differences. The emergence of political movements of dynamic proportions among organized labor, urban middle-class liberals, and farmers points in the direction of a new political alignment. The similarity of the economic and political objectives of these groups suggests that in some not too remote future they may become the basis of a great national party. This new party on the left will be directed at the realization of a socially planned economy and pledged to the maintenance of an international order that will guarantee world peace. That such a speculation is not mere wishful thinking is proved by the remarkable growth of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Canada. Twelve years ago there were struggling regional labor and farmer groups scattered across the country. Today the C. C. F., organized as a unified people's movement, stands in a position to challenge the government in power. Making full allowance for electoral and constitutional differences, there is no reason why such a party should not develop here. In fact, unless either or both of the old parties shake themselves clear of outworn ways of political thinking, the future security and prosperity of this country may well depend upon the emergence of such a party.

This is looking far ahead. Meanwhile, the fight is on and we can only hope that the battalions already in the field and carrying the same flag will not waste their limited forces in guerrilla warfare among themselves but will direct their fire at the enemy.

The NATION

# A Catholic Looks at the Dies Committee

BY I. F. STONE

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Washington, May 26 ROTHER AUGUST RAYMOND OGDEN notes that when the Dies committee was first established in 1938 "most assumed that the emphasis would be placed on Nazi activities." This assumption may explain the coolness at first shown toward the Dies committee by Father Charles E. Coughlin's Social Justice. Though written and accepted as a doctor's thesis by the Catholic University of America and published with the permission of Brother August Raymond's Provincial, the Ogden book on the Dies committee frankly reports at least the basic facts on the attitude of the Catholic press toward Dies. In its issue of June 20, 1938, a few weeks after the establishment of the Dies committee, Social Justice "noted that Dies's particular peeve was the Nazis." This was a misapprehension on Father Coughlin's part and it was soon corrected. Brother August Raymond reports that by August of that year "a decided change can be noted in the columns of Social Justice." \* It carried very little about the committee at first, but in the issue of August 29 Social Justice "declared that the nation was at last getting a knowledge of what was going on, although it did not think that Congress would do anything to follow up the disclosures." Father Coughlin soon became a warm convert, and in Social Justice of September 5 Brother August Raymond reports, "We find Dies glorified as the 'Man of the Week' worthy of the applause of every 'honest, America-loving, red-hating United States citizen.' " By October "a large part of the Catholic press came out for the committee, although there were exceptions to the prevailing trend." One exception was the Commonweal, which "blamed the committee for the 'ineffectual and barbarous' way in which it encouraged the country to solve the Communist question." The other was the New World, organ of the Chicago archdiocese, which "also protested against the methods and procedure of the committee."

It was as a foe of the Nazis that Dies first hit the front pages, though the denouement of his debut as an anti-Nazi was both ludicrous and significant. Dies informed reporters on August 3, 1938, that George Sylvester Viereck, "publicist and admitted propagandist for Nazi interests" (the words are those of Dies), had been served with a subpoena by the committee after it had been informed that he was going to visit Hitler. A sham battle ensued between Dies and Viereck. Viereck sent Dies a telegram saying that he was going abroad to visit "The Chicago Tribune was litewise "lutewarm at the beginning" but "became one of the most ardent supporters of the committee."

leading personages, including the Kaiser, and was willing to appear before the committee on his return. Dies declared that Viereck could be barred from returning to the country if he refused to heed the subpoena. Viereck denied that he was an alien, and said that he could not be prevented from returning. Dies thereupon "denied that he had wanted to inconvenience anyone" and said he had issued the subpoena only to save time, since Viereck had said that he would not be back until October, "which would be too late for the committee." The affair provided Dies with a good deal of publicity, but "Viereck never appeared before the committee in 1938 and was allowed to depart a short time later. He sailed on the night of August 12, saying that he would not regret the inconvenience if the committee 'succeeded in uprooting the myriad subversive activities . . . which threaten the peace and security of our country." This was the first of many tributes to Dies from Nazi and fascist sources.

Brother August Raymond has uncovered an early Dies bill which should have provided a clue at the time to the Texan's real interest. In 1935, three years before the Dies committee was set up, he introduced a resolution providing for a special committee to investigate the possibility of the shackling of the press by the Administration. "Nothing ever came of it," Brother August Raymond reports, "but it did, perhaps, indicate a trend." The trend was soon visible. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, the ranking Republican member of the committee, first struck what was to become one of the dominant themes of the Dies inquiry. In July, 1938, he declared the Federal Theater Project was not only "serving as a branch of the Communistic organization but is also one more link in the vast and unparalleled New Deal propaganda machine." And in a radio speech on October 14 of that year Thomas cited evidence before the Dies committee as proof of the links between the New Deal and communism. "The plan," Thomas declared, "is to sabotage the capitalistic system by placing upon that system burdens of restrictive legislation and staggering taxation." In the 1938 elections the Dies committee first showed that it was out to "get" the New Deal.

"At the outset of the hearings," Brother August Raymond reports, "Dies had reiterated his desire to get the data on communism and to avoid any political or labor dispute." The statement was made in October, 1938, and Dies at once proceeded to use the committee to smear three progressive gubernatorial candidates in the pending elections—Benson in Minnesota, Murphy in Michigan,

and Olson in California. The tactics used against Murphy were typical. On October 20, 21, and 22 the committee heard witnesses who linked Murphy with Communists and the sitdown strikes, and at the end of the last day of hearings "Dies casually dismissed telegrams denying the charges by saying that 'those telegrams are available to any member of the press who wants them." On this occasion the President attacked the Dies committee for "a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election" and for making "no effort to get at the truth, either by calling for facts or by allowing facts and personal opinion on the other side." But the Administration's losses in the 1938 elections strengthened Dies, and the President never again attacked the Texan so openly or so vigorously.

In these first hearings there appeared another characteristic of the Dies committee—the undemocratic and high-handed procedure followed by the chairman in dealing with the dissident members of the committee. Congressmen Healey and Dempsey, after the President's defense of Murphy, asked Dies to recess the hearings until after the elections, when all members could be present. Their protest had no effect. Hearings were held without consultation with the full committee, and statements were issued in its name without the knowledge of other committee members. "Somewhere between the fall of France and December 7, 1941," Brother August Raymond writes, "the committee, as far as the public record indicates, had disappeared. Its place had been taken by a one-man agency which could not properly be called administrative and yet could not be called legislative. The information gathered by the investigators was utilized by the chairman, who, to all intents and purposes, had become the committee." This irresponsible method of conducting a committee reached its climax in the apology Dies was forced to make to David Vaughn in 1942. Dies "explained the error by saying that the statement had been released while he was in Texas, but that a careful check made on his return to the Capitol convinced him that the statement was erroneous." The committee, according to Voorhis, knew nothing of the statement until members saw it in the press. Dies had become the committee, and apparently J. B. Matthews, its pet stool pigeon and chief investigator, had become Dies. Of this final stage in the committee's development and of Matthews, Brother August Raymond writes as follows:

... the committee had become, more than anything else, a denunciatory agency. Dies seemed to be attempting to inaugurate a system whereby a federal employee could be dismissed without the least opportunity to defend himself. In the process of denunciation it seemed that no account was to be taken of the person's actual sentiments or actual record. The least connection with front organizations, even years ago, was considered to

have worked permanent corruption for such federal employees. It would seem that change of heart was reserved exclusively for J. B. Matthews and the others who had volunteered information before the committee.

[This is the second of two articles on "The Dies Committee," a book by August Raymond Ogden, F.S.C. The first appeared last week.]

## 75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE EVENTS OF 1864 AND 1866 have to a large extent revolutionized German modes of thinking on political matters. Principles are now recognized sa good which a few years ago would have been indignantly repudiated as unworthy and revolutionary. . . . Varnhagen von Ense . . . says about Hegel: "Our ministers think they have in his philosophy one that is thoroughly legitimistic, suited to serve the state, and Prussian."—June 3, 1869.

THE CHARLESTON COURIER, in a voice that has an undertone of lament in it, says that of course South Carolina has always been a barbarous state, but hopes that it will gratify our "Down East friends" to hear that "we are rapidly assimilating ourselves and our laws to Down East ern ideas." The particular act of assimilation that called out these ideas was the hearing before Judge Orr of three petitions for divorce, of which two were granted.—June 3, 1869.

IT IS A LONG WHILE since there was a prospect of so dull a summer, in all that relates to politics, as the one which we are entering.—June 10, 1869.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE COUNTRY have been for some time past evidently a good deal puzzled with regard to the course they should pursue touching the rival claims of the old and the new education, as they are called.—

June 10, 1869.

MESSRS. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. announce as in press... a revised (the sixth) edition of "The Stomach and its Difficulties," by Sir James Eyre, M.D.—June 10, 1869.

IN TENNESSEE, the political contest becomes more exciting, as the rival candidates are stumping the state togethet—shaking hands on the platform before each speech, and then in turn covering each other with mud of all description.—June 17, 1869.

CONSIDERING THAT SO MUCH SHOOTING by women is going on in the country, and that the feminine world no less than the masculine is liable to moral epidemics, and that women who edit papers are urging other women to carry fire-arms for their defense, perhaps our male legislators may look about them and see if anything can be done to hedge about the virtue of women with legal terrors.—June 17, 1869.

# The Rebirth of Europe

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

AST week I discussed those governments in exile which a modern Dante would expect to find in Purgatory awaiting their rewards and those which would be kept in Limbo, being guilty of no sin except that "baptism was not theirs." We now descend into the lower depths of Hell.

As the day of invasion approaches, the three governments in this circle grow increasingly conscious of their difficult position. The governments of Greece and Yugoslavia, after three years of futile intrigue, are attempting to resolve the conflict between them and the people by making belated concessions. The situation of the Polish government, complicated by hostile relations with Russia and by the anti-democratic attitude of certain elements in exile, is in flux. Comrades in their unhappiness, the three compliment one another through their diplomatic representatives and the press. Two of them have even cemented their bonds by a marriage joining the Greek and Yugoslav royal families.

The Polish government in exile cannot be called wholly reactionary. Many of its members are democrats, Socialists, or trade unionists. The Prime Minister himself, Mikolajczyk, is a leader of the Peasant Party, which has always been democratic. But the influence of the chief of staff, General Sosnkowski, and the military clique, disciples of Pilsudski, Smigly-Rydz, and Joseph Beck, has been overpowering.

Recently an effort has been made by Socialists on the National Council, the government's war-time parliament, to divest General Sosnkowski of his political functions. Underground leaders now in London have said that the Polish people desire a separation of General Sosnkowski's functions. The success or failure of this effort will be an important factor in determining Poland's future foreign policy and, consequently, Poland's future welfare. A sensible policy must decide how the best interests of the Polish people may be furthered. Certainly they are not bound up with the chauvinistic aspirations of the Polish ruling class.

Many Americans and British believe that in the seething Balkan peninsula only the kings can rally their people to a united effort for freedom and unification. Actually, the kings, their courts, and the governments they have chosen have always created internal divisions. As long as kings rule in the Balkans, there can be no federated union of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, much less a Balkan confederation.

In Greece, ethnically a homogeneous nation, the

dynasty has caused an unhappy cleavage in the forces of resistance. Recent events inside and outside Greece have forced the King to declare that he will not resume his throne until the people, by a free vote, decide what they want. George II, however, has made promises before and then broken them.

The E. A. M., which is patterned after Marshal Tito's movement and is one of the most powerful underground organizations in the Balkans, has demanded again and again of the various Prime Ministers that a national coalition government be formed in which the underground would participate. King George has now finally authorized Prime Minister Papandreou to form a government of national union conforming to a blueprint drawn up by representatives of all the Greek political and fighting groups meeting in Beirut.

King Peter of Yugoslavia has also at long last dismissed the fascist Purich ministry, which has repeatedly been in open conflict with the people of Yugoslavia, and has dropped General Mihailovich as War Minister. It has been announced that a "coalition" government will be formed. Whether or not King Peter will be able to nullify the damage done by five consecutive governments in exile to the unity of the Yugoslav nation will depend upon Marshal Tito. In an interview released on May 21 by the Associated Press, Tito stated clearly that he considers his government, which was formed in November, 1943, the true people's government of Yugoslavia. He has asked for funds from the Yugoslav National Bank and for the Yugoslav warships now in the possession of King Peter's government, which he accuses of "squandering for its personal ends" money raised to support these ships. Tito also requests representation on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. When he was asked whether Yugoslavia was likely to fall within the sphere of any major power or combination of powers after the war, he replied that Yugoslavia's effort in the war would give the Yugoslavs the right to "arrange for themselves their internal organization and their foreign relations-a right guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow and Teheran conferences."

#### THE FREE MOVEMENTS

Most of the "free movements" are bound much more closely to the people at home than are many of the governments in exile. They base their authority on the aspirations of the people, while the governments base theirs upon "legitimacy." The ambassadors of the governments in exile are consulted by Allied chancelleries on all matters pertaining to their nations. The leaders of the free movements stand hat in hand before a third- or fourth-ranking official in the foreign offices and are lucky to be allowed to express their views.

Of all the emigrations, the Spanish has been the largest and politically the most diverse. Within its ranks political controversy has been sharp. Generally, two tendencies have been manifest—loyalty to the last constitutional government headed by Dr. Juan Negrín, and loyalty to Indalecio Prieto.

The followers of Negrin hold that the last constitutional government is still in existence. They maintain that it is a truly representative body, since it includes the most important political parties and workers' organizations in Spain. When the republic is restored, they believe that the Negrin government must be reinstated to preserve order until general elections can be held, when the Spanish people will choose the government they want.

Indalecio Prieto has been in open opposition to the legitimacy of the Negrin government since the beginning of its exile. Some months ago he created a Junta Española de Liberación which claims to represent a half-dozen political parties but not the trade unions, since Prieto has always maintained that they cannot participate in the government. The original national committees of most of the parties which the new organism assumes to represent have issued from Mexico a joint statement repudiating the Junta and reaffirming their support of the government.

More recently another development has agitated the Spanish emigration. With the particular indorsement of the Communists, a Junta Nacional Suprema. de Liberación has been created in Madrid and has been hailed in the Communist Spanish press as the real embodiment of the resistance movement in Spani and therefore as the true representative of the nation.

Though the Spanish Republicans seem divided, they are one in purpose: they oppose Franco and they oppose the restoration of the monarchy.

The Italian anti-Fascist forces are morally close to the Spanish. They were the first to experience fascism, the first to resist it, and the first to go into exile, where they have been waging an unceasing battle for democracy. Their writings constitute a permanent contribution to the political literature of our time. At one time they were looked upon with suspicion as "premature antifascists" who were complicating the relations of the Paris, London, and Washington governments with Mussolini's Italy.

The first post-Fascist government of the King and Marshal Badoglio, formed in collaboration with liberals, Catholics, democrats, Socialists, and Communists, has disappointed many Italian liberals—Gaetano Salvemini, Randolfo Pacciardi, G. A. Borgese, and Pietro Nenni, among others. It is not what thousands of Italian anti-Fascists have fought and died for in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere. On the contrary, many feel that the longing of the Italian masses for a democratic Italian republic has been betrayed and that the rising revolutionary spirit of the Italians has been smothered by compromise and expediency.

A thorough analysis of the political principles of the German emigration would demand more space than is available here. Free German committees have been formed in most of the United Nations. There is one in London, another in Moscow, a third in New York, a fourth in Mexico. They are unrelated, though there seems to be contact between the committees in Moscow and London.

A "Council for a Democratic Germany" formed recently in New York brings together German liberals, democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats, Center Catholics, Christian Moderates, Communists, for the purpose of clarifying their views and formulating a consistent program. The founders of the council do not claim to have a formal mandate from the German people, but they ask for "the creation of a new Germany within the framework of a free world." They are trying, one of the members told me, to further the establishment of a "European Germany" as opposed to "a German Europe." Like all German movements, the council has been regarded skeptically by other European exiles. Many of the German groups have a good anti-Nazi record and have expressed a clear desire for the democratic reconstruction of Germany, but they have to contend with certain emotional and political reservations which are applied against all Germans.

Many leading Austrian democrats are in exile. Julius Deutsch and Ferdinand Czernin, together with other Europeans who fear the reconstitution of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, have been fighting untiringly against Otto von Hapsburg and seem to have won their battle. Unfortunately, attempts are still being made to bring Otto out of the realm of drawing-rooms, where he has been spouting the language of democracy, into a wider sphere of political activity. Recently we have had reliable information that Regent Horthy of Hungary has instructed his envoys in neutral countries to act independently if necessary but to support Otto as far as possible.

The Hungarians are represented by Count Karolyi in London and Rustem Vambery in New York. A National Hungarian Council headed by Count Karolyi works harmoniously with the democratic forces of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Rumania has Charles Davila and others who follow the democratic line laid down by the great Rumanian leader Maniu. Men like

Momchilov, Padev, Matsankijev represent what there is of Bulgaria in exile; they are supporting with all the means they possess the growing spirit of collaboration between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples. Various reactionary figures, like Tibor Eckhardt of Hungary and Kosta Todorov of Bulgaria, have tried in vain to paralyze the exiled democratic forces of their countries.

And so a "miniature Europe" in exile has dreamed and waited while the people have fought, suffered, and matured. The expulsion of the Nazis will leave Europe physically exhausted but politically rejuvenated and morally strong. When the exiles return they will find new values, new attitudes, new leaders.

In the period between the two wars Europe witnessed a struggle between monarchy and democracy. As Guglielmo Ferrero has said, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and of the German and Czarist empires in 1918 left three-quarters of Europe with governments incapable of ruling their countries or of keeping the peace. Some monarchies, Ferrero said, emerged as rocks in a flood, but the occupants of their

thrones were more like shadows than kings. Against their shadowy "legitimacy" a democratic "legitimacy" pitted its strength. Fascism tried to thwart both sides by its use of totalitarian force. It did not succeed. The revolutionary process has continued, and the oppressed people, working underground and in exile, have forged a new democratic plan for the regeneration of Burope.

In the democratic monarchies the principle of constitutional monarchy will survive. Elsewhere in the West republics will be formed under France's leadership. In Southeastern Europe and the Balkans monarchy will be supplanted by the new democratic legitimacy of popular governments that will look to Russia for inspiration.

The birth of a new Europe depends to a great extent upon the agreement of the three great powers. Should one of them oppose the revolutionary aims of a people while another encourages them, a peaceful settlement will be tragically postponed. The peoples of Europe are tired of compromises and counter-revolutions. They are determined to express their will, once and for all.

[This is the second of two articles on the European Governments in Exile.]

# Stassen of Minnesota

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

TAROLD E. STASSEN, who has very little chance of becoming Republican candidate for President but a very good chance of being named for Vice-President, is easily the most impressive of the men whose names will be placed before the Chicago convention. He is brighter than Bricker, more personable than Dewey, and less reactionary than Warren. He has some distinguished supporters, including men like Sinclair Lewis and Dr. Walter Judd, one of the best liberals in the Congress. What is more, he has a program. It could be more inspiring program, but this year even a firm stand on widows' pensions makes a Republican sound forthright. Stassen is, he tells us, in favor of world organization and of abandoning most, though not quite all, New Deal controls on the economy. He is fairly specific in saying what he means by world organization and in telling which controls he would relax, which he would abandon. His plan for world government is a modified version of Clarence Streit's Union Now, and many perceive Streit's hand in his Saturday Evening Post articles and in many speeches. He is against New Deal taxation and labor laws, but he insists that he would maintain, even broaden, the social-security program and, in time of need, the public-works program.

Stassen has broken the silence with more than double-

talk. His words are pretty good. But what of the record? Fine words have been spoken by more politicians than ever lived up to them, and Stassen has given no assurances that his internationalism can be taken any more seriously than, for example, the sucker bait offered by Warren Gamaliel Harding in 1920. Unlike Wendell Willkie, he has made no sacrifice for his views.

Stassen had one excellent opportunity to show that his internationalism went beyond his ghost-written magazine articles. He muffed it. That was in December, 1942, at the St. Louis meeting of the Republican National Committee, when Wendell Willkie and other internationalist Republicans were trying to keep their party out of isolationist control. Colonel Robert R. McCormick was moving the constellations in order to have Werner W. Schroeder, committeeman from Illinois, elected national chairman. Stassen and his representative, Mrs. Chris Carlson, Minnesota committeewoman, were implored to join the movement to stop Schroeder. But while Roy Dunn, the other Minnesota delegate and no Stassen enthusiast, voted against Schroeder, Mrs. Carlson voted for him. Harrison Spangler, the bungling mugwump from Iowa, finally won out as a kind of compromise candidate, but the early balloting was so close that Stassen, if his publicized idealism had exceeded his practicality, might have turned the tide the other way. That, however, would have meant sharing honors—and enemies—with Wendell Willkie, and Stassen was unwilling to go that far. Ever since then the Chicago Tribune has overlooked Stassen's published heresies. Many observers believe that by entering the Wisconsin primaries Stassen deliberately sabotaged Willkie to kill off internationalist competition within the party.

If Stassen is in fact a liberal, his record as Governor of Minnesota offers no more proof than his record in party politics. For five years he gave the state an honest and efficient administration. Bricker, Dewey, and Warren have done no less. He balanced the budget and piled up a surplus, but it is high time someone pointed out that a state surplus these days is about as impressive as black ink in the ledgers of an aircraft manufacturer. Stassen met one of the few serious issues of policy to arise—that of strikes—by putting through a law, which he fondly calls the "count-ten plan," that effectively hampers union strategy by forcing workers to give employers ten days' notice before a walkout. "One day for each count," Stassen says. He advocates this law for the nation. He also advocates for the nation a general sales tax, which he prefers to call a "progress tax" in lieu of "levies on initiative," and a sixty-hour work week with time and one-tenth for overtime. He was sued three years ago by Kenneth Lee Turpin, a St. Paul Negro, because of race discrimination in the Defense Bureau, home guard of Minnesota. Turpin tried to join the organization and was told that Negroes were not wanted. He appealed to Stassen, and Stassen said that he was powerless to change the decision. Turpin opened suit against Stassen and two officers of the Defense Bureau. Then the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People moved in with all its machinery for litigation and publicity. A few days later Turpin got a registered letter from Stassen, who had discovered that he was commander-in-chief of the state military, welcoming Turpin to the Defense Bureau. Somewhat later Walter White, president of the N. A. A. C. P., wrote Stassen to ask why he never mentioned the race question in his articles on world affairs. Stassen replied that he was "on record many times in word and in deed against discrimination for race, color, or creed." Perhaps he is, but Walter White is still trying to find the record.

Stassen has risen fast, faster in fact than Dewey, and by means of much the same sort of political dexterity. He was born just thirty-seven years ago to poor Scandinavian parents on a truck farm near St. Paul. Inheritance and farm life gave him a bluff, friendly nature and an imposing physique—"silo-tall" is the way Time describes him every week or so. A quick mind got him through high school at fourteen. At sixteen he entered the state university and went on through the law school, finishing up at twenty-two.

After leaving law school Stassen set up offices in a packing-house suburb of St. Paul with another young man named Elmer Ryan. They made a slick team. Stassen worked the Republican side of the street, Ryan the Democratic. With Ryan's Democratic support, Stassen became a Republican district attorney; Ryan, with Stassen's Republican support, became a Democratic Congressman. At that time Floyd Olson, a great liberal leader, was Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota, Olson had inspired many young men to join his reform movement, but Stassen was unmoved. Stassen did, however, learn a great many tricks from Olson, a big, crafty Svenska and a master campaigner. Knowing that the Farmer-Labor Party had less than a majority of the voters, Olson had organized "all-party committees" through which he reached into the regular organizations for many votes. Stassen adapted the idea to his own campaigns.

In 1936 Stassen did not seek office, but he did watch the campaign closely. Olson, after six years as Governor, became a candidate for the Senate, and Elmer A. Benson, who had served a few months in the Senate after the death of blind Tom Schall, ran for Governor. Against this combination, in a great year for liberals, the Republicans put up their regular line of old faithfuls. Olson died before the election, and Ernest Lundeen took his place on the ticket. Despite the loss of their leaders, the Farmer-Laborites came in ahead by many lengths.

Stassen had seen the ineffectiveness of the older Republicans, and he set himself up as a kind of one-man youth movement. His liberalism dates from that time. He joined all the young men's clubs that he could and toured the state telling them that, since age had failed, youth must save Minnesota from the Farmer-Labor menace. A measure of Republican liberalism, he said, was needed to head off Farmer-Labor radicalism. Among the many young men whom he impressed was Joseph Ball, then a political reporter for the St. Paul Pioneer Press. In 1938 Stassen entered the primaries heading a slate of his own, a kind of Junior Executive ticket, and easily defeated the Old Guard machine.

For the general election of 1938 Stassen used all the tricks in the book. Certain that the conservative vote was in the bag, he wooed liberals by announcing that he stood "for the true principles of Floyd Olson." He kept Old Guard Republicans out of sight and consorted with few Republicans of any kind. Most of the men around him were members of the other parties who, generally because of disappointment over jobs, had broken their old ties. A group of Stassen's supporters, whom he later disowned, made ugly but effective use of anti-Semitism to the delight of the extreme reactionaries.

Stassen's first campaign for the governorship was a very tidy piece of rigging for so young a politician. His subsequent campaigns have shown equal ability. He has known how to deal in personalities and how to change

the issues to please the group to which he is at the moment appealing. Political feeling runs high in Minnesota, and many factions rend the air with their oratory. Stassen has offered something to each, and he has picked up votes from all. The national and international issues on which he has spoken so well in other parts of the country yield to strictly local concerns in Minnesota. He has used the spoils issue to good effect—denouncing patronage in campaigns and paying off with it the day after election. He has appeased corporate interests by bringing about reductions in the taxes of the great steel companies that own the iron in the Mesaba range. By appointing Joseph Ball to the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Ernest Lundeen, he created for himself a Washington spokesman of considerable eloquence.

Senator Ball will nominate Stassen in Chicago no matter what the odds against him are. The odds on Dewey are, of course, almost overwhelming, but not quite so staggering as the pre-convention count would indicate. Every other Republican candidate has been sustained by the knowledge that most of Dewey's delegates would be delighted to leave him if they saw another winner. Band-wagons are seldom powered by devotion to a man, but the Dewey band-wagon may be slowed down by the unrepressed dislike of many who support him. If open dissension should break out, it would spread quickly, and Stassen, who is genuinely popular, would be the most probable beneficiary. One other factor favors him. The Republican internationalist vote, which heretofore

adhered to Willkie, has been estimated at close to 7,000-000. This could be a balance of power. If Dewey runs, Roosevelt will capture much of it. But if Stassen were nominated, he would be able to command a great deal of it—and also, because of his service record, a large share of the soldier vote. He would certainly alienate no conservatives.

The far more likely outcome is that Stassen will be offered, and will accept, the nomination for Vice-President. A great many Republican strategists now see this as the solution to their problem, and Stassen is the one candidate who has not yet rejected the prospect of running in second place. Some believe that he can assuage two opposite sections of opinion at once—the internationalists on the one hand and on the other the corn-belt voters, largely isolationist, who will be annoyed if their section is not represented. Annoyed or not, the farm vote will go along with any Republican, but enthusiasm might be heightened by the presence of one of their own on the ticket. And Stassen has played the game cagily enough to be agreeable to both groups. Both the Chicago Tribune and the New York Herald Tribune are pleased with him. The only hitch in this arrangement, and it is one that seriously troubles those who advocate it, is that Dewey, who is reported to have taken the matter under advisement, dislikes the thought of sharing platforms with noticeably taller man. He has a terrible Mutt and Jeff complex, and the thought of a Vice-President half-ahead taller than himself is not appealing.

# Patients Without Doctors

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

HE House of Delegates of the Medical Society of the State of New York, at its recent annual meeting, gave its official blessing to a private corporation, United Medical Services, Inc., established to sell medical insurance. It also voted to set up a Bureau of Medical Care Insurance, to make a "study of possibilities and procedures for a state-wide plan directed and controlled through the Medical Society of the State of New York." A short time previously the medical societies of the five counties that New York City comprises had approved in principle Mayor LaGuardia's plan for voluntary health insurance open to wage- and salary-earners with incomes of \$5,000 a year or less, but had served notice that they would fight to lower the income ceiling to \$2,500—a revision which would limit the plan's usefulness, would make its working difficult, and in the opinion of some authorities would make it unworkable.

Both these moves are aimed to prevent passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for national compulsory

health insurance. The fact that organized medicine has resorted to such sly tactics indicates the growing strength of the demand for effective health insurance. The American Medical Association and its state and county subsidiaries used to fight group-payment plans by suspending from membership all doctors who cooperated with them-the Ross-Loos Clinic case in 1934 and the District of Columbia Group Health Association case in 1939 are well-known examples. In the latter case the Supreme Court ruled that the American Medical Association's activities constituted restraint of trade under the Anti-Trust Act. Since then the A. M. A. seems to have decided that group-payment plans are here to stay, for it is no longer fighting them but trying to keep them in safe conservative hands. It is now fighting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Mayor LaGuardia himself favors the bill; he offered his own plan as a stop-gap, not as a substitute.

The bill, introduced in the Senate by Wagner of New

York and Murray of Montana (S. 1161) and in the House by Dingell of Michigan (H. R. 2861), is one of a number of similar plans that are being considered in democratic countries. The British government has proposed a plan based on the medical section of the Beveridge Report; the Canadian House of Commons has before it the 600-page Report of the Advisory Committee on Health Insurance, popularly known as the Marsh plan; a similar plan is being considered in Australia; Mexico adopted a comprehensive health-insurance program at the beginning of this year. The Philadelphia Charter of the I. L. O., adopted at its recent convention, recognizes "the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organization to further among the nations of the world . . . the extension of social security measures to provide . . . comprehensive medical care."

The chief economic virtue of national health insurance is that it eliminates the risk of an unpredictable and unbudgetable family expense. Its practicability has been amply demonstrated in those countries which have tried it, notably in Czechoslovakia and Germany before the war and in Uruguay and Chile at present. Before they came to power the Nazis had charged that the German system was administratively top-heavy-the old cry of "bureaucracy"-but when they took it over they found that the only way they could save money was to reduce the quantity and quality of medical care. This they did. They dared not eliminate it entirely. Opposition to the idea in this country takes the line that it would be used as a political instrument by the party in power, that it would have a deleterious effect on standards of treatment, and that it would lead to communism, fascism, Nazism, "state socialism," and state capitalism.

Such irrelevant charges only obfuscate the issue. Medical individualism, which has shown itself to be inadequate for the needs of a nation at war," was inadequate even in peace time; after the war, if it continues to be the characteristic form of medical organization, it will be at the expense of our national health. All available evidence indicates that (1) there are too few doctors, (2) they are poorly distributed, (3) medical care is expensive, and (4) most doctors are not able to use their knowledge and skill to best advantage. These admittedly broad statements are based on the findings of a national survey conducted by the American Foundation and a number of special studies by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. The American Foundation's report, "American Medicine: Expert Testimony Out of Court," was published in two fat volumes in 1937 and is the most recent collection of evidence on a national scale; the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care assembled a mountain of statistics covering the years 1928 to 1932 inclusive. Taken together, they afford a broad panorama of the medical situation in the United States during the boom,

• See the reports of the subcommittee on war-time health and education, Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

the depression, and the recovery; it is significant that the findings were much the same in all three periods.

The American Foundation is a highly respectable organization whose directors include Thomas Lamont, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, James D. Mooney, president of General Motors Export Corporation, and Mrs. Ogden Reid, vice-president of the Republican New York Herald Tribune. Hardly a Communist outfit. It wrote letters of inquiry to doctors of twenty years' or more experience and to recent graduates of Grade A medical schools, and summed up their answers thus: "It is fair to say that this correspondence seems to justify the view that, by and large, adequate medical care is not now generally available." A few excerpts from the correspondence will make the point clear enough:

A serious illness, expecially if long prolonged, absorbs the savings of a lifetime of the average family. I have seen it happen over and over again. . . . There is hardly a person living in this county with rich soil who at the present time is able to go to a hospital for attendance. . . . In this state approximately one-third of the people die without consulting a doctor even in their fatal illness. . . . Patent medicines and a faith healer get the major share of support. The faith healer has become wealthy.

And so on, from east, west, north, and south, from big cities, middle-sized cities, small towns, and rural areas, from young doctors and old, from officials of city, county, and state health departments. Their personal observations are borne out by the impersonal statistics of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, an independent research body composed of physicians and economists and financed by a group of well-known foundations. One of its investigators found in 1929 that families in industrial cities spent an average of \$140 a year for medical care, of which \$74 went to private physicians; two other investigators reported in 1930 that the annual cost ranged from \$66 for families with incomes of less than \$1,200 a year to \$311.06 for families with incomes of more than \$5,000. In the same year Leon Henderson found that 28.3 per cent of all personal loans were made for medical expenses. One of the committee's last studies, published in 1933, showed that "if the nation's bill for medical care were equally distributed among the people of this country, the annual charge would be \$123 per family." And Dr. Samuel Bradbury, in an independent study published by the University of Chicago Press in 1937, found that if the average family got all the medical care it should have, the minimum cost would be \$260 per year, or 10.9 per cent of its income. In terms somewhat easier to visualize, this means that a family man earning \$45.50 a week would have to pay \$4.96 a week for adequate medical care at minimum rates.

Some doctors have large incomes, but most don't do too well. Though many replies to the American Foundation's inquiry indicated that there were too few doctors,

there is evidence that large numbers of those who are available are not fully employed. The Lynds reported (1929) that the 38,000 people of "Middletown" depended chiefly on patent medicines and folk remedies and that their fifty doctors were idle much of the time; Maurice Leven, in a study published by the University of Chicago Press (1932), found that doctors' incomes compared very poorly with those of mechanical engineers and other professional men with comparable training; and an Idaho physician wrote to the American Foundation (1937) that many doctors "are scarcely able to provide decently for their families, by reason of insufficient practice." The whole situation is summed up in Mr. Leven's conclusion: "Medical care is now supplied in a haphazard way at a high cost to the public and, apparently, with no particular profit to a very large proportion of physicians."

An individual who goes to a public or private free clinic may get the best treatment that science can offer, but this is largely a matter of chance; there is general agreement among investigators that such clinics, on the whole, offer inadequate service, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In any case they are not available to people with moderate incomes, who when they need medical care must (1) pay the high price of private treatment, or (2) accept "charity" from an individual physician, or (3) go untreated. The various group-payment plans now in operation are good as far as they go, but they don't offer complete medical care, and Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association, has admitted that they cover only 3 per cent of the population. Their fees are not based on ability to pay; generally speaking, they are not available to people with low incomes. Moreover, their protection ends when the subscriber becomes unemployed and is no longer able to keep up his payments; they tend to break down during periods of depression, when they are needed most.

National health insurance is of course not a complete solution of the problem of adequate care. Full employment is a necessary factor in any complete solutionthe Beveridge Report recognizes this fact, and so does the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. "Many would agree," says the American Foundation, "that nothing clear can result from any discussion that confuses the problem caused by the lack of a living wage and the problem caused by the lack of medical care. It remains true, however, that many of those that do have a living wage find themselves unable to pay present costs for adequate medical care." That is the raison d'être of all the present national plans. They do not offer to solve the larger social problems, but only to do the best that can be done within the limitations of the present economic system.

[In a later issue Mr. Morse will discuss the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and the nature of the forces favoring it and opposing it.]

## In the Wind

E DON'T KNOW whether to feel flattered or not by an essay in the News Letter of the Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University. The twelfth-grade level of reading ability, it says, "is probably the level required to read The Nation, the New Republic, [and] the Foreign Policy Association reports." That's the highest level it mentions.

HERE'S ONE FOR PEGLER: The Yugoslav Seamen's Club of New York has offered to man ships to carry supplies to Tito without pay.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO has been voted the most popular speaker of all those who have addressed the weekly assemblies of Bryn Mawr students this term.

FROM A LETTER in Yank, the army weekly: "Here is a question that each Negro soldier is asking. What is the Negro soldier fighting for?... Myself and eight other soldiers were on our way from Camp Claiborne, La., to the hospital here at Fort Huachuca. We had to lay over until the next day for our train... The only place where we could be served was at the lunchroom at the railroad station, but of course we had to go into the kitchen. But that's not all: 11:30 a.m. about two dozen German prisoners of war, with two American guards, came to the station. They entered the lunchroom, sat at the tables, had their meals served, talked, smoked, in fact, had quite a swell time... Why are they treated better than we are?... Some of the boys are saying that you will not print this letter. I'm saying that you will."

THE CITY-COUNTY HOSPITAL for the Indigent at Fort Worth, Texas, has a large inscription above its two narrow entrances and the wide space between them. The central inscription reads: "Erected for the poor of Tarrant County without regard to race, creed, or color." At either end, directly above the doorways, are the words "White" and "Colored."

WE ARE SORRY about that quotation from the Saturday Review of Literature in this column last week. It was taken not from an editorial but from a signed review and does not represent the viewpoint of the editor.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Norwegian ferryman was arrested for selling a German soldier a child's ticket. The sensitive Nazi officer who arrested him said it was an insult to the uniform. At the trial the ferryman replied that it was the rule to sell children's tickets to all passengers below the age of sixteen and that the soldier had given his age as fourteen and a half. . . . They tell this one in Vienna: The Führer died. As the coffin was being lowered into the grave, it had to be raised twenty times. There was so much applause.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or notes that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# No Unity with Fascists

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THAT the main issue in this war is the destruction of Hitler is an indisputable fact for every antifascist. As early as 1935 this writer scandalized his pacifist associates by asking for international action against Hitler, even at the risk of war. Only the other day French friends now in New York, who in that year attended a meeting in Paris of the International Peace Campaign under the chairmanship of Lord Robert Cecil, recalled the stupefaction with which the delegates listened to a Spaniard who rose to say: "If you want to secure peace, declare war on Hitler." That Spaniard was myself.

In 1939 this was still the attitude of every anti-fascist who watched the development of the world situation. Neither the argument that it was an imperialist war nor the presence in the governments of the great powers of men like Chamberlain and Daladier, who had sold out Czechoslovakia and Spain, was enough to deflect us from our line. To destroy Hitler was, in our opinion, the supreme duty of every anti-fascist.

It is our duty today. The recognition that fascism was the chief enemy made us concentrate our fire upon Hitler, the most aggressive, brutal, and dangerous among the fascists. Every ally was welcome in the effort to destroy him. To finish with Hitler and all that he represents, no sacrifice in the platform of any anti-fascist party seemed too great. To make collaboration possible between the left parties and those sections of the middle class that hated fascism but did not accept a socialist program, many socialist demands had to be modified or dropped for the moment. It was in this way that the people's fronts were born. The same purpose inspired the whole policy of national unity.

But the readiness to accept as allies in the fight against fitler people of diverse political backgrounds had to be alted as soon as there was danger that the dividing line etween fascists and anti-fascists might disappear through he effort to extend the anti-Hitler coalition as far as ossible. If national unity was to be justified in the eyes f genuine anti-fascists, it had to have one limitation: must not lead to unity with fascists or with the tools and allies of fascists; it must not destroy its own aim— p end fascism everywhere and forever.

Today we face the danger that the policy of national nity, instead of being directed against the fascists, may e turned against the anti-fascists who refuse to work with them. Unità del Popolo, the Italian Communist paper in New York, has not hurled its invectives against the retinue of little ducisti who still surround Marshal Badoglio. Its severest reproaches have been reserved for that magnificent old anti-fascist fighter Gaetano Salvemini, who opposes the neo-Fascist Anglo-American rule in Italy.

If the only platform for action against fascism—the platform that the fight against fascism is a fight to the death—is not reestablished quickly and unhesitatingly, the policy of national unity will lead to this cruel paradox: unity will be established with the most reactionary elements in every country, with the renegades from fascism, and at the same time the unity of yesterday among the real anti-fascist forces will be broken. To make it more clear: in the case of Spain this policy would lead to a situation in which any General Aranda or any one of the bishops who have gone along with Franco during the past four years would be accepted as allies, while a labor leader who has refused to move in such company would be branded as a saboteur of unity and politically undesirable.

Let us say very frankly to the Communists: unity built through appeasing the right at the cost of the left is not the kind of unity needed at the moment when fascism, retreating on the battlefields, is trying to survive by every possible means. It is not the kind of unity that can strengthen the progressive forces in their fight against the maneuvers of the various foreign offices, whose supreme wish is to keep in power kings, generals, and politicians who, though they have helped fascism, are considered useful instruments for the maintenance of the old social order.

I know very well that the war is still going on. But no recent event has caused me to change my opinion that a clear-cut anti-fascist line is the best political weapon that can be put into the hands of the people. Not only is the theory false that in order to obtain an immediate military advantage any and every concession is justified in the political field. In addition to rejecting such expediency in the realm of principle, I vigorously deny that it has pushed final victory an inch closer. In southern Italy it has certainly not stimulated the Italian people to contribute to the present Allied offensive. No Italian who really hates fascism will be inflamed by an appeal signed by Badoglio. If there was any possibility of

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arousing the Italian masses to fight against the invader, it was by encouraging the rise of new, uncompromised leadership in place of that of the Fascist king and his generals.

That this possibility existed we have said several times on the basis of reports from northern Italy. Now, we can cite a greater authority in support of this assertion. A communiqué issued on May 20 by General Alexander, the commander-in-chief of the Allied forces in Italy, stated that Italian patriots in the north were tying up six German divisions. They are Italians like the people in the south, with this difference: in the north they are fighting the Germans and fascism at the same time; in the south they have been obliged by the political mistakes of the Allies to accept Badoglio and the King.

The movement of resistance has proved everywhere how hate for Hitler and for his invading armies has united the political adversaries of yesterday. The owner of a factory has united with the local labor leaders who seemed so difficult when the question of wages was discussed. The aristocratic landowner has united with his peasants; the conservative candidate with his Socialist rival in the last election; the Catholic priest with the Protestant school teacher. But the resistance movement has not united anti-fascists with fascists. Not only would Pucheu, with his bloody hands, have been thrown out of the underground if he had not been disposed of more quickly in Algiers, but no writer, no civil servant, no parliamentarian who had taken a stand in favor of fascism during the era of collaboration, or even before the war, would ever be accepted in the resistance movement. People who risk their lives every day in the fight against fascism do not want repentant fascists in their ranks.

That which is valid during the war is equally valid for the immediate post-war period. Everywhere former fascists and collaborationists will come out hailing the policy of national unity if it gives them a chance to escape the consequences of popular justice. Everywhere we shall see them asking for unity in order that the country may be reconstructed more quickly, that an end be put to "chaos," and that the peace be organized in an atmosphere of calm and reconciliation. In the fight between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction no precaution the progressive elements can take will be too great.

The reaction will have on its side the advantage of four years of war, in which the Allies' failure to take a strong democratic position has played directly into its hands. It will have the support of all the elements in the various Allied governments who were responsible for the policy of appearing fascism from 1933 to 1939. The enemy is too strong and too terrible to need the help of the left, given out of the left's confusion and contradictions.

# Snapshot from Algiers

A FRIEND of mine has just arrived in New York from Algiers, having left France only a few months before. Durant, as I shall call him, is an intelligent and reflective Frenchman whose judgment of men and events I greatly value. He reports that the success of the militant resistance movement is largely due to the aid it has received from almost the entire French population, including government officials and even a large number of the police.

Durant, as one of the principal labor leaders of France, was chosen by a workers' organization to represent it in the Consultative Assembly in Algiers. A marked man in Paris, he moved to a city in southeastern France. One day he received a message: "Your departure is scheduled for midnight tonight. Go to S——. Someone will meet you there. The password is 'Bien-être et liberté.'" At the appointed hour Durant was at his rendezvous, far out in the deserted countryside. About two o'clock in the morning a British plane landed in a nearby field. A few minutes later it rose into the air again, carrying him toward England.

Both the Darnard militia and the Gestapo, Durant tells me, have intensified their efforts to track down the men who have taken to the maquis. Their raids have had a serious effect on the underground movement. Many "suspects" have been placed in preventive custody. Others have been tortured, deported, or assassinated. Families of men who have escaped to London and Algiers are seized as hostages. All open spaces which might be used for landing fields are closely watched by the Nazis or have been crisscrossed with trenches.

Durant describes the mounting nervous tension of the French as they wait for the Anglo-American invasion. All France is on the alert, and a large French army without uniforms and variously armed awaits the signal to throw itself into the fight. If the Allied offensive against Fortress Europe is delayed much longer there is danger, he feels, that the Resistance may collapse. But, he adds quickly, this grim eventuality is not likely.

French democracy hopes that the Allies will not repeat the mistakes made in North Africa. For our part, says Durant, we are doing our best to cement the friendship between France and the Allies. Pierre Cot, for example, has condemned very strongly the narrow nationalism of certain French "super-patriots." Most Americans are familiar with the political and diplomatic differences which are impeding an agreement between the Allies and the Provisional Government. But there are other "little things" which irritate the average Frenchman.

"The American soldier is all right," Durant told me.
"He is often just a big boy, but sometimes he is an
enfant terrible. The thing that astonished me most in

American soldiers, and in the officers, too, was their lack of interest in what the war is about. Hardly a one of the boys I talked with knew what he was fighting for. Most of them wanted only to get back home, where they could have ice-cream sodas again. Moreover, the Americans have too much money and leisure.

"Drunken American soldiers, for example, were a common sight in Algiers. Americans are not in the habit of drinking wine, and since wine is very cheap—and strong—in Algeria, excesses were natural. In the first weeks after the Allied landing French families invited soldiers into their homes. In some cases they were bitterly disappointed by the behavior of their guests. They find British soldiers more correct in their behavior."

Agents of Berlin and Vichy, Durant reports, are trying to turn the French people against the Allies, but their insidious propaganda is being actively combated by all French democrats. In Algeria the trade unions, which include both French and Arabs, are making a special effort to further good relations. There are more trade-union members in North Africa today than there were in 1936 under the Popular Front. But the Vichyites often find protection from French justice among the Allies—Pierre Boisson, for example, whose military tribunal at Dakar condemned ninety-four patriots to death.

No more "expediency" for France—that is the vow of the French people, says Durant, as D-Day draws near.

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THINGS have come to quite a pass when a leaflet I dropped by Allied fliers over Germany is made the subject of a leading article in Herr Himmler's Schwarzes Korps. The author of the article (in the issue of May 11) insists on referring to the leaflet not as English or American but as Jewish, but aside from his use of that dodge he gives a fairly accurate summary of it. Only "the lack of German courage," he quotes, "stands in the way of peace. Every normal German would rather see the Anglo-American armies enter Germany than have the war continue, and every German knows that only Himmler and the Gestapo prevent the liquidation of the war. Therefore the time has come to eliminate Himmler and the Gestapo. If the Germans are too cowardly to do this, God Himself cannot help them." At the end was a statement of Hitler's: "The earth is not made for cowardly nations." All this was repeated in Himmler's paper.

The article written in answer began with a display of indignation. "What impudence of the Jews to quote Hitler to us! . . . And what nonsense to accuse the Germans, of all people, of cowardice, and to pretend that only Himmler and the Gestapo keep up the German people's morale, whereas it is sustained actually by the courage and stamina of the nation, which knows full

well what is at stake." It then proceeded to develop a serious argument:

Even if the Jews were right in assuming that Nazism -or, as they put it, Himmler and the Gestapo-has not a majority of the nation behind it, the people would still fight doggedly for victory. They feel that there is no alternative, and if the Jewish propagandists want to accomplish anything they should try to disprove that view. They should try to prove that Stalin's army will not cross the German frontier, that Germany will not be bolshevized, that German workers will not be sent to Siberia, that we shall be spared the GPU's shots in the neck, and that our children will not be sent as slaves to the Urals. . . . This "minimum program" is the least that ought to be presented to the Germans if an effect similar to that of Wilson's Fourteen Points is desired. But while the Jews do not find it difficult to make promises in the name of the Anglo-Americans, they cannot credibly promise anything in the name of Stalin. Hence they resort to the simple trick of pretending that this is war between the Anglo-Americans and the Germans. But there is no German who does not know that actually the war is exclusively between the Germans and the Jews and between the Germans and the Bolsheviks. We cannot choose between war and an Anglo-Saxon peace; we can only choose between war and Bolshevik chaos.

Every polemic published by the Nazi authorities gives, by its very denials, a glimpse of the people's mute thoughts. When the Schwarze Korps emphasizes has absolutely unthinkable is an Anglo-Saxon peace, it reveals that the public has been strongly attracted by such a possibility. When it directs especially heavy fire against the statements in a leaflet, we know that these statements have found a weak spot.

Action without precedent in this war, or in any former war, was initiated during the week of May 2 to 9 in the cities of the industrial province of Rheinland-Westphalia. The following announcement of it appeared in the Recklinghausen *Nationalzeitung* for May 2:

Unfortunately, it is a fact that last year's potato crop is insufficient for our needs. Many householders are without potatoes and will be unable to obtain any until the first of the new crop appear in the market. An attempt will be made to fill this gap by mutual help. The local branches of the Nazi Party are conducting a drive to this end. Every family will be visited and those that have a stock of potatoes will be asked to give up part of it voluntarily. The official market price will be paid. Potatoes thus collected will be distributed by the Food Offices. Only households that have no potatoes at all will be supplied.

For the first time, it is clear from this announcement, provision of a basic food has completely broken down. For the first time part of the meager rations which people have acquired with their coupons are to be taken away from them.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### Ambassador Grew's Mission

TEN YEARS IN JAPAN. By Joseph C. Grew. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

To AT least one reviewer this is a profoundly depressing book. Not alone because it forces one to retrace the events of a sorry period, but even more because it will be used to draw a polite veil over a record of which Americans have no reason to be proud. To judge by the encomia of the early reviews, this is happening on an almost universal scale. The few questioning voices that may be raised will have to make themselves heard through a chorus of praise. This is a frightening phenomenon. If it is so easy to beguile us into glossing over the prime mistakes of the pre-war era, what security can we feel when it comes to the diplomacy of peacemaking? Our need is for the keenest awareness of the lesson of the appeasement decade, in order to fortify our determination to establish a world society in which aggression will not again be permitted to develop with impunity.

Americans have learned to stigmatize the failure of Neville Henderson's mission to Berlin. Is there anything which really distinguishes that failure from Joseph C. Grew's at Tokyo? Each was the consequence of a diplomatic policy beginning in the early thirties and pursued over a long period of years. The parallel between the fates meted out to Czechoslovakia and China is not fortuitous. Written all over both records is the unwillingness of Britain and the United States to adopt a program of uncompromising resistance to the rising aggressors in Europe and Asia. But you may search this book from cover to cover without finding that lesson written down, much less underscored in terms so unmistakable that it will sink into the minds of the American people.

Our ambassador, of course, was merely an agent and cannot legitimately be charged with responsibility for policy, although it is made abundantly clear that he fully supported the line taken. We were, in fact, served by an unusually active and well-informed diplomat in Tokyo. Mr. Grew obviously inspired the respect and liking of a succession of Foreign Ministers, as well as of a host of Japanese in the upper classes. He reported the changing political currents in Japan with skill and fidelity. Very early he learned to distrust the real political strength of the "moderates," and to look with dark foreboding on the unpredictable explosions of the military. In January, 1941, he specifically warned of rumors that the Japanese were "planning to go all out in a mass surprise attack on Pearl Harbor." On November 3, 1941, he reported that war "may come with dangerous and dramatic suddenness," noting in his diary next day that this dispatch was "on the record for all time."

And so it is—but is this enough? The glitter of it must not bemuse us. We must look for something more solid than a timely warning that catastrophe was at hand. What policy did Grew, and his supporters at Washington, have to avert catastrophe? As to this, the Ambassador defines his own position quite clearly: his policy was not one of appeasement; he liked to call it "constructive conciliation." In actual practice it narrowed down to a program of oiling troubled waters, to monotonously repeated protests against injuries to American interests, to a wishful hope that the next Cabinet would be more moderate. "Time, I believe, will play into our hands if we allow nature to take its course unhindered by us. By hindrances I mean steps in the nature of sanctions." This was April 10, 1940, and represented a position held undeviatingly since Grew's arrival in mid-1932. Never a mention after July, 1937, that our materials were arming Japan for its attack on China—and on ourselves.

Counter-measures of a moderate kind-not going so far as an oil embargo-he permitted himself to approve in September, 1940, after Japan had signed the pact with the Axis. The Ambassador mentions in his diary at this time a socalled "green-light" telegram, which he terms "perhaps the most significant message sent to Washington" in the eight years of his mission; unfortunately, the text of this dispatch is not given even in paraphrase. From remarks then and later we are led to understand he henceforth accepted the policy of "inexorably" matching every forward move of Japan's by a counter-move-say, a loan to China. This game, of course, had the drawback of leaving the initiative to Japan, along with the additional hazard that one soon ran out of effective counter-moves except the most extreme. From the end of 1940 restrictions were progressively applied on trade with Japan, and full sanctions were imposed on July 25, 1941. In retrospect there seems to have been a fated irony in the timing of this shift in American policy. What could have been in the mid-thirties a positive and successful program of restraint and war prevention, jointly enforced by Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union, had been transformed by 1940-41, after the collapse of France and the German attack on Russia, into desperate and risky measures which the United States had to sustain largely by its own strength alone.

The result was an initial military-naval disaster of grave proportions. Never was psychological unpreparedness for a blow so complete. The people did not have the benefit of Ambassador Grew's secret memoranda warning that an attack might come unexpectedly. When the Cabinet tried to remedy this situation, it was too late. Speeches delivered by Knox and Welles toward the middle of November largely failed to register, although they were framed in alarmist terms. Partly this was due, too, to the fact that the game played with Japan since the end of 1940 had been almost solely an executive matter, carried through by a succession of orders which attracted little public notice. A genuinely popular embargo movement had existed earlier, but Secretary Hull had deflated the movement in July, 1939, by abrogating the trade treaty with Japan and then postponing action for more than a year. The cards were not all on the table, and the people lost interest. In its way this is a warning, too.

It is advisable to note that pitfalls also lie ahead in the

peace that has to be made with Japan. The court circle and the business leaders, making up the "moderates" with whom Ambassador Grew had his main contacts, do not provide the safest foundation on which to build post-war hopes. They are not pillars of democracy; if they are taken for such, the end will be disillusionment. They are much more closely allied to the militarists, whom we are asked to concentrate on eliminating, than to the people as a whole. Expediency will be urged in favor of accepting a group of "moderates" under a "chastened" Emperor as the new government of Japan. It won't work, not for the long pull. Sooner or later, and probably sooner, the militarists will be right back again, working with their accustomed and familiar colleagues. Only a grass-roots movement, organized and led by true representatives of the people, can set up a really democratic government in Japan and make it stick. This is what the American people have to demand and fight for in the peace. It is the only final guaranty that they will not have to fight another T. A. BISSON war in the Pacific.

### Housing in America

'AMERICAN HOUSING: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.

The Factual Findings by Miles L. Colean. The Program by the Housing Committee. Twentieth Century Fund. \$3.

NE of the war's unexpected by-products has been the highlighting by the warring nations of their post-war housing plans. Housing has become a useful weapon on the psychological front. British military and civilian morale has often been bolstered by specific proposals for rebuilding Britain's cities. The replanning of Moscow and of Russia's other war-torn cities has been a great inspirational force in Russian hearts.

While the state of our own housing has never been underemphasized, few major issues have had less hard-boiled discussion; when a concrete program to rebuild our cities could provide a much-needed feeling of social creation in the trying days that may follow the war, we have chosen to do nothing. Instead of programs, long tomes, such as the twelvevolume report of President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership or the thousands of pages of the TNEC testimony on the construction industry, outline the woeful inadequacies of our home-building enterprise only to channel off into a few indictments, a handful of generalizations, or a promising preamble in a useless piece of "remedial" legislation.

"American Housing," the new inquiry into its problems and prospects which the Twentieth Century Fund has just issued, is another brave pilgrimage into the boggy wilderness that is American housing. The study, for which Miles Colean prepared the factual findings and a committee of respectable economists ventured the "solutions," lists all the familiar ailments—the picayuneness of building enterprises, the unsoundness of the tax structure and mortgage financing, the problems of land assemblage and housing distribution, the planless intercession of the federal government as adviser, insurer, building venturer, landlord, prosecutor, and benefactor. The findings represent as complete a summary

# "This book is a ring-tailed wonder...

a Salt River Roarer,
a Mississippi Screamer.
In parts it's sweeter
than wild strawberries
in June, cool as spring
water after mint.
In other parts it's mean
as a western bad-man
full of red dog liquor
and rattle-snake juice."

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of the deficiencies in home building as has yet been written. Colleges will find it a useful text for their housing students. The supporting material in the tables and charts particularly will be helpful to those digging into the many-sided phases of housing. Its authors will never be accused of having succumbed to the excessive emotion to which so many others have had to yield when tackling the problem. They have carefully repressed the temptation to reckless exhortation, and have produced a sober study of a sobering problem.

In a field in which viewpoints differ so widely, there will naturally be disagreement with some of the findings. It may be seriously questioned that the hope of continued speculative price increment is still "largely responsible" for the paucity of building sites. Unimproved land represents no more than 5 per cent of total home cost, and in developed areas it is more often the income of old houses rather than the hope of land increment that keeps prices up. The examination of the FHA insurance system is kindly. No adequate criticism is made of its vicious Title VI practices, which have forced many transient war workers into ownership, or of the peculiarly high interest rates on these government-insured loans, which only preferred institutions may make.

After an austere survey of housing liabilities, fortified with as depressing a set of facts and figures as ever beset a vital phase of our economy, the recommendations fade off into vague and carefully guarded generalizations. The program limits itself to a plea for more rigid enforcement of the anti-trust laws, the revision of building codes, the promotion of more research and greater efficiency, better land utilization, more aid to equity investments, and similar reforms. Some of these suggestions are new though they only scratch the surface; others have often been shuttled back and forth among housing reformers.

One of the major faults of the book is that it misses the opportunity to relate the deficiencies in the housing enterprise to the over-all economic patterns of which housing has become an inextricable part. Housing is more than houses, and it is seeing half the problem to see it only from the standpoint of brick and mortar, mortgages, slum elimination, foreclosure, prefabrication, and stabilization of city patterns. The housing problem has become involved with too many other phases of our economy to be any longer viewed in isolation.

CHARLES ABRAMS

#### Palestine Transformed

PALESTINE, LAND OF PROMISE. By Walter Clay Low-dermilk. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

THIS is a very unusual book, written by a man who unites scientific competence with historical perspective. Dr. Lowdermilk has had a long and distinguished career as forestry engineer, hydrologist, geophysicist, and soil conservationist. As assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of this country, he has had unusual opportunities to familiarize himself with the situation here as well as with the best available means for improving it. Five years as research professor of forestry at the University of Nanking, followed by more recent journeys, have given him an almost equal grasp of Asiatic problems in the domain of his specialties.

In 1938 and 1939 he was sent by the Department of Agriculture to Europe and the Near East in order to study denudation and conservation of soil in these regions. The present book is the outgrowth of his observations on that journey.

During the past quarter-century Jewish enterprise and skill, powerfully reinforced by generous contributions from the Jewish communities of Europe and especially of the United States, have reclaimed extensive tracts of sand dunes and marshland, of worn-out grain fields and bare limestone hills. Year by year the productivity of the land has been increased by scientific methods of agriculture and animal breeding. With the aid of photographs and descriptions, confirmed by statistical tables, the author paints a vivid picture of the transformation of the sections of western Palestine settled by Zionist action during the past two generationsmostly during the past twenty years. The reviewer, having been in Palestine from 1919 to 1935 engaged in archaeological research, can testify that the picture is true. In fact, he would be inclined to stress certain aspects of the transformation even more strongly than Dr. Lowdermilk does.

Dr. Lowdermilk consulted archaeologists wherever possible, traveling with them over the country and comparing the ancient state of the land with its modern condition. He repeatedly acknowledges his obligation to Nelson Glueck, the brilliant director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. To the specialist this collaboration seems very fortunate, since it has saved the author from many serious mistakes in dealing with the historical past of Palestine. For example, he rejects the fantasies of Ellsworth Huntington with regard to the predetermining influence of climate on man and the decisive part played by alleged cycles of rainfall on human history. These ideas are rejected by every competent archaeologist because they run squarely against archaeological data wherever Huntington gives concrete evidence in support of his conclusions. Since, however, they have enjoyed wide vogue among certain circles of geographers and sociologists, Lowdermilk's attitude is very significant. The reviewer's only criticism here is that the author has not gone far enough, and that further collaboration with archaeologists and Mediterranean geographers would eliminate a number of weaknesses in dealing with his material. For instance, the explorations of Nelson Glueck have proved that the historical occupation of Transjordan was intermittent, not relatively continuous as the author suggests. The Byzantine towns of the southern desert of Palestine were occupied successively rather than simultaneously, as has now been demonstrated by H. Dunscombe Colt's excavations in several of them. Lack of acquaintance with recent French geographical literature has kept Dr. Lowdermilk from understanding the true function of the stone heaps described by him as water collectors-through precipitation of atmospheric moisture—as well as from realizing the existence and importance of the tunnel wells (Arabic fugara), recently rediscovered by Nelson Glueck in the Jordan valley,

A considerable part of the book is devoted to an impressive argument for a "Jordan Valley Authority," comparable to our own TVA. There can be no doubt that there is a wonderful opportunity for such a development, which would utilize the Jordan cleft for a vast hydroelectric and irrigation project. Whether it can be brought about is certainly

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fore to The Parallians d langed more dependent on international politics than on intrinsic engineering factors. What chance have practical idealism and engineering enterprise when faced with industrial imperial-

ism and misguided nationalism?

Dr. Lowdermilk's political approach is frankly Zionist. The reviewer is very much afraid that the "Jordan Valley Authority" will not see fulfilment until political rivalries have been replaced by friendly economic competition. As long as politics dominate the scene, we cannot hope that the non-political interests of either Arabs or Jews will receive the attention they imperatively need. Will it be possible for the nomad and the farmer, the peasant and the factory worker, the Arab and the Jew really to cooperate in carrying out this splendid program? If not, so much the worse for the Near East, whose future development depends so largely on its peaceful adoption of modern Western technique and practical humanitarianism.

#### De Profundis

THE BOTTOMLESS PIT (DER BRUNNEN DES AB-GRUNDS). By Gustav Regler. With Five Drawings by Marie Louise Vogeler-Regler. La Nacional Impresora S. A., Mexico City. Private Printing.

THE events in which Gustav Regler took part compelled him and all others involved to choose in the end between betraying and being betrayed. Regler chose the latter course and could not help doing so. He has paid for it with everything short of his life. Still believing in socialism and the brotherhood of man, he has come to distrust passionately every method proposed for their realization; and his disillusionment with methods and means—with reason itself, it almost seems—causes his anguish. It is not defeat at the hands of the enemy but betrayal by friends that compromises beliefs.

These poems of Regler's-written in free strophes and seeking objective equivalents for an emotion which without the check-rein of art would become hysteria-are his testament for the time being. They have a flavor of Young German romanticism, Jean Paul Richter's: yearning, pessimistic, exuberant in their visionary quality, embittered in their content, disregarding the laws of space but forced to obey those of time by the inability of the mind in which they originate and of their medium to exist in any other dimension. One hesitates to remonstrate with a man like Regler; yet one cannot help asking that he give us something more positive. If the present slogan, as Regler says, is "Workers of the world, distrust one another," it is up to reason to substitute a better one. And it is up to the Reglers, who know most about the workers in their heroic moments, to translate that experience into thought, which is viable, as well as into emotion, which is viable only in art, and therefore too uncertain.

The German of Regler's poetry is accompanied by a parallel translation into English and by five very interesting drawings by Marie Louise Vogeler-Regler. It is to be hoped that more of Regler's writing will be published—in this country as well as in Mexico.

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### Peace Beyond Our Time

HOW TO THINK ABOUT WAR AND PEACE. By Mortimer J. Adler. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

R. ADLER seems to think that he has arrived at a rather novel and revolutionary conclusion about war and peace, which he feels under compulsion to defend against certain blind guides who are, in his opinion, promising our generation peace through inadequate instruments. According to Mr. Adler, neither treaties nor alliances can guarantee real peace. This can only be done by world government. Treaties and alliances which do not bring the nations under one world government cannot guarantee peace, for "anarchy and sovereignty are inseparable." He believes that a "society or community cannot normally exist without government" and that therefore a world community cannot exist without world government.

There is a slight note of pretentiousness in defending this thesis so rigorously against his supposed critics, for Mr. Adler has no hope that world government can be easily achieved. In the hundreds of years which must elapse between the present and the final achievement of world government he is ready to use the best possible makeshifts in order to stem the tide of world anarchy; he could therefore have a quarrel only with those proponents of leagues, federations, and alliances who promise lasting and perpetual peace upon the basis of such alliances. If there are optimists who promise as much as that, some of us have not heard of them

Mr. Adler is no simple utopian, though there is a final utopian note in his analysis. He declares: "The issue between pessimists and optimists can be resolved. The resolution turns on two predictions: first, that a lasting peace will be made but not in our time; and, therefore, that we can expect more wars, even world wars, in the interim." If such a resolution of the conflict between pessimism and optimism has any value, let us accept it, though some of us might have difficulty in accepting the guaranty of a "lasting" peace, if the word "lasting" is pressed. Mr. Adler does press it. In another connection he declares "once existent, world peace can be perfected. From being universal it can be made perpetual." Is not this a rather large promise, particularly in view of the fact that there is no national community, however perfect its instruments of justice, which could boast of an absolute guaranty against the peril of a future civil war?

This final utopian note in Mr. Adler's otherwise sober analysis of political realities is not an accident. It is derived from his too purely political interpretation of society. His thesis is that communities which stand under a single sovereignty can have peace, while those which have several sovereignties are bound to become involved in war. He regards government as the sole agent of unity in a community. It is in fact only the final agent. Mr. Adler says quite truly that "men must be morally and intellectually ready for political institutions but only to some degree. Once institutions exist, they will condition the whole social environment and produce further intellectual and moral changes favorable to their own operation." This is an important insight to be urged against moralists who believe that perfect moral cohesion must precede political integration. The actual fact is that there must

be authority and power to organize a community precisely because the moral oneness of a community is never complete enough to provide for an uncoerced peace.

But in the development of the national community Mr. Adler underestimates factors which are neither political nor moral and intellectual. National communities gain part of their unity from geographic limitation. Some of it comes from ethnic homogeneity and a common language. Some of it is derived from the collective self-consciousness which develops in the pursuit of a common task, particularly the task of avoiding a common, concrete peril. The concreteness of the peril must be emphasized, for the peril of anarchy in the abstract does not create unity in a community as easily as the peril of an actual foe standing at the borders.

The underestimation of all these non-political but also non-rational factors in the development of limited communities persuades Mr. Adler that the international community can be created rather easily by the power of an international state. He would deny that he regards the task as an easy one, because he thinks centuries will be required to achieve it. Yet it is for him an essentially easy task. He believes that once men have discovered that nothing less than a world government will give them world peace, they will proceed to establish it. The non-rational and non-political factors of unity in national communities are consistently underestimated by Mr. Adler for the purpose of proving that the world community requires little more than a single sovereignty. The real fact is that national communities do usually have a common language, a fact which is not negated by pointing to Switzerland; and they do have a core of ethnic homogeneity, a fact which is not negated by a peripheral heterogeneity in many of them. If they do not have ethnic unity they may fall apart as Czechoslovakia did under German pressure. They also usually have a common culture and religion. At least the religious differences must not be too marked. If they are marked, the national community faces the peril of disruption which India faces in the Hindu-Moslem controversy. The state may be the head of a community, and it may be correct to insist that a single community must have a single head. But it is wrong to suggest that the head can create the body.

Mr. Adler's thoughts about war and peace are, in short, despite their soberness, not sober and circumspect enough. When he deals with the moral and cultural impediments to world community he finally relies, despite himself, not upon the power of the international state but upon an educational and moral process which will mitigate the force of present antagonisms. "I am not saying," he declares, "that cultural and racial differences do not present obstacles to world peace. They do indeed, but only through the intervention of such moral factors as race prejudice and cultural antipathy." "The moral obstacles are genuinely surmountable by education and by enlargements of experience." Of course they are. But it is rather simple to distinguish so nicely between the natural fact of race distinction and the moral fact of race prejudice. For it is the character of human history to build spiritual and moral facts, both good and evil, upon the natural facts. Men never express a simple survival impulse, either individually or collectively, as animals do. The survival impulse is transmuted into pride and the will-to-power. Hence

these evils and make the inordinate desires of men more moderate. But there is no more possibility of guaranteeing race prejudice. We know that moral discipline may mitigate, that any educational process will finally tame, all inordinate passions and desires of men than that government, strong enough to check these desires and to arbitrate in conflict between conflicting collective desires, can be formed.

About the necessity of world community and world government Mr. Adler speaks eloquently and persuasively. A technical civilization has given us a potential world community. But a potential world community, which has no instruments to manage the vast interdependence which modern techniques have created, becomes in fact an insufferable anarchy. This is clear enough, though it is well to have the fact presented as cogently as Mr. Adler does. But what is necessary is not as simply possible as Mr. Adler believes.

It may be observed in conclusion that Mr. Adler does not address himself to one important problem at all; and that is how the transfer from national to international sovereignty is to be made. In this respect he shares a weakness with those who would be satisfied with something less than a world state and settle for a world federation. In all these theories a social-contract theory of government is assumed. Mr. Adler seems to think that when mankind has been persuaded that lesser strategies do not avail, it will resolve by a supreme act of the will to create a world state. It will do on an international scale what Thomas Hobbes thought was done in the formation of national states. But the fact is that neither national nor international states, neither national nor international communities, have ever been formed like that. All communities and states have grown through gradual coalescences of smaller communities and gradual elaborations of the instruments of government. If that fact is fully comprehended we shall be less impatient with the makeshifts of international order, which promise no more than "peace in our time." They may fail. They may fail a dozen times. But if world community is ever formed it will be built upon the success, and not the failure, of one of these makeshifts. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

### Development of Alaska

ALASKA AND THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST: OUR NEW FRONTIER. By Harold Griffin, W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.75.

FAR NORTH COUNTRY. By Thames Williamson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.

TN COMBINATION, the Alaska Highway and the Canol I project constitute by far the biggest construction program in the world's history from the standpoint of area covered and time of accomplishment. The Alaska Highway was holed hrough as a pioneer road in November, 1942, and finished as an all-weather artery in October, 1943. Canol officially wound up with the dedication of a refinery at Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, on April 30, 1944, which meant that crude il pumped through pipe line from Norman Wells on he Mackenzie River was now being turned into gasoline to uel the Alaska Highway and its airfields.

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Harold Griffin has produced the first book giving a cogent account of both the Alaska Highway and the Canol project. It is absorbingly written and reasonably reliable. A mixture of interviews, personal anecdotes, and essays, it is patently the hastily assembled report of a painstaking journalist who wanted to strike while the iron was hot after a junket through the Northwest in 1943, backed up by a trip ten years earlier, when he acquired a lasting interest in the country.

"Far North Country," on the other hand, is a pretentious though whimsically presented history of Alaska by a man who appears to regard himself as an authority on the subject. (He makes just as many factual mistakes as Mr. Griffin does.) The book is also a framework supporting diverse personal views and prejudices of the author, some of which are rather remotely related to Alaska, if at all. Thames Williamson tells more about Alaska's past than Harold Griffin does, much less about its present; but their ideas regarding its future are uniformly enthusiastic.

Mr. Williamson's eyewitness descriptions of Alaska go back more than thirty years. He seems to have visited it since, but he deals with recent developments as if he were inspired only by newspaper stories. In some sections his writing is straightforward and interesting, in others it is incorrect, supercilious, and maundering. Incidentally, he often speaks of places and events in the Yukon Territory as well as in Alaska, but he makes no distinction: to him it is all Alaska.

Mr. Griffin's account of the building of the Alaska Highway is fairly accurate. His account of the building of Canol is not so accurate, but that is forgivable because much of his information was picked up from Canol workers, most of whom at the time of his visit were ill informed themselves. Canol being then a restricted project. However, his summing up of Canol as well as of the Alaska Highway and Northern matters in general is sound and farsighted and well worth reading.

It is amusing to compare the attitudes of the two authors toward Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Mr. Williamson brings in the great Arctic explorer and scholar only to insult him, while Mr. Griffin pays just tribute to him as a prime exponent and prophet of the Northern progress over which Messrs. Griffin and Williamson both rhapsodize.

Mr. Griffin concludes: "The Alaska Highway and the Canol project have been built. Now they must be used to build the country. . . . I believe that the American people have never made a better investment for the future than in the Alaska Highway. Here, in our own Northwest, we have created the physical means of realizing international cooperation, both in achieving victory and constructing the post-RICHARD FINNIB war world."

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#### IN BRIEF

NUSANTARA. A History of the East Indian Archipelago. By Bernard H. M. Vlekke, Harvard University Press. \$5.

Dr. Vlekke, formerly general secretary of the Netherlands Institute in Rome, has provided a very readable as well as authoritative and learned history of the East Indies for English readers. It is particularly valuable for its full documentation from Dutch sources, but it does not neglect the English writings and thus provides a really balanced view. Beginning with the geographical background, and the dawn of history as traced by the anthropologists, the author follows the development of the islands from the Hindu-Indonesian period to the fall of Bandung in March, 1942. The volume is admirably illustrated and contains enlightening maps.

SOCIETY AND NATURE. A Sociological Inquiry. By Hans Kelsen. University of Chicago Press. \$4.

On the basis of much ethnological material Mr. Kelsen explains that the distinction between society and nature is known only to civilized man, not to primitive man. The former conceives nature as a system of elements connected with one another according to the principle of causality; for the latter "nature" is an intrinsic part of his society, interpreted according to social norms, especially according to the lex taliones, the norm of retribution. In sharp contrast to that conception, modern science, endeavoring to overcome dualism and to establish a monistic view of the world, tries to conceive of society as part of nature and not nature as part of society. But "no essential difference between natural and social laws, that is, between the laws determining nature, and the laws determining society, exists as soon as the natural law itself relinquishes its claim to absolute necessity and satisfies itself with being an assertion of statistical probability.'

#### FILMS

F AN automatic movie camera could have been set up in the Roman Forum on no matter what day two thousand years ago, every foot of it would have for us a special quality of wonder. I feel that sort of wonder in watching the March of Time's "Underground Report." Made up mainly of

captured film, it gives the fullest image of occupied Europe I have seen, and gives us, above all, an image of a world, a phase, which we shall never see by any other means, since it will be wholly altered by the mere presence of our fighters, camera men, and observers, once they get there. One might discuss the film in detail and at length, for the moral and psychological charge of many of these shots is complex, and a surprising number of the single shots are magnificent. But I will merely recommend "Underground Report," very highly, to anyone who would like to be walking in the cities of Europe, invisibly, today.

I didn't see "The Eve of St. Mark" on the stage. As a film, though it is smooth, careful, and full of decent intentions, it depresses me. It has a good deal of that flavor of corn syrup which becomes continually more official in honest, homely celebrations of our local way of living: what bothers me quite as much is its equally characteristic passion for eating its cake and having it. The sufferings of war-time love and the difficulties of celibacy are conveyed in gentle glimmers by the drafted hero (William Eythe) and his sweetheart (Anne Baxter), but never frankly or painfully enough to trouble the audience. In the same way, later, a choice between honorable withdrawal from a hopeless military predicament and a still more honorable, useful death is "faced" and as promptly about-faced. There is no mention of other soldiers whose lives the deaths of these soldiers may save; the men do discuss, rather bitterly, whether their country and its future, judging by past and present performance, are worth dying for. When one of them insists that the purpose of this war is to guarantee an end of poverty everywhere, they all choose to stay and die-only to have that necessity removed by the demolition of their gun. This sort of half-honesty, which so comfortably spikes every possible charge of dishonesty, can be very deceitful; I'm not sure but what it is worse than none

I never read "Mr. Skeffington," by "Elizabeth," either. Judging by the film, I can't have missed much. It is another of those pictures in which Bette Davis demonstrates the horrors of egocentricity on a marathonic scale; it takes her just short of thirty years' living and two and a half hours' playing time to learn, from her patient husband (Claude Rains), that "a woman is beautiful only when she is loved" and to prove this to an audience which, I fear, will

be made up mainly of unloved and not easily lovable women. Miss Davis, Director Vincent Sherman, and several others put great deal of hard work and some that is good into this show, and there are some expert bits of middle-teens and 1920's New York atmosphere. But essentially "Mr. Skeffington" is just a super soap opera, or an endless woman's-page meditation on What to Do When Beauty Fades. The implied advice is dismaying: hang on to your husband, who alone will stand by you then, and count yourself blessed if. like Mr. Rains in his old age, he is blinded. JAMES AGER

#### MUSIC

OUSSEVITZKY—when there is an occasion for him to talk about music-has a way of hurling big words and ideas around, with much destruction of intellectual crockery. One such occasion was his recent Life article on American composers. Explaining what he meant by American music he ob-served that "musical art is an expression of life and nature . . . its manifestation in each country is in accordance not only with that country's spiritual riches but also with its natural riches-its mountains, its rivers, its fertile land"-in our case the Mississippi, for example. It was not surprising therefore to learn that while "there is probably not a single living musician who understands Einstein's fourth dimension, yet the discovery that fourth dimension could exist has powerfully stimulated musical artists' imaginations, broadened their artistic horizons, and deepened their inspiration"-indeed that it has made a difference in Koussevitzky's own performances. And "the composer of today reveals in us different emotions than the composer of yesterday. . . . We don't always understand exactly what are our own emotions. . . . Beethoven had difficulties with some people who did not understand that he was expressing their emotions." That is something Beethoven himself did not understand, I suspect.

I suspect also that the facts of some of the incidents Koussevitzky described in his account of his patronage of

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American composers would not recognize themselves in the stories as he now recalls and tells them. He has, he says, had to battle for the American composer with the public and the critics: and when he has considered a work worth playing and they have not, he of course has been right and has continued to play it until they were convinced. His example is Copland's "Music for the Theater," which he says was a complete failure at its first New York performance, and which he therefore repeated month later, with the result that each critic now liked a different part, and which "today . . . is in the standard repertoire of every major orchestra in the United States." But I heard that first performance (at a concert of the League of Composers or some other such group); and my recollection is that the audience responded to the piece as warmly as it deserved, as did the Carnegie Hall audience month later. On the other hand I heard people in the audience express their dislike of the "Ode" which Copland wrote for the Boston Symphony several years later; and they were right, and would not, I am sure, have changed their opinion if Koussevitzky had repeated the workjust as the people who have disliked the works of Harris and Schuman have been right and have, I am sure, continued to dislike them in the face of Koussevitzky's persistence.

In 1924, he says, when he began his work with the Boston Symphony, "American creative music was barely alive"; and he revived it by playing the works of American composers and in this way getting them to write. American music was barely alive when another conductor played a new work of Hadley or Hanson; it began to revive when Koussevitzky played a new work of Edward Burlingame Hill. The truth is that other conductors have offered American composers the same kind of encouragement, and that if Koussevitzky hadn't played the music of Copland, Harris, and Schuman it would not have gone unperformed and uncomposed. And it is amusing to watch him. in some of his stories, by-pass what others did.

Thus he tells that during his first months in America he met Gershwin. "He had already composed the 'Rhapsody in Blue,' I went to the première given by Paul Whiteman. . . . Although then he lacked great technical knowledge, Gershwin . . . brought a new idea in the expression of music. He showed the whole gaiety and gusto of American

life. I confess that I did not then think the 'Rhapsody in Blue' suitable for concert performance by a great symphony orchestra. I was wrong. Later I became aware of this and asked Gershwin to compose a piece for the Boston Symphony. He wrote the 'Second Rhapsody.' . . . The rhapsodies . . . were proof that there would be a real American music." One would suppose from this that after "Rhapsody in Blue" Gershwin's next step as an American composer, taken at the instigation of Koussevitzky, was "Second Rhapsody": one would never suspect that there were intervening steps instigated by someone else.

As a matter of fact Koussevitzky, who took over the Boston Symphony in the fall of 1924, could not have heard the première of "Rhapsody in Blue," which occurred in February of that year. The conductor who did attend that first Whiteman concert in Aeolian Hall was Damrosch, who after each number managed to get his "bravo!" out ahead of the applause, and who for the same reason jumped into the driver's seat of the Gershwin-for-American-Composer bandwagon by commissioning Gershwin to write the Piano Concerto in F. This was performed in the season of 1925-26; and Damrosch also conducted the first performance of "An American in Paris" in the season of 1928-29. And it was not until a couple of years later that Koussevitzky performed "Second Rhapsody," which-if I remember correctly -had begun as part of a Gershwin score for a film, when it had had the title "Rhapsody in Rivets," because of its imitations of riveting with which it "expressed" American life.

Koussevitzky evidently shares this idea that was behind Gershwin's career as a serious American composer—that since American life includes jazz and riveting the music which "expresses" this life also had to include them, and that a man who writes superb Broadway show music is therefore the man to write the American symphony and opera. The idea is completely fallacious; and that is what Gershwin's works as a serious American composer proved.

B. H. HAGGIN

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Veery St., New York 7, N. X. Price 16 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic Non year 8 is. Two years 31. Three years 31. Canadian, 31. The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

## Letters to the Editors

#### Contrasts in Tennessee

[We print below excerpts of a letter written by a colored service man, now stationed in Tennessee, to a member of the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces.]

Dear ——: This camp is beautiful and well laid out. The barracks are well constructed in white with green roofs. The airplane runways are all paved and well

kept. The food is good.

The segregation in the camp is of a pattern with the "legal" segregation in the surrounding territory. You are cowed and brutalized by it. You can just feel your soul growing ugly. To "make good" here, to "adjust" yourself, you have to become abject and servile. You have to crawl like the others. I won't, though

We are assigned three barracks. The lower floor of one of these is our library, recreation room, canteen, and soda fountain. The library is like neglected stable, the recreation room an ill-kept barn, the canteen store like a country store, the soda fountain worse than slum side-street candy store-all this amid elegant services for the whites. In the camp theater we are segregated in the back. I went once. Don't intend going back. We are not allowed on the navy buses. We pay twenty-five cents to go and twenty-five cents to return on buses operated by a private company. The white boys ride navy buses free. The white boys are allowed visitors; we are not. Some of the Negro USO leaders in Memphis are supposed to be doing something about that.

I went in to Memphis on liberty last Tuesday. The horror of it is still with me. My dear fellow, the Negro here is worse off than any Jew in Germany or any untouchable in India. No white person speaks to a Negro in public-I mean on the bus or trolley or street. The faces of the white people horrify you with their "apartness" and grimness. The Negroes are contemptible-servile, grinning, packed in the back of the buses, myself along with them of course. I saw the famous Beale Street, a dilapidated trickle of filth across the face of the earth. The density of syphilis among the Negro population of Memphis is 85 per cent. They look it. Being with sailors I of course went to the clubs and saloons and bars and so forth. The people there were so tawdry and falsely glittering in their "glad rags" and so loudly and boisterously happy that I became literally ill.

A friend had given me the telephone number of his home. I phoned and went out there. It's on the north side of Memphis in a suburban neighborhood referred to by southsiders as "the country." This family was a composite of what the strength of the Negro and the human race is. A humble familymother, father, and four children-in a humble home which they owned, something between a cabin and a cottage. That home held many fascinating contradictions. Of the four children, one boy is in the navy, one daughter is at Clark Theological Seminary in Atlanta, a boy and a girl are in high school. The father works as a janitor for a white church, and the mother is a cook in service for a white family. Yet here is home, you can feel it's a home, with children being educated, an electric refrigerator in the kitchen, chickens and a hog in the backyard, and a lovely cabinet radio, all from the earnings of two semi-illiterate parents. The father is a handkerchief-head. The crook in his back would pain you. The mother looks up and there is no fear in her eyes. These Negro mothers are the greatest mothers ever, I sometimes think. But along with this, white leghorn chickens in a coop in the corner of the kitchen making a fearful noise, the junky coal stove, the accumulated clatter of striving poverty through the years. I loved these people. Memphis, May 8

#### Mr. Agee's Good Word

Dear Sirs: Inasmuch as I was one of those who used to write you in the interest of movie criticisms, I feel that now I should commend your film colmun.

Mr. Agee is splendid when one gets accustomed to his intensive style of writing, and I hope you will keep him coming along week after week. Movie criticisms are important to people who live butside New York, as important as drama criticisms are academic. It's too much trouble and expense to go to all the movies blindly in the hope of running across a good one now and then. I have recently seen two good pictures—"The Lodger" and "The Miracle of

Morgan's Creek"—that I would probably not have seen but for Mr. Agee's good word. Where else is one going to find out? As nearly as I can remember, the local newspaper described "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek" as "a picture about soldiers and their sweethearts which presents a strong case against hasty marriages to men in uniform," Not much help there, would you say?

Thanks for Mr. Agee, however it is

FREDERICK THOMPSON Rochester, N. Y., May 15

#### "International Affairs"

Dear Sirs: Owing to the war, International Affairs, the quarterly journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has been suspended during the past four years, but arrangements have been made by the Council of Chatham House with the University of Toronto Press to have International Affairs printed in Canada as of January, 1944.

International Affairs is the only British periodical devoted exclusively to current international questions and problems of reconstruction. We believe that you may wish to call the journal to the attention of your readers because it is a valuable source of information on the research and discussion related to post-war problems that is being carried on in Great Britain today.

MARIE LOUISE TWADDELL.

New York Publications Secretary
New York, April 24

#### CONTRIBUTORS

BOGDAN RADITSA was formerly press chief of the Yugoslav government in exile.

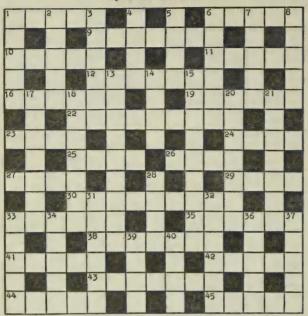
RICHARD ROVERE, former assistant editor of *The Nation* and managing editor of *Common Sense*, has recently had articles in *Harper's* on Thomas E. Dewey and Vito Marcantonio.

T. A. BISSON is the Foreign Policy Association's Far Eastern expert. He lived in China for four years.

CHARLES ABRAMS is counsel to the American Federation of Housing Authorities and author of "Revolution in Land,"

## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 66

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

1 Some like to be given one, others are scared Horse-pistols?

Russian gardening tool? No, a Walter Scott novel

It won't be one here! Black and blue

- 12 Military magazine which is never read
- 16 Am dope (for the hair)

Defective

- Choosy people This name for an old cabby sounds like a remark he might address to his horse
- Sweet are the ---- of advertisement "So ---- is grandeur to our dust, So near is God to man" (Emerson)

Rent from the eye

- Not brand new European who ought to be good at
- jumping? A neat rogue appears among the followers
- Villain in Uncle Tom's Cabin The police have difficulty getting anything on him

Mounts up

- Bewildering old bowl 42 "O, rest perturbed . . ." in the shop!
  43 Good—please copy
- Acted as a partisan 45 Could hardly be called a light opera
  - DOWN
- 1 He seems to have had a brush up more often than wash 2 Shrunken patriarch

A long vehement speech. Read it! They have nine lives and nine tails

Chinese detective of fiction 6 The last room in which one would expect to find a caller!

No bumps here, back or forth How the English are said to take their pleasures "Let's agree!" (anag.)

The end of a wretch

- In advance—and such a drive may be seen on the tennis court
- The bishop's place, and the fore-
- man's to Apart, as below

20 Pursued (anag.)

21 It might have been made for ramblers

Refrain from the old sea-god

- Came closer and gave Ned an ear This part of a dress always gets us! "Who then to frail mortality shall
- trust But ---- on water, or but writes in dust" (Bacon)
  34 "And still they ----, and still the wonder grew That one small head could carry all he knew" (Goldsmith)

Something the laundress does Thanks to an article the Greek let-

ter is made clear

39 It sounds a fishy thing to do 40 Japanese in reduced circumstances

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 65 ACROSS:-1 SHINY TROUSERS; 10 FAIR-IES: 11 POLYGON: 12 TREFOIL: 13 SPILLER; 14 EAST END; 15 SERIALS; 16 ELEGANT; 20 DEADMEN; 23 PREFACE; 24 BELINDA; 25 NIAGARA; 26 TARHEEL; 27 SENSELESSNESS.

DOWN:-2 HEIRESS; 8 NOISOME; 4 TUSSLED; 8 OPPOSES; 6 SOLDIER; 7 RE-GALIA: | OFF THE DEEP END: | UNPRESENTABLE; 17 ELEVATE; 18 ATA-BALS; 19 THE MALL; 20 DEBATES; 21 AILERON; 22 MINTERS.

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CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 67 by Jack Barrett

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U.S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 6, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau 318 Kellogy Building.

## The Shape of Things

THE SYMBOLIC AND POLITICAL VALUE OF THE liberation of Rome need hardly be stressed, but its military significance is not yet clear. As General Alexander has emphasized, the primary objective of the Allied army in Italy is not the capture of territory but the destruction of the enemy forces. This end has still to be achieved. In the twenty-four-day offensive which preceded the fall of Rome the Germans were badly mauled. They lost heavily in men and equipment, and many thousands were taken prisoner. But by flinging his reserves into Valmontone and holding that point for several days, Field Marshal Kesselring kept open the Via Casilina long enough for the bulk of his forces in the Sacco and Liri valleys to escape. However, he is by no means out of the woods. If our advance columns can pass rapidly through Rome and seize control of the roads paralleling the Tyrrhenian Sea, the effect will be to press the Germans back into the mountainous interior of the peninsula, where they will be badly hampered by inadequate communications. Politically the fall of the Italian capital has brought the fulfilment of King Victor Emmanuel's promise to retire in favor of Prince Humbert, a move which leaves the situation unchanged. The prince is tarred with the same Fascist brush as his father and is, if anything, more cordially disliked by Italian democrats. This "solution" of the monarchy problem is a makeshift the flimsiness of which will become increasingly apparent as more of Italy is freed.

CATHOLICS ALL OVER THE WORLD WILL BE happy to see the battle for Rome ended without a fight within the walls of the Eternal City and to know that the Pope has passed safely from Axis custody to territory under Allied control. Many of us, however, would be happier if we felt that in receiving the Pontiff we were welcoming a true friend of our cause. With the geographical and ecclestiastical limitations the Vatican has had to face, nobody expected the Pope to assume a belligerent role. It was, however, fair to count on greater firmness in his condemnation of Nazi crimes; it was certainly proper to expect a strict observance of neutrality. The Pope's speech of June 2, on the very eve of our occupation of Rome, was not the speech of a neutral. In taking a stand against the need for total victory when

Alabama

the hour of Europe's liberation was about to strike, he was serving the cause of Berlin. Those of us with longer than war-time memories ask if this is not the same Cardinal Pacelli, the Vatican's Secretary of State, who oriented the policies of the Holy See against Spanish, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian democracy. Indeed, the speech had the familiar ring of that religious totalitariantism that regretted the Reformation because in smashing the authoritarian controls of the Middle Ages it opened the floodgates of democracy. Perhaps even now the enemy is rejoicing that within the camp of the Allies there is so influential an agent of a negotiated peace.

X

THE PRIMARIES SCOREBOARD IS GOOD TO look at these days and we think it worth while to reproduce it for the record. Someone may even spot a trend.

North Carolina Senator Robert R. Reynolds retired

Wisconsin Howard J. McMurray nominated for Senator

Joseph Starnes (Dies Committee) defeated

Lister Hill renominated for Senator Luther Patrick nominated for Representative

Florida Claude Pepper renominated for Senator Indiana Charles LaFollette nominated for

Representative

Texas Martin Dies retired West Virginia Rush Holt defeated for Governor

Ohio Mayor Lausche of Cleveland nominated for Governor over Martin

Sweeney

California John M. Costello (Dies Committee)

defeated

Helen Gahagan nominated for Representative

Oregon Wayne Morse nominated for Senator over Senator Rufus C. Holman

Coming up within the next month are the primaries in Idaho, Maine, North Dakota, Georgia, Arizona, Michigan, and Mississippi. "We've got a little list"!

\*

SPANGLER, BUTLER, AND BRICKER—A TRIO OF frightened Republicans—have directed urgent and pathetic appeals to the Attorney General, the Senate, and the nation at large to be saved from a fate worse than death at the hands of the CIO Political Action Committee. The writing is plainly on the wall. The curtain is slowly descending on a tragi-comedy that has already played too long. Where are now the stout troopers of yesterday—Dies, Starnes, Holman, Costello—driven from the stage by the insistent voices of those who had sat watching the farce without realizing that they had the power to stop it? The Political Action Committee

have declared that they are quite willing to appear before any proper committee of investigation and that their books and records are open. The net result appears to be: increased prestige for the Political Action Committee and the final alienation of an important section of the American labor movement by the Republican Party.

CONGRESSMEN MAY NOT READ THE BILLS they vote on, but their aptness in following the election returns was demonstrated on a number of important issues last week. Two months ago the House eliminated the school luncheon program from the agricultural appropriation bill by a vote of 136 to 52; last week it restored the program by attaching it to a pending bill for insect and plant-disease control. Earlier in a high show of independence the House had denied funds to the Federal Security Agency with the intent of forcing its liquidation; this action has now been reversed by the adoption of special legislation giving statutory authority to the agency. Less surprisingly, the House also voted to restore the Tennessee Valley Authority's revolving fund by rejecting Senator McKellar's amendment which would have forced the TVA's receipts into the Treasury and thus made the agency dependent on Congress. Another dangerous McKellar amendment, calling for Senate confirmation of all federal employees whose salaries exceed \$4,500, was also thrown out by the House.

THE REFUSAL of 13,500 BREWSTER AIRCRAFT

workers to budge when the navy shut down the big Long Island plant was an event of great portent. It dramatized a situation that is bound to loom with increasing seriousness as cutbacks in war production increase. Several aspects are worth consideration. First, the spirit of American workers, tempered in the fires of the depression and forged into a unity in the common war effort, will not stand for any government fuddling in the conversion of industry and the transfer of workers. All the talk of full employment must have consummation in plans that work. Second, it appears that the Brewster situation caught short the several agencies and individuals generally responsible for coping with it. It took the dramatic sitdown to bring to light the plans for reconverting the plant that War Mobilization Director Byrnes, the WPB, and the Senate Military Affairs Committee were apparently holding in reserve. Third, widespread conversion obviously involves more than renewing contracts or making over factories while the workers wait around. In many cases it means breaking up work forces and moving workers to other plants. But if workers are to accept the inconvenience of uprooting themselves and their families and seeking new homes, they must be assured that they are moving according to some over-all

plan and not merely being dispersed so as to lessen the

effect of their solidarity.

THE WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION'S NEWLY announced program for controlling the hiring of all male workers of seventeen years of age and over appears to be a thoroughly sound one so far as it goes. It is only reasonable that in wartime all hiring should be channeled through some central agency such as the United States Employment Service. It is probable that this step would have been taken long ago if the Employment Service had been prepared to handle the responsibility. In the early days of the defense program, however, conditions in some of the local employment offices bordered on the chaotic, and it was recognized that they could not be burdened with additional tasks. Since that time the USES has successfully taken over responsibilities, and it is now well qualified for the job of supervising the ticklish employment problems of the "cut-back" period. Although some critics have attacked the WMC's new order as "totalitarian," actually it imposes no obligation to work upon any man. It merely prevents men from shifting from essential to non-essential work-a type of control that is clearly necessary.

×

WE ARE SORRY TO SEE THAT IT REQUIRED some rather tricky parliamentary maneuvering in the House to obtain even the four-vote margin by which the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee won an appropriation of \$500,000. The FEPC was included among eighteen war agencies in a supply appropriations bill which was taken to the floor under a unanimous consent agreement that points of order would be waived. The FEPC's opponents seem to have been taken unawares and claimed that they did not know it was included until after the unanimous consent agreement had been made. For once the agile Southern parliamentarians were beaten at their own game. The incident, however, may have serious consequences in the Senate. The reaction of the Republican press indicates that the Republicans may use this as an excuse to join hands with the "white supremacy" Democrats in another of those combined operations. Defeat of the FEPC, hitherto a purely presidential agency, would be a deadly blow to the morale of the Negro population already irritated and disheartened by discrimination in the armed forces as well as in industry. Praise is due Majority Leader Mc-Cormack for joining with Marcantonio in piloting the FEPC appropriation through the House.

×

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CANADA IS described in an article by David Lewis which appears in this issue of *The Nation*. The most significant phenomenon is that the political competition is on the left, each party attempting to prove to the Canadian people that it represents the soundest kind of advanced social and political thinking. Forcing the pace is the Coopera-

tive Commonwealth Federation-the C. C. F.-pledged to a program of socialist planning. Recent gains of the new party were climaxed last summer in the winning of thirty-four seats in the Ontario provincial election to the Conservative government's thirty-eight. On this occasion the C. C. F. showed its greatest strength in urban and industrial centers. Now it has an opportunity to test its hold on a purely agricultural area. On June 15 the Saskatchewan voters will go to the polls. The issue is a clear-cut one between the present Liberal government in power and the challenging C. C. F., which is conceded an excellent chance of victory. The outcome will have an important bearing in the federal election that is due to take place sometime within the next year. American as well as Canadian progressives are watching Saskatchewan with intense interest to see which way the political winds are blowing.

## Another Snub for France

HEN Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that he had invited General de Gaulle to come to London, bringing some members of "his government with him" (was this a prophetic slip of the tongue?), he added the move had the entire approval of Mr. Roosevelt. This suggested American participation in the conversations between the British and French and seemed to offer the hope of some agreed policy on France in the eleventh hour before the invasion. The hope was quickly quenched by word from Washington that the United States would not be represented at the London talks; and now de Gaulle is, quite naturally, hesitating to make the journey since he has no assurance that agreements reached with the British will not be nullified by the refusal of Mr. Roosevelt to indorse them.

It may be argued, of course, that the French leader would have an opportunity in Britain to negotiate with General Eisenhower, who has been entrusted with full powers to make arrangements for the civil government of France. But it is by no means clear how full General Eisenhower's powers are. Can he, for instance, decide to deal with the French Committee of National Liberation as the exclusive authority for the civil administration of the liberated areas? Can he arrive at binding agreements with the French authorities on financial and economic matters?

Questions of what kind of currency shall be used in liberated France, under what authority it shall be issued, and at what rate it will be exchanged against the dollar and pound are of outstanding importance. The Norwegian, Dutch, and Belgian governments have, it is understood, been promised control over their currencies; the French, very reasonably, demand the same privilege, which is one of the first prerogatives of a sovereign

state. And French interests are deeply involved, for errors in fixing exchange rates will accentuate the inflation which has resulted from German occupation. In this connection, it is even more important, perhaps, that some control of spending by the armies of liberation should be instituted. If our soldiers, with their comparatively high pay, are permitted to compete with the local population for the very limited supply of goods available, prices are bound to soar while rationing systems will break down.

On such matters the French are certainly entitled to a voice in deciding policy. But in this instance, as in so many others, the negative attitude of the President to the French Committee and his failure to establish proper channels of communication with it have created a deadlock. The proper solution for this situation is one which we have urged for a long time—recognition of the Committee of National Liberation as the provisional government of France. Russia, it is believed, is pressing for this solution and may act unilaterally if we refuse to take the plunge. British opinion is pressing strongly in the same direction but the Churchill government appears committed to rubber-stamping American policy.

Consequently, the invasion of France may take place with the situation completely fluid, with no settled plans for dealing with the myriad problems of civil administration that will arise. Perhaps that is what the President wants; perhaps, distrusting the De Gaullist movement, he cherishes a belief that once France is liberated some other group will miraculously emerge and prove capable of restoring France to constitutional government. Undoubtedly there are anti-Gaullist groups waiting to catch the Presidential eye but they are composed of men who having run with the Nazi hounds now hope to finish with the Allied hares. To range our power and influence behind them would be to declare war on the people of France.

### The Texas Plot

DIEHARDS of the right in both parties are determined that if they cannot beat Roosevelt by rallying a majority of the voters against him, they will beat him in spite of the voters. That is the meaning of the Electoral College conspiracy which, after long and careful underground preparation, was unveiled at the Texas Democratic convention. It is not confined to Texas. The earlier decision of the South Carolina Democratic convention to postpone the choice of the state's Presidential electors until after the national convention was the first hint of the plot. And now its organizers are working to bring in four other states—Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississisppi.

The technique the conspirators hope to employ to thwart the popular will is strictly in accordance with the letter of the Constitution. In Presidential elections the votes are cast not for the party nominees but for members of the Electoral College, who legally have the right to make a free choice of men for President and Vice-President. In practice, as Mark Sullivan has pointed out in the New York Herald Tribune, "the electors of a state are supposed to vote for that candidate for President who carried the state in the November election. They have done so ever since our two-party political system arose, with the solitary exception of one elector in one state in the year 1820."

The Electoral College is to the Constitution what the appendix is to the human body. The appendix has no function any more and normally causes no trouble. However, if it becomes infected and inflamed, the result is violent illness and even death unless it is promptly cut out. The Southern bourbons, aided and abetted by their Northern cousins, are deliberately attempting to inflame this vestigial constitutional organ—the Electoral College—although, as they must be fully aware, they thereby risk a dangerous sickness of the whole body politic.

The Texas gang which captured the Democratic state convention resolved to instruct their electors to ignore the national nominees for President and Vice-President unless the national convention in Chicago complies fully with their demands. Their terms include a Democratic platform which will specifically condemn the Supreme Court decision permitting Negroes to vote in Texas primaries and the various Administration efforts to diminish racial inequalities. In addition, they are insisting on a restoration of the national convention's two-thirds-vote rule for nominating Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. These terms, obviously, are completely unacceptable to the President and a majority of Northern Democrats. They could only be met at the cost of splitting the party in two.

No doubt the large minority of Texas Democrats who broke away from the regular convention will try to force the anti-Roosevelt electors off the state ballot. But such action, we understand, will encounter almost insurmountable legal barriers. The next step would be to attempt to put on the ballot a slate of electors pledged to the party's nominees. If successful, this would lead to a split in the Democratic vote and might enable the Republicans to capture the state. Even so, an election with rival Democratic tickets would be better than one in which Texans could merely have a choice between voting Republican or voting for "Democratic" electors committed to the defeat of Roosevelt—a choice which would mean effective disfranchisement of the probable majority.

In a close election—and this strategy is predicated on that possibility—the twenty-one Texas votes might be decisive in the Electoral College. If the conspiracy succeeds in naming "uninstructed" electors in Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, it would mean a reactionary bloc of seventy. These votes could be flung to the Republican nominee—no doubt

the G. O. P. would be willing to make a suitable deal—or they could be given to some "safe" Democrat such as Senator Byrd. In the second case the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state delegation would have one vote. We should then have, perhaps at a most critical stage in the war, a prolonged period of confusion, violent controversy, and involved political bargaining. That is a terrifying prospect to any patriot, but as a Texas "neutral" is reported by Barron's, the financial weekly, as saying: "There's one modified behind the whole maneuver—to get Roosevelt, and my guess is that those boys will stop at nothing until they do."

## Have We Lost the Peace?

CECRETARY HULL'S announcement that he was asking representatives from Great Britain, Russia, and China to confer with us on plans for post-war world organization is being widely hailed as an important step toward carrying out the commitments of the Moscow Declaration. The wording of the announcement and Mr. Roosevelt's guarded comments on it suggest that the plans have already reached an advanced stage, if, indeed, agreement has not already been achieved on essentials. This supposition is borne out by the close parallel between the statements regarding the future organization of the world that have been made recently in Washington and London. Purposely vague though these statements have been, they are specific enough to arouse grave apprehension regarding the trend of thinking in both capitals.

Churchill's recent speech, which in general was so alarming in character, made it clear that Britain is thinking in terms of a world organization that would be dominated, for a considerable period at least, by Britain, Russia, and the United States-with China possibly a silent partner. Eden confirmed this general impression a few days later in a speech which was slightly more detailed than Churchill's. America's attitude on the vital question of the relationship between the small and the great powers is not quite so clear. But Mr. Roosevelt may have had this issue in mind when he referred to the proposed organization as a 1944 model of the League reflecting in some ways a more cynical attitude than in 1918. Some ordinarily well-informed Washington correspondents insist that the "American plan" which Mr. Hull has worked out in consultation with a bi-partisan group of Senators closely parallels the British proposals in placing the greatest responsibility, and power, in the hands of the Big Three. The Secretary's attempt to reassure the small nations was so effusive that it is doubtful whether it carried much weight.

The problem of apportioning power and responsibility among the smaller and larger nations in a post-war inter-

national organization is of course an extremely difficult one. It cannot be solved by any simple formula. Quite probably we shall again have to fall back on some dual arrangement similar to that found in the Council and Assembly of the old League of Nations. But the plans now being discussed in London and Washington go considerably farther and would limit effective political and military power within the world organization to the three or four states that are carrying the main burden of the present war. This may be necessary in the first months following the defeat of the Axis, before the occupied countries can be rehabilitated. But it is hardly a sound pattern for a stable world order. It bears a striking similarity in principle to the "new order" which the Axis has been striving to impose in Europe and Asia. This similarity has, of course, not passed unnoticed among the exiled governments. The protest of the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Eelco van Kleffens, undoubtedly reflected the view of all the smaller countries. It seems peculiarly unfortunate that the British and American statements should have been issued on the eve of invasion when every effort is being made to enlist the active assistance of the peoples of Europe. Secretary Hull has indicated that some attempt will be made to conciliate the smaller countries by offering them certain safeguards and concessions in setting up the new international organization. But the fact remains that, according to present signs, they will be taken in as junior partners with very little to say about the operation of the firm's business.

Nor is this the only cause for apprehension in the preview of the peace plans that has been permitted us. We are told that the idea of a world police force, capable of enforcing the peace, has been dropped because none of the powers are willing to place any part of their armed services under international control. Instead, some provision will presumably be made whereby the new international agency may request the assistance of the various national armies in preventing future aggression. The weakness of such a plan should be apparent to anyone who lived through the tragic 1930's when the League was in process of disintegration. The League had no difficulty in enforcing peace as long as the great powers agreed among themselves. But it collapsed when the powers differed, or lacked interest, because it had no means of its own for enforcing its decisions. The creation of a genuine international force which is not subject to the limitations of conflicting national interests is basic to any plan of international security. Such a force should not, as was implied in the objection cited above, be composed of various national units serving under an international authority, but should be an international body, like, say, the French Foreign Legion, giving allegiance to the world organization. Unless some such supranational power can be created, capable of curbing future national adventurers, we shall have lost the peace.

## For the Jews-Life or Death?

BY I. F. STONE

[At his press conference on June 2, after this article was written, the President indicated that he was considering the conversion of an army camp in this country into a "free port" for refugees. Unfortunately, as the New York Post has pointed out, "his statement was conditional, indefinite. The check is still on paper and we don't even know what the amount is." In these circumstances Mr. Stone's analysis of the urgency of the situation and his plea for public pressure to secure action from the Administration are no less valid than they were before Mr. Roosevelt spoke.]

Washington, June 1

HIS letter, addressed specifically to fellow-news-papermen and to editors the country over, is an appeal for help. The establishment of temporary internment camps for refugees in the United States, vividly named "free ports" by Samuel Grafton of the New York Post, is in danger of bogging down. Every similar proposal here has bogged down until it was too late to save any lives. I have been over a mass of material, some of it confidential, dealing with the plight of the fast-disappearing Jews of Europe and with the fate of suggestions for aiding them, and it is a dreadful story.

Anything newspapermen can write about this in their own papers will help. It will help to save lives, the lives of people like ourselves. I wish I were eloquent, I wish I could put down on paper the picture that comes to me from the restrained and diplomatic language of the documents. As I write, the morning papers carry a dispatch from Lisbon reporting that the "deadline"—the idiom was never more literal—has passed for the Jews of Hungary. It is approaching for the Jews of Bulgaria, where the Nazis yesterday set up a puppet regime.

I need not dwell upon the authenticated horrors of the Nazi internment camps and death chambers for Jews. That is not tragic but a kind of insane horror. It is our part in this which is tragic. The essence of tragedy is not the doing of evil by evil men but the doing of evil by good men, out of weakness, indecision, sloth, inability to act in accordance with what they know to be right. The tragic element in the fate of the Jews of Europe lies in the failure of their friends in the West to shake loose from customary ways and bureaucratic habit, to risk inexpediency and defy prejudice, to be whole-hearted, to care as deeply and fight as hard for the big words we use, for justice and for humanity, as the fanatic Nazi does for his master race or the fanatic Jap for his Emperor. A reporter in Washington cannot help seeing

this weakness all about him. We are half-hearted about what little we could do to help the Jews of Europe as we are half-hearted about our economic warfare, about blacklisting those who help our enemies, about almost everything in the war except the actual fighting.

There is much we could have done to save the Jews of Europe before the war. There is much we could have done since the war began. There are still things we could do today which would give new lives to a few and hope to many. The hope that all is not black in the world for his children can be strong sustenance for a man starving in a camp or entering a gas chamber. But to feel that your friends and allies are wishy-washy folk who mean what they say but haven't got the gumption to live up to it must brew a poisonous despair. When Mr. Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board in January, he said it was "the policy of this government to take all measures within its power... consistent with the successful prosecution of the war... to rescue the victims of enemy oppression."

The facts are simple. Thanks to the International Red Cross and those good folk the Quakers, thanks to courageous non-Jewish friends in the occupied countries themselves and to intrepid Jews who run a kind of underground railway under Nazi noses, something can still be done to alleviate the suffering of the Jews in Europe and some Jews can still be got out. Even under the White Paper there are still 22,000 immigration visas available for entry into Palestine. The main problem is to get Jews over the Turkish border without a passport for transit to Palestine. "Free ports" in Turkey are needed, but the Turks, irritated by other pressures from England and the United States, are unwilling to do for Jewish refugees what we ourselves are still unwilling to do, that is, give them a temporary haven. Only an executive order by the President establishing "free ports" in this country can prove to the Turks that we are dealing with them in good faith; under present circumstances they cannot but feel contemptuous of our pleas. And the longer we delay the fewer Jews there will be left to rescue, the slimmer the chances to get them out. Between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 European Jews have been killed since August, 1942, when the Nazi extermination campaign began.

There are people here who say the President cannot risk a move of this kind before election. I believe that an insult to the American people. I do not believe any but a few unworthy bigots would object to giving a few thousand refugees a temporary breathing spell in their flight from oppression. It is a question of Mr. Roosevelt's courage and good faith. All he is called upon to do, after all, is what Franco did months ago, yes, Franco. Franco established "free ports," internment camps, months ago for refugees who fled across his border, refugees, let us remember, from his own ally and patron, Hitler. Knowing the Führer's maniacal hatred for Jews, that kindness on Franco's part took considerably more courage than Mr. Roosevelt needs to face a few sneering editorials, perhaps, from the Chicago Tribune. I say "perhaps" because I do not know that even Colonel McCormick would in fact be hostile.

Official Washington's capacity for finding excuses for inaction is endless, and many people in the State and War departments who play a part in this matter can spend months sucking their legalistic thumbs over any problem. So many things that might have been done were attempted too late. A little more than a year ago Sweden offered to take 20,000 Jewish children from occupied Europe if Britain and the United States guaranteed their feeding and after the war their repatriation. The British were fairly rapid in this case, but it took three or four

months to get these assurances from the American government, and by that time the situation had worsened to a point that seems to have blocked the whole project. In another case the Bulgarian government offered visas for 1,000 Jews if arrangements could be made within a certain time for their departure. A ship was obtained at once, but it took seven weeks for British officials to get clearance for the project from London, and by that time the time limit had been passed. The records, when they can be published, will show many similar incidents.

The news that the United States had established "free ports" would bring hope to people who have now no hope. It would encourage neutrals to let in more refugees because we could take out some of those they have already admitted. Most important, it would provide the argument of example and the evidence of sincerity in the negotiations for "free ports" in Turkey, last hope of the Balkan Jews. I ask fellow-newspapermen to show the President by their expressions of opinion in their own papers that if he hesitates for fear of an unpleasant political reaction he badly misconstrues the real feelings of the American people.

## Canada Swings Left

BY DAVID LEWIS

An AMERICAN liberal observing Canadian politics today would be struck by one encouraging fact: the competition between political parties is on the left. All the parties are vying with one another in presenting progressive measures for the post-war period—for greater social security, the rehabilitation of service men, the provision of full employment. Liberals and Conservatives alike are emphasizing the duty of "putting human need ahead of private greed." If the politicians keep only half their promises, the lot of the Canadian people will be greatly improved whichever party wins.

The reason for the shift to the left even by parties of the right is found in the temper of the Canadian people and the challenge of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, better known as the C. C. F. Everywhere in Canada there is a strong demand for progressive government, an unwillingness to leave the country after the war to the unregulated mercies of "free enterprise." This does not mean that Canadians have all become Socialists. It does mean, however, that they are convinced of the need for legislation and government regulation to guarantee them a minimum of security. Relatively little opposition to government controls as such is shown in Canada, and most of the complaints are confined to the business community. The workers and farmers, and

many middle-class groups, are persuaded that some measure of planning is necessary. The old parties do not date ignore these stirrings among the people lest there be an even more vigorous swing toward the C. C. F.

The C. C. F. was born of the Great Depression in 1932, as was the New Deal in America. Its program, however, was not grafted on to an old political party; which contained many elements basically opposed to progressive political action, but was fashioned by an independent party starting from scratch, without obligations to any contradictory forces or institutions. As a result the growth of the C. C. F. was at first very slow and its influence relatively small. At the same time it built on an integrated ideological basis which assured its continued growth.

The program of the C. C. F. is democratic socialism, with as much emphasis on the concept of a dynamic democracy as on the objectives of socialization. Like similar parties in other parts of the British Commonwealth, the C. C. F. rejects dogmatism and presses for immediate reforms as vigorously as for its ultimate objectives. It has thus become closely identified with the daily struggle of the workers and farmers of Canada. Its continuous and vigorous political activity is largely dependent on the voluntary aid of thousands of Canadians, who have thus developed a big stake in the movement.

By reason of a combination of events in western Canada, the initiative in founding the C. C. F. was taken by farmer groups on the prairies. Western farmers participated fully in drawing up the party's first statement of principles, accepting its socialist aims as well as its immediate reform program. The party quickly became established in British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, and in Saskatchewan. In the rest of the country, particularly in central and eastern Canada, it had a difficult struggle for the first nine years. Influenced by the American tradeunion tradition, organized labor remained officially aloof. But the C. C. F. continued to build painstakingly, patiently, from the ground up.

Just before the party reached its tenth anniversary. the turn came and it began to grow at a striking rate. In two years it won four federal by-elections and five provincial ones. This advance reached a climax last August in the provincial elections in Ontario, when the C. C. F. entered the election without a single representative in the Legislature and emerged with thirty-four members as against the government party's thirty-eight. At the present time the C. C. F. is the official opposition in four of the nine provinces. The first step in the growing tie between organized labor and the C. C. F. was taken by the eastern district of the United Mine Workers, which joined the party in 1938. The Canadian Congress of Labor, which includes Canadian branches of C. I. O. unions as well as a number of national organizations, has officially called on its member unions to affiliate with the C. C. F. and has formed a Political Action Committee to promote such action. Many A. F. of L. unions in various parts of the country are also affiliated.

Some seven months ago a Gallup poll showed the C. C. F. to have the support of 29 per cent of the people as against 28 per cent for each of the two old parties. Two later polls showed a small decline in C. C. F. support and a corresponding rise in that of the other parties. But there is reason to believe that this is only a temporary swing back by the outer fringe of C. C. F. adherents. Few people doubt that the party will emerge from the next federal election the second largest, if not the largest, party in Parliament.

The "free-enterprise" advocates recognize that they can combat the real and growing threat offered by the C. C. F. in only two ways—by a campaign designed to arouse people's fears of what would happen to them under the C. C. F., or by the Disraeli technique of stealing their opponent's political pants. Since the people are not likely to be frightened away from the C. C. F. if the only alternative is reaction, they must be persuaded that the other parties also stand for reform. Even big business has been forced to talk about a "reformed" capitalism and the need for curbs on its own excesses.

An important test of C. C. F. strength will be provided by the provincial election in Saskatchewan on

June 15. There the battle is exclusively between the Liberal Party and the C. C. F., and it is a battle for power. The C. C. F. is better organized in Saskatchewan than in any other part of Canada. It has entered the election campaign not simply to make a little more progress but to capture the government. Observers are agreed that its victory is extremely likely. Obviously, if the C. C. F. does win, it will be given tremendous momentum in the rest of the country.

A victory in Saskatchewan will produce the first C. C. F. government in Canada and the first demonstration of the worth of C. C. F. policies and leadership. But the demonstration will be incomplete because it will be confined to a province. A provincial government has constitutional limitations which deprive it of many basic economic levers, such as, for example, monetary and fiscal policy. And, in addition, a C. C. F. government would probably face unfriendly or indifferent action by the federal government, to say nothing of the vigorous opposition of big business.

Thus if the C. C. F. takes over the government in Saskatchewan, it will have no easy task. Nevertheless, it is preparing for the event with confidence. It believes strongly that democratic socialists must be ready to assume power whenever the opportunity presents itself and must be bold enough to implement a progressive policy whatever the difficulties. The C. C. F. also has great confidence in its Saskatchewan leader. T. C. Douglas, a young man under forty, has been a member of the defeatal Parliament since 1935 and has exhibited a profound understanding of social and economic forces, a great deal of courage, and a keen political sense.

Another provincial election due this year will hinge on the strength of political developments in another direction. The Liberal Premier of Quebec, Mr. Godbout, has stated with as much definiteness as can be expected of politicians that he intends to go to the people before the end of 1944, probably in the summer or early fall. On this occasion the Liberal Party's rule will be seriously challenged not by the C. C. F. but by reactionary nationalist parties. The main contender against the Liberals will be their present opposition in the Legislature, the Union Nationale. The Union's leader is Maurice Duplessis, who was Premier of Quebec at the outbreak of the war and whose government was distinguished chiefly for its anti-labor measures and the notorious Padlock Act, a barefaced attempt to interfere with civil liberty. Next comes the Bloc Populaire Canadien, a dangerously reactionary and corporatist party which arose mainly in opposition to conscription and to Canada's all-out participation in the war. Recently there has been a split in the Bloc, and three well-known nationalist rebels-Hamel, Gouin, and Chaloult-have left its ranks.

The Godbout government has three or four major progressive measures to its credit. It has given Quebec

women the right to vote in provincial elections, introduced compulsory school attendance, and paid particular attention to the Quebec farmers. One of its most important acts was its expropriation of the Montreal Light, Heat, and Power Corporation—a giant private-power monopoly—and its creation of a publicly owned hydroelectric system. The effect of these progressive measures, however, may be more than offset in industrial centers by that of two reactionary labor laws which seriously interfere with union rights.

The C. C. F. is relatively weak in Quebec although it is steadily gaining in strength, particularly among the organized workers. It is significant that the French Canadians in Ontario supported the C. C. F. in very large numbers in last August's election. C. C. F. growth in Quebec is accelerating now that the Catholic church has officially lifted an imagined ban against the party. The main interest in the Quebec contest, however, will be the strength of the nationalist groups and their fate at the hands of the electorate.

The provincial elections in Saskatchewan and Quebec have additional importance because they set the stage for the federal election, which is due any time within the next twelvemonth. All political parties are gathering their strength for that contest in the full knowledge that its result will determine the pattern of Canada's economic and social development. To meet the challenge of the C. C. F. the old parties, in collaboration with big business, have launched one of the best-organized propaganda campaigns in Canadian political history. Huge funds with which to finance it have been set up in various centers of Canada. Advertising firms and public-relations counsel have been engaged to direct it. The technique employed is the well-known appeal to fear. The press and the air are filled with the warning: "The C. C. F. will take away your homes, confiscate your savings and your insurance policies, grab your farm, and regiment your life in a bureaucratic strait-jacket." (American New Dealers will recognize the formula.) Because the Soviet Union is deservedly popular with the masses of the people, the old epithet "Communist" has been replaced by "National Socialist."

The C. C. F. is countering this attack with an intensive educational campaign. Having already won the support of most Canadians of all classes who are consciously ready to support fundamental economic change, it is now directing its appeal to the masses who are more concerned with their immediate prospects than with ultimate objectives. Fortunately the C. C. F. has always avoided doctrinaire jargon and has concentrated its attention on concrete, practicable proposals. It is now elaborating for the people of Canada a post-war program based on the pregnant lessons of the country's war economy. The program is directed to the achievement of full employment, a high national income, adequate hous-

ing and education, planned rehabilitation of service men, and a comprehensive scheme of social security. Its socialist proposals are presented challengingly in terms of these objectives.

A victory for the progressive forces in Canada will encourage progressives in other countries on this continent. And it will strengthen the influence of the labor movements in the British Commonwealth—an important factor in the development of a world community.

# But Why Do Spaniards Talk So Loud?

BY LEON FELIPF

N THIS point I think that I, too, have a few words to say. The raised voice in which the Spaniard speaks is an old defect of his race. Old, chronic, and incurable. We Spaniards have throats that are hoarse and raw. We talk in a shout, as if we had been hurt, and our vocal chords are forever out of tune. Forever, because three times in history—three times—we had to scream so loud that it tore our very larynxes.

The first time was when we discovered this continent, and there was need to yell at the top of our lungs, "Land! Land! Land!" We had to shout that word so that it would sound above the noise of the sea, and would reach the ears of men who had stayed behind on the other shore. We had just discovered a New World, a world of different dimensions, a world to which—five centuries later at the time of the great European shipwreck—man's hopes would have to cling. There were reasons for talking loud. There were reasons for shouting.

The second time was when that ghostly old eccentric the knight of La Mancha, grotesquely clad, with his broken lance and his paper helmet, sallied forth into the world and lawlessly launched on the four winds those words that men had forgotten—"Justice! Justice! Justice!" There were reasons for shouting then, too.

The third is more recent. I was in the choir that time. My voice is still hoarse from the strain. That was the shout we gave on Madrid's hilltop in 1936 to warn the sheepfold, rouse the shepherds, and waken the world: "Watch out—here comes the wolf! Here comes the wolf! The wolf!"

He who cried "Land!" and shouted "Justice!" is the same Spaniard who, only eight short years ago, screamed from Madrid's hilltop to the shepherds below, "Watch out! Here comes the wolf!"

Nobody heard him. Nobody. The doddering old sheep herders who write history to suit themselves closed all the doors and windows, made themselves deaf, filled their ears with cement. And even now they go about asking, "But why do Spaniards talk so loud?"

The Spaniard does not raise his voice. The Spaniard talks exactly on man's level. And as for those who think his voice is too high, perhaps that is because they are listening from the bottom of a well.

## Big Steel-Prince or Pauper?

BY BERNARD J. REIS

THE crucial point in the steel hearings now being held before a special panel of the National War Labor Board is whether the industry has sufficient funds to meet the wage and other demands of the United Steelworkers of America (C. I. O.). According to industry spokesmen, these demands would exhaust the financial resources of the steel companies and destroy their ability to provide jobs and maintain a high level of production after the war. Even before the case came up, the industry was telling the country the same story. It may be useful to test this claim by presenting a case history of the largest corporation in the industry.

Big Steel maintains that it is in a relatively precarious position. It argues that rising costs and frozen price levels are threatening its future security. In its 1943 report to stockholders it points out that "United States Steel was not able, after the payment of modest dividends to its common stockholders, to make an adequate addition to the fund carried forward for future needs. A continuation of such a state of affairs may prove serious to United States Steel and ultimately to the nation, as this fund constitutes insurance against the times when the customers' demand for steel may be small and the need for cash may be great." To buttress this point, the corporation claims firmly that after "dividends totaling \$60,000,000 declared on the preferred and common stock, there remained from the 1943 income the relatively small sum of \$3,400,000 to be carried forward for future needs. This was one-third of the amount carried forward in 1942 and was equivalent to about one-sixth of 1 per cent of \$2,000,000,000 received from customers in 1943. This sum would cover costs, at current operating rates, for less than one day."

United States Steel, it would appear, despite its recordbreaking war operations, is practically a pauper. Forgetting its rugged individualism, the corporation has widely proclaimed its poverty in large advertisements. Some sections of the press have already reacted with the proper degree of alarm. The New York Herald Tribune, for example, ran an editorial which argued that Big Steel must be maintained "in a financial condition which will insure its ability to do its share in meeting the post-war reemployment problem." It presented Big Steel's case in these words: "The fact that steel prices have been frozen at 1939 levels while wages and many materials used in steel production have been steadily rising is mainly responsible for the fact that this \$1,428,000,000 corporation has been unable to make adequate

provision for the vicissitudes of the future, complicated as these are by the prospect of transition from war to peace."

That is the story. Now let us look at the corporation's actual financial record during the war years and its position today. First consider the \$3,400,000 added to earned surplus in 1943. At the end of 1939 the earned surplus (undistributed profits) was \$263,000,000. By the end of 1943 this had risen to \$377,000,000, an increase during the war years of \$114,000,000. More than that, examination of the corporation's 1943 financial statement shows that it put away in its financial kitty many times more than the amount it added to its surplus. In that one year it set aside \$25,000,000 for a post-war reserve. This substantial reserve has been built up during the past three years until it now amounts to almost \$74,000,000. In addition, the corporation added more than \$2,500,000 to its reserve fund for contingencies and various other expenses, Altogether, at the end of 1943, a general reserve, including the special postwar reserve, amounted to more than \$126,500,000.

Furthermore, the corporation in 1943 deducted more than \$85,000,000 for depletion and depreciation charges and about \$43,650,000 for amortization of war-time facilities built by the corporation, a total of almost \$129,000,000. Two points must be noted in this connection. First, the \$43,650,000 deducted for amortization of war facilities is not altogether an operating cost. A good part of this amount probably represents a hidden profit. The corporation benefits from regulations which enable it to amortize war-time plants in five years -or less, depending on the duration of the war-instead of the twenty-five-year period which is the normal average for the industry. At the end of the war it will have completely written off its new and most efficient plants, and this will definitely be a war-time profit. Secondly, the charges for depletion and depreciation of more than \$85,000,000 in 1943 are much higher than those of \$61,000,000 in the prosperous year of 1937. An appreciable part of this difference is probably a concealed profit for the corporation. It is common knowledge in the accounting profession that what companies deduct for depreciation frequently does not coincide with the deductions permitted by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Another item in the corporation's financial report deserves comment. In 1937 United State Steel contributed \$7,400,000 to its pension fund and in 1939 \$8,300,000. But in 1940 its contribution rose to \$15,600,000 and in

1943 to \$33,650,000. Actual pension payments, however, remained fairly stable from 1936 through 1942, the last year for which figures are available. In 1942, for instance, the corporation contributed \$32,600,000 to the fund and paid out only \$8,600,000 in pensions. It would appear that since 1940 more than \$60,000,000 has been added to the fund over and above the pensions paid out.

While building up its financial strength in various ways, the corporation was still able to pay out more than \$60,000,000 in dividends during 1943—\$25,000,000 to its preferred stockholders and \$35,000,000 to its common stockholders. This dividend level has been maintained since 1940. The common stockholders in particular have benefited from the war-time boom. In the four pre-war years, 1936-39, they received a dividend in only one year. This amounted to \$8,700,000. Since 1940 they have been getting around \$35,000,000 annually.

Moreover, the corporation's average net profit after payment of taxes during the pre-war years, 1936-39, was \$44,732,000. For the four war years, 1940-43, its average net profit after payment of heavily increased taxes was \$88,270,000. This rise of almost 100 per cent

hardly justifies Big Steel's fears.

Accounting procedure has a great deal to do with the different pictures that can be drawn of the present financial resources of United States Steel. We have already indicated how it is possible for the corporation to maintain that in 1943 it was able to set aside only a relatively small amount for future needs, while actually it accumulated large resources. Further examination of the corporation's financial report reveals that it has been slanted in a direction that minimizes United States Steel's actual resources. As an example, the corporation carried its plant and equipment on its books as of December 31, 1943, at \$1,011,000,000. On December 31, 1939, these properties were carried at \$1,120,000,000. Considering the enormous addition that the corporation has made to its plant and equipment in the war years, the decrease shown on the books suggests that the present value of the properties is somewhat underestimated.

As to the corporation's liquid position, on December 31, 1939, its liquid assets, including cash and government securities, less all current liabilities, amounted to \$457,000,000. At the end of 1943 this amount had grown to \$681,000,000. But the corporation's financial position was actually much stronger than this figure indicates. During the period 1940-43 its long-term outstanding bonded indebtedness was reduced by \$87,000,000; hence its position on December 31, 1943, was \$311,000,000 better than at the end of 1939. There is another factor that underscores the financial strength of Big Steel. It will come out of the war with new and efficient plants and equipment that under post-war conditions will substantially reduce its operating costs. But even if this factor is ignored, liquid assets of \$681,000,000 effec-

tively answer the corporation's contention that during the period of reconversion it will not be able to operate for more than a few days because of its poor financial position. In fact, Big Steel is so fortunate as not to face a very tough reconversion problem. To a large degree it will continue after the war to produce the same products that it is turning out today. Besides, as we have shown, Big Steel has already charged off more than adequate amounts to take care of deferred maintenance.

There is a surprise ending to this story which is not generally known to the public. Under the provision of the 1942 tax law, Big Steel in the first two post-war years has the right to apply for tax refunds if its profits before taxes fall below a certain level. This level is the excess-profits credit of the corporation, which amounts to around \$120,000,000. On this base, or credit, according to the law, Big Steel does not have to pay excess-profits taxes; it need pay only normal corporate taxes. And in the first post-war year that the corporation's income before taxes falls below this level, it has the right to "carry back" that portion of its excess-profits credit which is not used and apply for a refund on a large part of the federal taxes it paid in the second preceding year.

Without going into the details of this carry-back procedure, it is sufficient to state the results. Let us assume that Big Steel in 1944 breaks even and does not earn a dollar of profits. Under the carry-back provisions of the law it will be entitled to a net refund from the United States Treasury of about \$49,000,000. If the same thing happens in 1945, United States Steel can benefit by the same amount, partly as an excess-profits-tax refund and partly in possible future tax savings. In other words, the tax law makes it possible for Big Steel to pay dividends in 1944 even if it only breaks even. It would have enough income to pay \$25,000,000 to its preferred stockholders and \$20,000,000 to its common stockholders, and to add a few millions to its surplus. These figures, of course, are based on a hypothetical situation and a generalized application of the tax law.

The tax law protects Big Steel in similar fashion up to 81 cents on every dollar of operating loss it may incur in the first two post-war years. By using the carryback procedure, the corporation in 1944, if it suffered a loss of \$7,717,000—an amount equal to its loss in the depression year of 1938—would receive a net refund from the Treasury amounting to about \$55,000,000. Thus, even assuming fairly large losses, the Steel Corporation would be able to pay to its preferred stockholders the full \$7 a year dividend and to its common stockholders dividends equal to 60 per cent of the war-time rate. The common stockholders would thus receive two and a half times as much as they did in 1937.

Big Steel, therefore, has benefited from war-time prosperity and is not going to the poorhouse tomorrow.

Contrast the position of the corporation with that of the average steel worker once the war is over. The United Steelworkers of America made a study of the family income and expenditure of a typical steel worker in the period September-November, 1943. The study found that even with war-time wages the average steel worker was going into debt at the rate of 79 cents a week. He will not have very much in the way of resources to meet a protracted period of post-war unemployment. And he will have no guaranty of possible post-war refunds and tax savings equal to his pre-war earnings in the event he loses his job. That puts it squarely up to Big Steel to assume the responsibility of providing post-war jobs for its workers. It has the resources to do it, and with its potential post-war tax refunds it can carry out a bold program without any large risks to itself.

What we have said of Big Steel holds true, in gen-

eral, for all American industry. With the cushion of potential post-war tax refunds, industry cannot use the excuse that the post-war picture is too uncertain for it to plan effectively now for full employment. Randolph E. Paul, former counsel of the Treasury, recently underscored this point in these words: "Whether we like it or not, government, and by government I mean the people, has become a partner in industry's reconversion costs and losses under the carry-back adjustments. In dollars-andcents terms, we might say that government will be the senior partner for war-time excess-profits taxpayers with responsibility for 81 per cent of their losses. . . . Government has always been interested in industry's profits, but now it is deeply concerned also with industry's losses. With government sharing those losses, industry can maintain a high level of production and employment with a smaller stake."

## Medicine and Politics

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

What confusion!—What mistakes! . . . In the foreground of this picture, a statesman turning the political wheel, like a brute, the wrong way round—against the stream of corruption—by Heaven!—instead of with it. In this corner, a son of the divine Esculapius, . . . feeling his patient's pulse, instead of his apothecary's.

-"Tristram Shandy."

THE inability of the medical profession to provide adequate treatment for the population as a whole was described in last week's issue of *The Nation*. A concrete measure to improve the situation is now before Congress. It has split the profession wide open.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill would enlarge the scope of Social Security benefits to include all types of medical care—at home, at the doctor's office, and in hospitals. It would provide for the services of specialists as well as general practitioners, and would cover X-ray and laboratory fees. It would apply not only to Social Security registrants but to their dependents. In addition, postgraduate medical education and research would be encouraged by grants-in-aid to physicians and to hospitals, schools, and research institutions.

Though the American Medical Association is fighting the bill, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care and the Physicians' Forum are fighting for it; and the Association of Internes and Medical Students, by promoting objective discussion of its provisions, has been an influence in its favor.

The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care is headed by Dr. Channing Frothingham of Boston. Its professional caliber is indicated by the fact that eighteen of its twenty-seven members are listed in "Who's Who in America" and the other nine are all prominent in medicine for their scientific or administrative work. Its breadth of vision is expressed in its statement of principles:

It is recognized that the medical profession is only one of several groups to which "medical care" is of vital concern. Close cooperation between physicians, economists, and sociologists is essential. . . . It seems to us probable that certain alterations in our present system of preventing illness and providing medical care may be necessary.

This committee favors the general purposes of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, but believes it must be strengthened in a number of its provisions if it is to be effective. It has offered to work with the bill's sponsors to improve it, and they have welcomed the offer.

The Physicians' Forum, headed by Dr. Ernst P. Boas of New York, supports the bill with similar reservations. It started out as a small band of liberals in the New York County Medical Society and now has members in sixteen states. Its position is stated in its November, 1943, bulletin:

There is a large hiatus between the high scientific levels to which medical knowledge has attained and the availability of this knowledge to the vast majority of Americans. . . . The serious social and economic consequences of illness make the problem of medical care the concern of the entire community as well as of physicians.

But perhaps the most significant of all the liberal groups is the Association of Internes and Medical Students, an alert organization of the younger men and women in the profession. It has some 3,000 members, maintains an office in New York, and publishes a monthly magazine, the *Interne*, with a circulation of 25,000. It organizes lectures, forums, and radio programs on medical topics of public interest; it cooperates with labor unions and liberal organizations as well as with professional bodies; it makes a continuous effort to improve conditions in hospitals; and it takes an interest in the progress of medical education. In a poll of young doctors by the *Interne* last winter, more than half of those who answered favored "some form of health insurance"; about a third favored tax-supported insurance.

Outside the medical profession the bill is supported by the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and virtually all liberal organizations. It is opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Constitutional Government, Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, the Insurance Economics Society of America, and a curious organization called the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service (N. P. C.).

The N. P. C. might be described as the secular arm of the American Medical Association. It does the dirty work. Its sole purpose and function is to fight the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. It has no program of its own for improving medical care. At its annual meeting last November it resolved to support private grouppayment plans, but in view of its previous bitter opposition to such plans it appears that its object in supporting them now is to create the impression that their existence makes a national plan unnecessary. It is closely allied with Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government; its administrator, John M. Pratt, is a Gannett protégé who was formerly executive head of the Physicians' Committee for Free Enterprise in Medicine and of the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government, predecessors of the two present organizations. There is no official connection between the American Medical Association and the N. P. C., but the House of Delegates of the A. M. A. last year adopted a resolution indorsing the work of the N. P. C., and the A. M. A. Journal promotes its doctrines.

The N. P. C. has admitted that its original capital came largely from the big drug and surgical-instrument firms. The relationship between these firms and the A. M. A. may be described as one of Mutual Helpfulness. Since approval by the A. M. A. is essential if a new drug or instrument is to be widely used in practice, the manufacturers court its good-will and even pull wires in its internal politics, using the golf course and the hunting lodge to good advantage; and now they are demonstrating their own good-will in very handsome fashion. With their financial backing the N. P. C. has blanketed

the country with literature attacking the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

The N. P. C.'s chief publications are two pamphlets, "Abolishing Private Medical Practice, or Prelude to Centralized Control of the Professions and Industry," by Mr. Pratt himself, and the anonymous "\$3,048,000,000 of Political Medicine Yearly in the United States." In the words of one of its promotion letters, the N. P. C. is "undertaking to distribute twenty million copies (20,-000,000)" of the latter pamphlet at a cost of \$200,000. It is probable that since the letter was written at least that many have been distributed. Doctors were asked to place copies on their waiting-room tables, mail them to friends, inclose them with their monthly bills, and hand them around at meetings of the "Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, [and] other group meetings." Copies were mailed from headquarters to editors, ministers, college professors, lawyers, and other professional groups. The misleading nature of the pamphlets becomes obvious when their language is compared with that of the bill itself. "Abolishing Private Medical Practice" contains this statement, for example:

For the doctor state medicine means abject slavery; the necessity of catering to the ward committeeman or the precinct captain rather than to the needs of the human beings who are his patients.

Under the terms of the bill the medical portion of the Social Security Act would be administered by the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service (Section 903-a); his expenditures would be subject to the approval of the Social Security Board (Section 903-c); he would be advised by a council of sixteen members selected from a panel of names submitted by the medical profession (Section 904-a); local administration would be in the hands of the doctors themselves (Section 905, paragraphs 1 and 7). As neither the Surgeon General nor the Social Security Board is subject to the influence of the ward committeeman or the precinct captain, it is not clear how the doctor would be subject to it. The pamphlet does not explain.

Or consider this lugubrious chant from "\$3,048,-000,000 of Political Medicine":

What does political medicine mean for sick people? It means that they must depend upon a doctor who:—

Is paid by the government—presumably working eight hours per day. The emergency sickness must wait until the doctor is on the job;

Is not the doctor of their choice but the one that has been assigned by a political bureaucrat;

Cannot have a personal interest in patients who come to him because they are compelled to do so;

Is less knowing and less efficient because he must follow methods and prescribe remedies that are fixed by his bureaucratic superiors;

Since his job is political, is more interested in pleasing his political boss than in curing his patients.

The presumption that the doctor would work only eight hours per day is gratuitous; the bill does not prescribe hours of work. As for payment by the government, the doctor would be paid "(a) on the basis of fees for services rendered to individuals entitled to benefits, according to a fee schedule approved by the Surgeon General [after negotiation]; or (b) on a per capita basis, the amount being according to the number of individuals entitled to benefits who are on a practitioner's list; or (c) on a salary basis, whole time or part time; or (d) on a combination or modification of these bases, as the Surgeon General may approve, according in each area as the majority of the general medical practitioners to be paid for such services shall elect, subject to such necessary rules and regulations as may be required." (Section 905, paragraph 7, my italics.)

The bill does not change in any way the traditional doctor-patient relationship. It states clearly (Section 905) that the individual physician is free to furnish services under the act or not (paragraph 1); that the patient may select any physician he pleases, subject, as now, to the consent of the physician (paragraph 2); and that "in any area where payment for the services of a physician is on a per capita basis, the Surgeon General shall distribute . . . on a pro rata basis among the practitioners of the area on the list . . . those individuals in the area who, after due notice, have failed to select a general practitioner or who having made a selection have been refused by the practitioner." (Paragraph 11.)

Moreover, the patient is free to go to physician who doesn't offer his services under the act. (He would nevertheless have to pay the full tax, and this element of fiscal compulsion has been used as an argument against the bill. The principle, however, has long been accepted in other fields, notably in that of education, where all are taxed to support public schools, even those who send their children to private schools and those who have no children.)

The last two counts of the indictment are ridiculous. The remedies a doctor prescribes and the methods he uses are determined by his scientific training and professional standards, and there is nothing in the bill that would require him to consult other standards. The administrative machinery is entirely non-political.

The Committee for Constitutional Government is running its own campaign along similar lines. To a mailing list of doctors it sends literature in envelopes imprinted with this message in red ink:

To All Physicians: Danger Ahead . . . Sen. Wagner's Bill 1161! See inside important message for you. Here are your WEAPONS! Protect your profession from SERFDOM to the STATE. Help NOW to save free enterprise for all.

The important message, entitled "Bismarck's Golden Chain," stoops to the demagogic argumentum ad homi-

nem that Senator Wagner was born in Germany, but makes no specific charges against the bill.

The excerpts presented here are typical of the arguments on both sides. The difference in quality between those favoring the bill and those opposing it is plain enough. It is a fair indication of which way the truth lies. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill has nothing to do with state medicine. It is reformist rather than revolutionary in principle, and some of its provisions are modest to the point of inadequacy. If it fails of passage the necessary first step toward a more rational medical system will remain to be taken.

### In the Wind

BIG BUSINESS CIRCLES are abuzz with rumors that the War Production Board may give permission next month for the resumption of civilian automobile production.

PROFESSOR HARLEY LUTZ of Princeton, who writes the monthly *Tax Review* of the Tax Foundation, sees no pressing need to keep "this something called the national income" at a high level or to achieve anything better than "reasonably full employment." He thinks full employment would cost too much money.

HOWEVER, THE WORLD does move. The London Daily Mail reports that Lady Hoare, wife of Sir Reginald Hoare, former British Minister in Teheran, wrote to the annual meeting in London of the National Anti-Vaccination League, of which she was an ardent supporter, that she could not attend because she had been vaccinated.

FORTY-FIVE COUNTRIES still belong to the League of Nations.

THE BIOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE announces a lecture on "Glamor—The True Reality."

MEDICAL CARE should not be thought of in economic terms, as if it were bread or coal, says Alphonse M. Schwitalla, dean of the St. Louis University School of Medicine. "To me," he says, "medical care is more related to a mother's love or a child's affection than it is to a loaf of bread or a ton of coal." That is the reason he gives for opposing the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

THURMAN BODDIE, Negro student at the New Rochelle, N. Y., high school, has been elected president of the student body. The school has a vast preponderance of white students. This is the first time in its history that a Negro has been so honored.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A new series of stamps showing the heads of Hitler and Mussolini was issued in Vienna. A man complained to a Post Office clerk that they didn't stick very well, "The stamps are all right," replied the clerk, "but people will spit on the wrong side."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

## Even Holland Goes Left

BY BLAIR BOLLES

THE people of the occupied countries look to the coming Anglo-American invasion to bring more than liberation from Nazi tyranny. They believe that it will introduce social and political changes which will make life much better than it was before the Germans came to plague them. The underground in the occupied countries has been nourishing new ideas—as well as plans for blowing up railroad trains and munitions factories. And nowhere have these ideas about the post-war period been formulated more clearly than in the Netherlands.

Thought in occupied Holland has a leftist tinge, if we may fairly judge by the available secret papers, of which Het Parool, Vrij Nederland, Trouw, and Ja Maintiendrai are the chief. Altogether these sheets put out about 250,000 copies a week. Not all of them have the same political orientation, but they show remarkable unanimity in discussing the larger issues. A great many of these papers reach London and exert an influence on the Dutch government in exile.

They voice the general demand for a better division of riches among all Dutchmen, young as well as old. Het Parool, the Socialist paper, calls for an "end to the monstrous system which forces old people to toil until they are sixty-five or seventy, while youngsters get no chance to work. There should be a guaranty of reasonable comfort for everyone over sixty years of age, without further labor." And they ask an end to the Dutch custom of a long betrothal and late marriage, which has been the consequence of the young Dutchman's slow progress toward economic independence.

The friends of social justice at home seek its spread to the colonies. Vrij Nederland, which expresses the political attitude of some Catholic and Calvinist circles, demands that every economic and social reform won in the Netherlands be passed on to the East and West Indies. "Not our own needs and dividends are to come first," says Vrij Nederland, "but the needs and rights of the Indonesians." This is revolutionary in a nation which has granted some political but few economic udvantages to its colonial subjects.

In many European countries before the war the effiiency of representative government was hampered by he large number of political parties. Holland had nearly wenty active parties. Now Je Maintiendrai, a royalist aper, proposes a two-party system, and other papers dvocate limiting the number of parties. Of Je Maintienrai's two parties, "the Progressives would include all those who aim at the greatest possible social justice and protection of the consumer, while the Conservatives' task would be to act as a brake on ill-considered experiments and extremist tendencies."

In foreign affairs "there will be no more neutrality and no more individual national policy, but the small nations will not be mere tools in the hands of their bigger neighbors." The Dutch underground writers believe in world collaboration based on regional understandings like the monetary agreement between the Netherlands and Belgian governments in exile. Winston Churchill's outline of a world council composed of representatives of four or five of the largest states does not please the Dutch. Foreign Minister van Kleffens has spoken out publicly in opposition to a world controlled by four or five "big brothers."

The Netherlands, like the other liberated countries, will have the problem of dealing with its traitors after the German defeat. It will also suffer the economic stringencies of the transition period between the withdrawal of the enemy and the reconstruction of the land, which is being impoverished by the flooding of productive agricultural areas with sea water. Inflation is the great dread of the underground. To prevent it, state control of the economy is advocated, with large government loans, high taxes, a property levy, and perhaps a forced-savings program.

The Dutch underground papers rule out personal vengeance against the Nazis and their henchmen. "Such action would simply bring down the Netherlands to the level of inhumanity reached by the enemy." Just punishment of the Germans, however, is urged "as a first condition for the solution of Europe's post-war problems." Traitors are divided into four classes: Dutch Nazi Party leaders, to be sentenced to death; commanders of uniformed Dutch Nazis, to lose Dutch citizenship and be sentenced to at least ten years' penal servitude; those who took an oath of allegiance to Hitler, to be deported, possibly to Germany; and the rank and file of the Dutch Nazi Party. No clear formula for the treatment of this last group has been offered.

#### Next Week in This Section

Several well-qualified observers just back from Chungking will give their views on Vice-President Wallace's visit to China, which is being hailed by the Chinese press and public as a historic event.

#### The Same Man

Even in 1936 Mr. Churchill was displaying a zeal for the Spain of General Franco which it is difficult not to interpret as an enthusiasm for the traditional privileges of the aristocracy to which he belongs when those principles were called into question by the Spanish masses.—From the forthcoming book "Faith, Reason, and Civilization," by Harold J. Laski.

"Mr. Churchill has thought a certain way for sixty years and doesn't want to change."—Mrs. Roosevelt at a press conference.

## Reactions to Churchill

#### What They Said in London

The Economist, liberal British weekly, commented: "Spain has not been neutral. Spain has been unofficially at war. It is sheer quibbling to say that Spain is not ranged among Britain's enemies. The Hungarians have not fought the British, nor have the Finns. Yet because of their attack on Russia, Britain is at war with both. It is curious procedure to give only glancing reference to Russia's part but four columns of kindly words to Russia's enemy. It throws suspicion on all of the more liberal passages in the speech.

"Mr. Churchill admitted he thought fascism the cause of the war. If in Italy, why not in Spain? The British know it is not their business to impose a government on Spain, but they are at a loss to understand why they should pretend to like this one or why the French committee should be thought less representative than Franco's government."

The New Statesman remarked that Mr. Churchill's view of Spanish fascism "precisely repudiates" the view of United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull that fascism and free government "cannot exist together in this world."

The Daily Herald, organ of the Labor Party, said that the most remarkable thing in the speech was the "flattering and almost fulsome tone of his references to the rulers of Spain." It added, "It is impossible to understand . . . why he should champion General Franco." The Daily Worker asserted that Mr. Churchill's "apologia for Franco" was "lamentable."

#### The Cartoonists

The Prime Minister used a harsh expression about cartoonists who draw "comical or even rude caricatures of General Franco."

This sentence seems to have whipped up British cartoonists into a frenzy of artistic activity to increase their output of anti-Franco cartoons. . . . The News Chronicle's cartoonist, Vicky, shows a fat nightgowned and haloed Franco with big blotches of blood on his hands and night dress and Churchill in shirt sleeves

swishing a whitewash brush over the bloodstains. The legend beneath the drawing says: "Damned spot, Out I say. What? Will these hands ne'er be clean?"

Churchill's injunction to quit caricaturing Franco also prompted the Evening Standard's great cartoonist, David Low, to publish a sketch of Franco dejectedly huddled with his head in his hands amid shabby bagage on the platform of a railroad past which trains were speeding to victory.—Frederick Kuh in PM.

#### The Effect on the Neutrals

An immediate response to the Prime Minister's promises of friendly relations and profitable post-war trade with Spain was found in Swedish foreign-trade circles, which have been in the blacklist limelight for the last fortnight. After pointing out that Spain is the only country whose forces have actually fought against the United Nations, a report in the Dagens Nyheter, leading Swedish daily, commented that "from now on small democratic neutrals ought to be able to take threats about Continental blacklisting and other forms of post-war sanctions not too seriously."—The New York Times.

#### Moscow Disapproves

Moscow, June 1—In its first reference to Spain since Prime Minister Churchill's recent speech, the Soviet press today comes out strongly with the opinion that "the sick devil turned monk," as Franco is described by Izvestia, continues to help Hitler's cause both economically and ideologically. . . . General Franco, Red Star says, did not forgo an attack on the Western powers because he lacked the will to do so but because he . . . was fully aware of the hostility of his people and the disintegration of his army.—The New York Times.

#### The Phalanx Rejoices

Madrid, Spain, May 25 (U.P.)—Prime Minister Churchill's speech in which he praised the Spanish



regime caused widespread satisfaction in all circles here today, and newspapers printed extensive front-page accounts, with his references to Spain in heavy black type.—The New York Times.

#### Distress in Latin America

Havana, May 25—Prime Minister Churchill's defense of Generalissimo Francisco Franco caused considerable surprise in Cuba, according to the reaction of the local press today.

The afternoon newspaper *Puebla* asserted that until the question of why Mr. Churchill was now defending General Franco was answered the conclusion was logical that Britain "is not as strong as supposed."

Mexico City, May 25—The Spanish refugee colony here—the largest in the world—expressed shock and amazement today at Prime Minister Churchill's "kindly words" about Franco Spain.—The New York Post.

## Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

In THE First World War, as we know, the correlation between developments within Germany and developments at the front was appallingly weak and slow. After the exhaustion and disintegration at home had become indescribable, the army continued to fight with undiminished tenacity, courage, and discipline. Similarly today the undiminished fighting qualities of the German armies are no proof that "things can't be so bad" in Germany. The fact is that the situation has become much worse than the American public, on guard against too great optimism, may think. The leading Swiss newspaper, the Neue Züricher Zeitung, printed on May 23 a sober, balanced account of conditions "behind the enemy line" by a Swiss just returned from Germany. The details add up to an impressive picture of decline.

Books, furniture, and luxury goods are practically unobtainable. Even brushes, gloves, saucepans, crockery, knifes, forks, and dishcloths are rarities. Any repairs which the householder cannot undertake himself, no matter how small, become lengthy affairs of state; it often takes weeks of démarches to get the services of a mechanic. . . . Even towns spared by the air war begin to look run down.

There are also the difficulties of travel.

When you enter Switzerland from Germany or the occupied territories, you are amazed at the comfort which is still regarded as normal here. The Swiss porter's perfunctory question at the frontier station whether he shall place your luggage in a smokers' or non-smokers' compartment, and on which side you prefer to sit, is an overwhelming experience when . . . you have probably spent the night in a corridor, squeezed against other passengers and unable to move.

A special chapter would be needed for the bombed cities, according to this Swiss reporter, who has visited a great many in western and northern Germany:

The once busy streets are deserted. The traffic that formerly pulsed through them is reduced to a mere trickle. There is hardly any life left in the ruins and one doubts whether it will ever return as before. . . .

The state takes care of the people that have been bombed out and of the évacués as well as it can, but its facilities are of course limited. Since complete compensation within a reasonable time is impossible, those who have lost everything are "declassed" in the truest sense of the word. The authorities issue purchase vouchers for clothes and household articles, but the time is long past when people could be sure of obatining something with them. The destruction of material goods has become so great that German industry, already overstrained, cannot possibly satisfy the demand. The glass industry is unable to replace broken windows; hence hundreds of thousands have to live and work in cold rooms. Transportation in the bombed cities is difficult and very slow.

What has been the effect of these conditions on the people? The most significant effect, in the opinion of this observer, is a deadly lassitude:

The power of resistance has been gradually weakened. Air war does not break down resistance at one stroke but wears it down gradually. The excitement of the raids and fear of death finally leave their mark even on healthy people. Life becomes one dreadful makeshift . . . everybody gets nervy and overstrained.

In the dreadful uncertainty of existence life loses all meaning. . . . A kind of defeatism, which is non-political to a certain extent, is developing. The number of people who can no longer keep up the fight, try as they may, is increasing. They are so tired that they crave an end to it all, at no matter what cost. A paralyzing exhaustion produces a boundless desire for rest. People show a certain indifference in all their actions. Evacués, for instance, make no effort to give their quarters a semblance of home. No one believes in the value of money, and it is senselessly wasted on trifles. In short, a normal human existence such as people must have to do efficient work is slowly but surely becoming impossible.

The Swiss returned home convinced that things could not go on indefinitely as they were. "One day the Germans will break under their burden." But he thinks that the very exhaustion of the people, the complete disintegration of normal life, will prevent their collapse from taking the form of a popular uprising. "The people have neither the strength nor the time to start any political action. The Nazis have nothing to fear directly from the home front." He is certain that the break will come at the battle front, either through a defeat, pure and simple, or through the infection of the front with the exhaustion and decline of morale of the people at home.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### The Press: Its Manners and Mores

THE DISAPPEARING DAILY: CHAPTERS IN AMERI-CAN NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION. By Oswald Gartison Villard. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

R. VILLARD is always worth reading on the subject of newspapers. All his life he has labored in the fields of journalism as reporter, editor, owner, publisher, and columnist, and he has combined this practice of his profession with a continuous study of its manners and mores. He has firmly held ideas about what a newspaper should be, and he finds all too few publications which conform to them. He dislikes sensationalism in both the selection and the presentation of news, comic strips, and sacred cows; he favors clean and dignified make-up, straight news, and editorial independence and leadership.

In this book, which is a revised and expanded version of an earlier work, Mr. Villard applies his tests to a number of leading American newspapers and newspaper chains. Among those which pass with fairly high marks are the Christian Science Monitor, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post, even though the author disagrees strongly with some of their editorial stands. The Chicago Tribune, the New York Daily News, and the Gannett newspapers come off much better than might have been expected, but in these cases Mr. Villard's judgments are colored by his own attitude toward the war. Thus he rather surprisingly hails Colonel McCormick for his championship of freedom of the press, although noting a few pages farther on the "vicious tactics" which he has employed in attempts to make this freedom impossible for competitors. "On international questions," Mr. Villard points out, "the Tribune has generally been cynical, reactionary, militaristic, and jingo, which added to the surprise that it should have taken the anti-war course that it did prior to Pearl Harbor." The author's unexpected pleasure at finding himself in agreement with the Tribune seems to have blinded him to the fact that its pacifism, unlike his own, is characterized by cynicism, reaction, militarism, and jingoism. The Colonel does not object to war as such; he merely wishes to choose his own enemies, and he does so never minding that some of them are America's allies.

Mr. Villard's appreciation of the Daily News may also startle some readers. It is possible to agree with him that, compared to Macfadden's Graphic, the Patterson tabloid is a model of decency. But one wonders through what spectacles Mr. Villard has read its editorials in order to see in them "the work of an editor who has not lost his head or discarded his judgment in this crisis, but continues to pass upon issues with peace-time detachment and unbiased scrutiny of what is going on." After this the Hearst press might have expected more kindly treatment than it receives in this book. Mr. Villard, however, has in no way revised his longheld opinion that Hearst has been a debasing and degrading influence on the newspaper business. He does not even mention, as a saving grace, the similarity of the Hearst policies

on international affairs to those of the McCormick-Patterson press, which he tends to approve.

The chapter of this volume which supplies its title is interesting as far as it goes, but one could wish that the author had attempted a more extended analysis of the causes of the "disappearing daily" and its corollary—the monopoly of the press. Mr. Villard provides some useful notes on newspaper mortality and points out that the survivors, despite growth in circulation, tend to decline both in craftsmanship and influence. One reason he adduces is the extent to which newspaper ownership has become a highly capitalized business into which only the wealthy can hope to force their way. The tendency of proprietors, he says, "is naturally to think and act as do the members of the economic group to which they belong, and to drift steadily away from the plain people and especially from the workers."

Strangely enough, however, Mr. Villard does not seem to realize the part which the Associated Press has played in diminishing competition in the newspaper business and in protecting vested publishing interests. In discussing the antitrust suit against the A. P. he lines up with the publishers, contending that there is no evidence that the news agency has been a factor in promoting monopoly. He points out that newspapers, denied A. P. service, can still rely on the U. P. and the I. N. S. but ignores the fact that these services do not and cannot provide competitive coverage in "news of spontaneous origin." More than that, he overlooks the fact that in many cities today a new daily, barred from the A. P. by the rules which the Department of Justice challenged, could not obtain any news service owing to exclusive contracts with the other agencies held by existing papers. Finally, he charges that the prosecution was motivated by the exclusion from the A. P. of a New Deal organ. Would it be any less gratuitous to assume that Mr. Villard's defense of the agency would have been less passionate if it had gored one of his own pet oxen?

My disagreement with Mr. Villard on this and other points does not in the least discourage me from recommending his book as a valuable companion to the newspaper reader. We need more such candid appraisals of an institution which plays so important a part in all our lives. For it will be much easier to preserve freedom of the press if its hidden workings are revealed and its readers allowed to know what makes it tick. One of the most regrettable tendencies of modern newspapers, and one which I wish Mr. Villard had dwelt upon more directly, is their general refusal to criticize each other. There was a time when editors pounced fiercely on each other's errors and delighted in controverting each other's views. But now such polemics are regarded as bad for business, and there seems to be a gentlemen's agreement that dog shall not eat dog. I should like to see Mr. Villard speak out strongly on this point. If the press policed itself by mutual criticism, the dangers to its freedom which he stresses would be greatly lessened.

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#### Sovereignty and Peace

THE CONSTITUTION AND WORLD ORGANIZA-TION. By Edward S. Corwin. Princeton University Press. \$1.

DWARD S. CORWIN'S new book contains only fifty-seven pages, but this is enough to pickle the American isolationists in an equal number of ways. The noted Princeton professor of law starts off in the first paragraph by reducing the isolationist outcry against violation of American sovereignty to an absurdity. How, he asks, can national sovereignty prevent the United States from assuming international obligations which other sovereign nations are free to accept? That would lead to the paradox that the United States, because it is more sovereign than other powers, is less capable of acting as it chooses, and therefore is less sovereign than the others.

Professor Corwin examines the three possible conceptions of sovereignty: (1) that it is a concept of international law under which nations are bound to fulfil their obligations toward each other; (2) that it is an inherent characteristic of the individual state, which is free to accept or reject international law on the basis of self-interest; (3) that the only real sovereignty is in the family of nations, which bestows what is called sovereignty upon its members.

He rejects the third concept as "a tour de force of heroic rationalization directed toward a selected ideal" (by the Austrians Kelsen and Verdross). The first, he decides, is the one that was held by the founders of the American republic. It has "been invoked myriads of times" by our State Department against other nations accused of violating international law, and has been accepted by the United States when advanced by other countries, as in the question of liability of American coastwise shipping for Panama Canal tolls.

Nevertheless, the author concludes, the ruling concept has been the second one, that nations are fundamentally free to do as they please, violating international law when they choose and overriding treaties by unilateral legislation. Its dominance is due to the fact that international law itself recognizes war as a legitimate instrument of national policy. The unlimited right to make war destroys international obligations, and total war wipes out international law. From the very first an attempt has been made by writers to escape this dilemma by distinguishing between just and unjust wars, but there has been no agency to do the distinguishing. That is where the proposed world organization comes in. By limiting the right to make war it would exalt the concept held by the American Founding Fathers—that national sovereignty exists within the obligations of international law.

If that is true, Corwin asserts, there is no impairment of sovereignty when a nation restricts its freedom of action by accepting membership in a world organization. Perhaps this coincides with, perhaps it goes beyond, the opinion I expressed in "Road to Peace and Freedom" that impairment of national sovereignty is not involved in the American choice because "there is no need to amend the Constitution to confer revocable authority upon a world association of nations." Dr. Corwin does not specifically deal with revocability, but his treatment of power and obligation carries

suggestion that the power to commit involves the power to revoke a commitment, yet that the power to revoke might give way, in time, to an overruling obligation not to do so. In either case entry into a world association is an act of sovereignty designed to support the nation's obligations under international law. If it be contended that sovereignty with binding obligations is not total sovereignty, then, says Corwin, "when total war is the price of total sovereignty, the price is too high."

Turning to constitutional powers and restrictions, Corwin finds that no restraints are placed upon American freedom of action in the foreign field by our system of dual federalism, or by guaranties of private rights. State authority does not enter this province of national policy, while by the supremacy clause of the Constitution treaties and laws of the United States are superior to the laws and constitutions

of the states.

The fact that the federal government is one of "enumerated powers" imposes no limitation in the foreign field, for two reasons. First, the author points out, treaty-making is one of the enumerated powers, and it extends indefinitely beyond the other enumerated powers. The one-time effort to restrain treaties to the subjects covered by other powers "may be unqualifiedly asserted to be defunct." Secondly, in the international field, the Supreme Court has tended more and more to regard the national government as one possessing inherent powers which exist not by virtue of specific clauses in the Constitution but because such powers belong "to the American people as a sovereign political entity at international law." This allows the federal government to act in the foreign field by legislation as sweepingly as it can by treaty and makes it impossible for a minority in the Senate to block the road. The power of Congress in this field is being indefinitely extended, while the special powers of the Senate are steadily shrinking. Contrary to the rule in domestic matters, the silence of the Constitution serves to affirm power in the foreign field instead of to deny it.

The end result is to establish Congress "as the legislative organ of a nation which is sovereign at international law," and free to act accordingly. Hence our national government may enter validly "into a general engagement with other governments either to exercise its constitutional powers in the furtherance of international peace or to forgo their

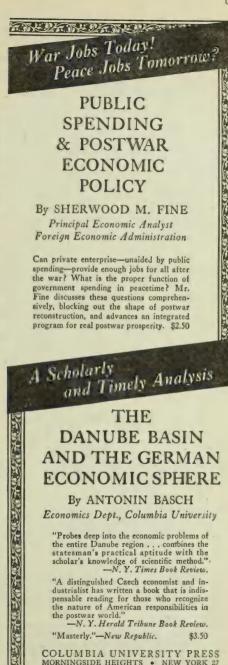
exercise for the same purpose."

By this brilliant and penetrating analysis, amply sustained by historical evidence, Dr. Corwin has swept all constitutional issues, all questions of impairment of sovereignty, out of the field of legitimate debate. That will not, of course, silence the hubbub raisers. IRVING BRANT

#### Welfare Work in Greece

BALKAN JOURNAL. By Laird Archer. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.50.

EFORE the Germans came to Athens with their scien-D tific methods of mass starvation, Laird Archer had spent twenty-one years in Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria attempting to counteract the effects of the starvation of the First World War. As field director of the Near East Foundation,



he was combination fund raiser, go-getter, agricultural expert, and relief administrator. He was also something of a diplomat, for the success of his school, farm, and sanitary projects depended in large measure on the good-will of the governments of all three countries. In recognition of his considerable services to Greece, Mr. Archer was decorated by George II with the Order of the Phoenix. To what extent this honor affected his political judgment I am unable to say. I can only point out that, despite continual references to his own democratic convictions, Mr. Archer in his war diary has little but praise for Their Majesties George, Zog, and Boris, and even goes out of his way to defend the late Iohn Metaxas.

"Whatever else may be said about Metaxas in history," he writes in his awkward style, "it should record correctly that he was sincere in these two things: making the country strong to defend itself and improving relations with its neighbors." This is the usual Metaxist line of argument, and Mr. Archer is no more successful in producing evidence to support it than any other apologist for the old regime. He makes much of "the rugged fortitude and undoubted patriotism of this really great military leader" but fails to offer any explanation for the appalling miscalculations of the general staff and the outright treason of so many of Metaxas's principal aides. In justice to Mr. Archer, it must be said that while he minimizes he makes no effort to conceal the inconsistencies of Metaxas's position. He repeats the dubious story about the letter which the dying dictator is said to have written to his friends warning them, after it was already too late, to beware the treachery of the Germans; yet he admits that Metaxas refused to close the radio transmitter in the German Legation by means of which Greek military secrets were known in Rome and Berlin before they were known to most Greek officers on the firing line.

Mr. Archer is a well-meaning exponent of social uplift, and it is perhaps too much to ask that he combine his humanitarian activities with political understanding. Nevertheless, I doubt whether there are very many people in Greece today who would agree that Metaxas was really a friend of labor, or that "recriminations [against the King] at this moment are unbecoming. . . ." Mr. Archer is now in Cairo, I understand, and may soon be returning to Greece in charge of some phase of UNRRA operations. If so, it is to be hoped that he will ponder the prophetic words of his colleague. Harold B. Allen, quoted in his diary: "... we get cooperation from all of them, presidents, kings, prime ministers, or dictators. The only trouble is we may get efficiency now at the expense of internal strife later on." That remark, it seems to me, is even more pertinent now than when it was uttered in 1936. If Mr. Archer had seen fit to draw the obvious conclusions, he would have written more illuminating book.

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#### SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

by Dr. Corliss Lamont

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#### Fixtion in Review

DEX WARNER'S "Return of the Traveller" (Lippin-Cott, \$2) is chiefly interesting for the fresh evidence it brings of the difference between the way the war is being written about in England and over here. I have several times commented on the refusal of American fiction to discuss any of the political, social, or psychological realities of this war. Ideologically the war plays about the same role in our current novels that a storm plays in murder mysteries: it is something noisy going on outside the house to add to our indoor tensions. But this is not the case in England, where, probably because of a different cultural tradition or perhaps only because the walls between the outdoor and indoor worlds have been blown in, all classes of novelists at least dare to nibble at the real issues. And now it seems that even in the matter of titles we on this side of the Atlantic show our disposition to evasion: Mr. Warner's book, published in England under the blunt name "Why Was I Killed?" appears here labeled for a more delicate taste.

Mr. Warner is best known in this country for his "The Wild Goose Chase" of some years ago, a Kafka-like fantasy. In "Return of the Traveller" the Kafka element is gone, but fantasy to a certain extent persists. Mr. Warner's new novel, that is, employs a fantasy device, the return to earth of a dead soldier, as the basis of a philosophical research into the possible justifications for the present war. Appropriately enough, the research starts among a group of people gathered at the tomb of an unknown soldier; Mr. Warner's philosophical microcosm includes a priest, an upper-class English patriot, a self-seeking member of the English lower middle class, a socially conscious intellectual, an emotional woman pacifist, and a refugee, each of whom first argues his attitude toward the war and then, by a flashback, reveals the source of his opinions in his personal and family history. But although each of the revelations is illuminating, none of the group except the priest can give the soldier a satisfactory answer to his question, "Why was I killed?" For it happens that, dying, the soldier himself had had a double vision—of the battlefield and of the sunny valley of life and among the people the soldier is canvassing only the priest has also had this vision; it appears that Mr. Warner means, by this double vision, the tragic view of life—the view of life that includes a view of death. But here "Return of the Traveller" becomes muddled: Mr. Warner's mystical syntax becomes hard to follow. I take the last chapter of Mr. Warner's novel to be a plea for a kind of political theism: it seems to say that good politics must be based on tragic view of life and that a tragic view of life depends on a belief in something which can encompass both life and death—in other words, in God. At least, Mr. Warner's priest makes it clear that only God is big enough to surpass all the conflicting ideas which have been presented to the returned soldier, that God is the only idea big enough to organize all of mankind into brotherhood, and that only in brotherhood is there hope for the future of mankind.

The religious proposition is very much in the air these days, and one should perhaps have been prepared for Mr. Warner's religious revolution, but the modern intellectual comes to religious faith disconcertingly well armed with the

arguments of the world; consequently the forthrightness with which Mr. Warner presents the positions which he finally discards threw me, for a good part of the way, off the religious scent. In the light of his religious conclusion, however, even the truths he announces in passing lose their validity. "Return of the Traveller" issues in an attitude which, to some, may be personally consoling but which can scarcely be useful, I think, either in avoiding future wars or in comprehending this one.

Three novels by women have come to me which have me wondering about my sex. Such a field day of villainy I haven't come across in many a fictional moon. "No Mortal Fire" by Elsa Valentine (Simon and Schuster, \$2.50) is a detailed account of the incredible doings of a young woman of Nazi leanings; but it seems to me that the Nazi tie-up merely gilds this lily. "Insurgent Summer" by Charlotte Aiken Yarborough (Harper and Brothers, \$2.50), a first novel not without writing talent, has it in for a publisher—which is understandable enough, I hear, but surely might be held within convincing limits. Fanny Sedgwick Colby's "The Apple Must Be Bitten" (Scribner, \$2.50) has it in for practically the whole race of man, divorce lawyers included. It all seems vaguely unhealthy.

Victor White's "Peter Domanig" (Bobbs-Merrill, \$3), on the other hand, is not a bit unhealthy; it is just long. And I am sorry to report my disappointment at Howard Hunt's novel about Henderson Field, "Limit of Darkness" (Random House, \$2.50); there was a quality in his first novel, "East of Farewell," which I hoped Mr. Hunt would improve on.

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#### DRAMA

REAM WITH MUSIC" (Majestic Theater) is said to have cost \$200,000, and I've never seen a more dazzling display of costumes, scenery, girls, and "effects." The show is a vehicle for Vera Zorina-complete with magic carpet that actually moves, rather cumbersomely, through the air. Miss Zorina's talents seem to me far better suited to musical comedy than to ballet. She has a handsome face and figure, she has a pleasant casual voice, and her angular movements are, in this setting, rather attractive than disturbing. But she has little to work with, though "Dream with Music" is as full of machinery as a defense plant.

There is not an ounce of original creative talent in the show-the music is cadged from the masters, the lyrics are limp, the book is very, very dull. And it is so lavish a spectacle that I found myself thinking solemnly of Marx and Veblen, of priorities and the coming invasion of Europe. Except for the girls, it would make a fine text for

a study in conspicuous waste.

The mountain of money has, however, produced a mouse-literally. There is mouse which sings, with Zorina, a number of which the burden is that it's too bad when mouse meets girl because they are biologically incompatible-as gruesome an idea as could well be invented by a desperate song writer. MARGARET MARSHALL

#### FILMS

R. CORYDON M. WASSELL, an unspectacular man, too compassionate and brave to mesh smoothly, in crisis, with authoritarians, was ordered, when Java was about to fall, to abandon several helplessly wounded sailors who were in his charge. He refused, stayed with them, kept them alive, and with great difficulty got all but one of them out of Java to Australia. I do not feel I need to have been there to know that his story is one of the great ones of this war; also, that it could be much better told through moving pictures than by any other means; also that on both counts Cecil de Mille's screen version of it is to be regretted beyond qualification. It whips the story, in every foot, into a nacreous foam of lies whose speciousness is only the more painful because Mr. de Mille is so obviously free from any desire to alter the truth except for what he considers to be its own advantage. All the more touching, and terrifying, is the fact that Dr. Wassell himself thinks that the picture, with a few trifling exceptions, is true and good.

Well, he has a right to be generous, or deceived, which none of us can dispute with him, far less claim for ourselves. One measure of the truth and goodness of the film is the difference between the elderly, simple face of the doctor and the simple yet far from simple face of the high-priced male beauty who enacts him. I like Gary Cooper; but God himself, assisted by all nine Muses, could not have made an appropriate film of "Dr. Wassell" once that piece of casting was settled on. For another measure. I choose one minor detail. When the ship out of Java is strafed and a young woman is wounded, and her ankle is being bandaged, the occasion is used to slip in a discreet bit of leg art. That, I can promise you, is typical of every shot in the movie. If you'd like another sample-I could go on forever-I offer the cinegenic idiocy of a moment when Dr. Wassell, wheeling out of a shelled road, drives his lorry through every roadside fowl-pen which, in his urgent predicament, he can get within range. Here are three brief respective counter-suggestions: (1) If you must use an actor in this sort of film, where no actors belong, get an inexperienced, unknown man who looks right and is right inside and who lacks mythologizing power, and train him only so much as need be. Failing that, use an obscure, realistically competent, somewhere nearly appropriate professional like Edward Ellis. (2) If woman is wounded, her flesh may very possibly be exposed, but for heaven's sake photograph it in such a way that nobody in your audience can possibly gobble it up-or vomit it out-as criminally misplaced cheese cake. (3) Dr. Wassell was a country man, and a gentle one. I would assume that his countrybred reflexes might cause him to try his best to avoid juggernauting livestock; and I know that this frightening conflict of reflexes could have made a wonderful moment in the film.

This viciously bad picture and a fine one called "Attack!-The Invasion of New Britain" furnish between them an opportunity-almost an obligation-to discuss our war movies to date. I hope I can do so soon, and do some justice also to "Attack!" Meanwhile I urge you to see both pictures if they are available: one as a sumptuous demonstration of our confused sense of reality-a confusion which amounts almost to insanity: the other as an antidote, a cleanser of the eyesight, and a restorer of hope and respect for what we can do when we honor and understand our subject and our craft. JAMES AGER

#### ART

SEVERAL hundred of the Metropolitan Museum's best paintings shipped off more than two years ago for protection at a time when air defenses were less adequate"-have been returned to Fifth Avenue and were last week put on exhibition once more. Only about twenty of the canvases have been cleaned or restored; yet most of them seem to have acquired fresh luster during their absence. The impression is partly owed, no doubt, to the redecorated galleries-on which the museum staff is to be congratulated. In two or three cases the color scheme may be unfortunate, but this detracts little from the total effect. Seeing the pictures again calls forth a surprising amount of joyous emotion. These are among the relatively few indisputable achievements, the integrity of which history and circumstances will never overthrow, even when the canvas rots. That one can experience their actual presence, and not merely reproductions, seems a

The Museum of Modern Art's fifteenth-anniversary exhibition, "Art in Progress" (through October 8), is another source of pleasure. All three gallery floors of the museum have been filled with displays of painting, sculpture, architecture, industrial design, stage design, photographs, movie stills, posters, and more. The material, much of it borrowed, some of it owned by the museum, has been selected with an eye both to intrinsic and representative quality. This, in effect, is the modern movement as it is embodied in the more visual arts and crafts. The works in the painting and sculpture sections-beginning with Renoir, Degas, and Maillol among the French, Eakins and Homer among the Americans, and Lehmbruck and Barlach among the Germans-are well chosen; most of the examples have been borrowed and are more or less unfamiliar to the New York public. Matisse is shown at his best, and the spectator is reminded, as he needs to be, that the old Frenchman is the only living painter to offer Picasso any competition as a dominating force. But the

absence of Vlaminck and Segonzac is unjustifiable; and I differ strongly with the museum on many of the younger artists whose work has been included —though some of the weakest of them are shown at their strongest. On the other hand, the notion given of American abstract painting is insipid and very unfair.

If the remainder of the exhibition is no better than it is, it may be because modern architecture, industrial design, and their allied fields are no better than they are. It is possible that there are errors of omission or inclusion, but I am not competent to decide. The architecture section seems to make the point, not intended, that no adequate modern style has yet been developed for the dwelling. I found nothing to quarrel with in the photography section except that Ansel Adams is given an undeserved amount of space, while only nine of Walker Evans's prints are shown. Evans is certainly our greatest living photographer after Stieglitz. Among the posters those of A. M. Cassandre, the French artist, which take advantage of every hint offered by the painting of the school of Paris, are superb.

The Museum of Modern Art does much in this show, as it did in its previous one, "Modern Drawings," to redeem its sins. Yet the redemption is a negative one. The best of what has already been accepted is made available, but the selection indicates no positive policy in respect to the art being produced at the moment. The museum continues to show an uneven catholicity to contemporary art beside which the present policy of the Metropolitan in regard to the art of the past appears narrow and dogmatic. The younger museum needs some of that strictness. The masterpieces at the Metropolitan furnish a standard which the Museum of Modern Art can well use to test the merits of contemporary art. Not that the works admitted into its galleries have necessarily to meet such a standard, but simply that they ought not to be completely irrelevant to it—as irrelevant, say, as the examples now on view of the art of Blume, O'Keeffe, Dali, Portinari, Zorach, Tchelitchew, Berman, Tanguy, Pereira, Robus, and more than a few others. The extreme eclecticism now prevailing in art is unhealthy, and it should be counteracted, even at the risk of dogmatism and intolerance. Inevitably, the museum makes enemies. Let it make them for good reasons.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

#### RECORDS

N VICTOR'S June list is Morton Gould's Latin American Symphonette (Symphonette No. 4), played by Iturbi with the Rochester Philharmonic (Set 964; \$3.50). In this work Gould uses the rhythms and idioms of Latin American dances; but he also uses his technical expertness to produce something cleverly surprising or amusing at every beat—which is too much, and wearying after a few measures. The performance is appropriately explosive and is well recorded.

Also on the list is a Suite No. 1 by sixteenth-century composer, Esajas Reusner, played by Fiedler with his Sinfonietta (Set 969; \$2). The dances are agreeable to listen to, but no more than that; the performance seems good; its recorded sound is a little shrill.

On a single disc (10-1099); \$.75) is a charming song of Schubert, "Auflösung," sung by Eleanor Steber. On this record, which must have been made two or three years ago, Miss Steber's beautiful voice is often clouded by tremolo to a degree where it is not pleasant to listen to. The reverse side offers a trashy song by Cimara, "Canto di primavera, which I imagine Miss Steber, clutching roses, has sung at the end of her recitals. Another single disc (11-8595; \$1) offers Kipnis's sonorous singing of Rachmaninov's "Harvest of Sorrow," lugubrious but not bad, and Gretchaninov's familiar "Over the Steppe," quite bad in spots.

The rest is even less consequential and can go uncommented on. Some surfaces were fair, a few very noisy.

Commodore Music Shop, which specializes in jazz records, makes its own records of "Classics in Swing," and puts on Sunday afternoon jam sessions at Kelly's Stable, has resumed recording after a long interval and issued several superb performances-with spontaneity and vitality in the ensembles, and inventive power in the solos-by a group comprising "Wild Bill" Davison (trumpet), George Brunis (trombone), Pee Wee Russell (clarinet), Eddie Condon (guitar), Gene Schroeder (piano), Bob Casey (bass), and George Wettling (drums). On a ten-inch disc (546) are "That Da-Da Strain" and "Ugly Chile"; on a twelve-inch (1511) are "That's a Plenty" and "Panama." The other performances that Commodore has issued-by the Edmond Hall Sextet, Eddie Heywood and his orchestra,

Leonard Feather's All Stars, and the Big Sid Catlett Quartet—are full of showy virtuosity, luxuriance of style, and tricky or gilt-and-plush scoring.

From the major companies the only comparable release is Columbia's "Blues by Basie" (Set C-101; \$2.50), in which "Count" Basie, supported by the rhythm section of his orchestra, improvises variations on "How Long Blues" (36710), "Cafe Society Blues" (36711), and "Farewell Blues" and "Way Back Blues" (36712), and is joined by Buck Clayton (trumpet) and Don Byas (tenor sax) in "Sugar Blues" and "Bugle Blues" (36709), "Royal Garden Blues" (36710), and "St. Louis Blues" (36711). Basie's inventive power and rhythmic sense are extraordinary; but even when they are operating, his delicate piano-playing, all in the treble, needs his rhythm section to give it foundation and body; and there are moments when the performance is nothing but rhythm section with an occasional delicate peck or chirp by Basie. I say rhythm section; but the surfaces of my copy are so noisy that there are only a very few places where I can be sure I am hearing drums and guitar in addition to string bass, Clayton and Byas play very well in "Sugar Blues" and "Bugle Blues," less interestingly in the others.

As for books, I had intended to review Panassie's "The Real Jazz" (Smith and Durrell; \$2.50) and Goffin's "Jazz From the Congo to the Metropolitan" (Doubleday, Doran; \$2.50); but I have come to feel there is no point in a detailed explanation of why they are not worth reading. There exists-if you are interested—one piece of appreciative writing about jazz by a man who knows the music and loves it and utters sense in the process of writing about it with warmth and color; this is Wilder Hobson's "American Jazz Music." There is also-if you must have that-a musicologist's unloving dissection of the melody, harmony, rhythm, and structure of jazz, with a few heavily philosophical trimmings that are easily and wisely disregarded; this is Winthrop Sargeant's "Jazz Hot and Hybrid." The rest-books, articles, record-notes-is unprofitable. B. H. HAGGIN

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## Letters to the Editors

#### Can a Soldier Vote?

Dear Sirs: There has been a good deal of controversy over the soldier's right to a special, expeditious voting law. Under the present compromise each individual state still has the power of directing the voting procedure of the soldiers claiming residence in that state. California has one of the more liberal sets of laws regarding the absentee voting of its soldier-citizens. What follows is the history of how one California soldier got in his vote:

Let's call him Pvt. Joe Polachek, a newly naturalized American citizen, in the army for five months, all of which were spent in a Signal Corps training camp in Missouri. He is perhaps a little more conscious than most of the precious rights for which he and millions of Americans like him are fighting. This is the first time he has had the opportunity of enjoying that essence of democracy, the casting of a ballot. The right to elect the men who will represent him and who will formulate and administer the laws under which he lives he realizes is a privilege worth dying for if need be. He will not let that privilege wither from neglect or be lightly pilfered from him. For this reason, when it was finally decided in Congress that the states should continue in charge of the service man's vote, Joe sat down and wrote his registrar of voters in Los Angeles for instructions on absentee registration and voting. He received an application for absentee registration with printed instructions on absentee voting. The hardest rule to follow was to get a commissioned officer to certify the application; they all seemed to think it was a highly dangerous business and "passed the buck" to someone else. Pvt. Polachek returned the application, duly filled out and at last signed by a commissioned officer. and received a receipt of registration.

Next, Joe ferreted out the supply of War Department Form Number 560, a request for an absentee ballot, which should have been easily obtained in any company orderly room. The orderly room neither had the cards in stock nor had any idea of getting them. The first sergeant and the company commander expressed disgust over Joe's taking an interest in voting instead of concentrating only on his army studies. At last a

friend of Joe's who worked in an administrative office of the post happened across a stack of these Number 560 cards. He gave Joe part of them. Pvt. Polachek took it upon himself to distribute the cards among his buddies, vigorously urging them to fight for true democracy at home by voting. He mailed his own request card to the Secretary of State of California. Weeks went by without any sign of the awaited ballot. Thinking that the first card might have been misplaced or lost in the mail, Pvt. Polachek sent in a second card after the usual unpleasantness of persuading an officer to sign it. Several more weeks slipped by. Pvt. Joe Polachek took the Secretary of State to task with a letter. That gentleman informed Joe in his answering letter that his office was merely a clearing house which sent the requests to the various county registrars. Time continued its inevitable march. No ballot was forthcoming. But Pvt. Joe was not to be brushed off like a speck of dust from an official's glasstopped desk. The governor of the state next heard from dauntless Polachek in a scathing registered air-mail letter. By this time the county registrar's office in Los Angeles had sent a non-partisan ballot, which omitted Presidential, Senatorial, Congressional, and Assembly candidates, together with another application for registration, indicating that the receipted previous application had been misplaced!

Again the application had to be filled out and a reluctant officer, who obviously was uninformed about the whole procedure, pinned down to sign it. On the day Pvt. Polachek was unexpectedly shipped back to an assignment in his home town of Los Angeles, he received reply from Governor Warren's office blandly informing him that his communication had been forwarded to the county registrar of voters.

Now the registrar in Los Angeles returned the second application for registration untouched with a letter stating that at the time of his first request for a ballot, Joe Polachek's registration affidavit had not been on file, but that since then it had been filed and the party ballot sent. When he arrived in Los Angeles, Pvt. Joe immediately presented himself at the county registrar of voters' office, where he was wryly greeted and shown the small stack of

correspondence of which he was guilty and which had eventually all found its way to the registrar's desk. The office claimed to have just mailed the party ballot, and in fact it did arrive a few days later. Certain by now that the army wanted nothing whatever to do with election, Pvt. Polachek marked his ballot before a civilian notary rather than incur the displeasure of his local army superiors. The deed had been done! Joe had cast his ballot to the best of his ability after spending considerable of his free time in study of the candidates and their platforms.

How many other "Joes" accomplished the same feat remains to be seen.

M. S.

Hollywood, Cal., May 20

#### Concerning Mr. Gilbert

Dear Sirs: On May 6 you published an anonymous letter attacking the Post-Graduate School of Journalism of Chungking and the new dean, Rodney Gilbert.

In your caption you asked a question, "Is It Journalism?" In reply I inclose the Chungking Reporter, which is edited and published by the students of the Chinese school and is now, after seven issues, self-supporting. This newspaper was created and made possible entirely and exclusively by the establishment by us, in cooperation with Hollington K. Tong, of a school to teach journalism to Chinese college graduates.

The product of this Chinese school is journalism.

It is always disappointing when any publication prints a letter or article without investigating the facts at the source. The anonymous writer whose letter you published also made a personal attack upon Mr. Gilbert, alleging that he is "a notoriously anti-Chinese writer." Mr. Gilbert has been a personal friend of Mr. Tong's for at least a quarter of a century, and it is highly unlikely that Mr. Tong or his superiors in the Chinese government would permit Mr. Gilbert to return to China if the label you put upon him were true.

Both this school and the leading citizens and officials of China have complete confidence in the integrity of Mr. Gilbert as an individual, in his high moral and ethical standards as a journalist, and in his teaching ability.

As a journalist, I regret to see The Nation permit its columns to be used in time of war for sabotage.

CARL W. ACKERMAN

New York, May 10

[Readers of The Nation may be interested to learn that the copy of the Chungking Reporter which Dean Ackerman inclosed with his letter to refute the allegation that "the School of Journalism was merely a branch of Tong's propaganda department" contained as its feature article a defense of the totalitarian restrictions on press freedom by the Minister of Information and an apology for Chiang's refusal to permit the foreign correspondents to visit the Communist areas. Mr. Ackerman's artful dodging of anti-Chinese charges against Rodney Gilbert is also interesting in view of the fact that Mr. Gilbert's long-standing Chinese attitude is literally an open book. Twenty years after its publication Mr. Gilbert's "What Is Wrong with China?" still stands as the most exaggerated and unfounded attack ever made on the Chinese people and their civilization. Throughout his years of experience in China, and more recently as an editorial writer for the Herald Tribune, Mr. Gilbert has remained one of the most extreme exponents of treaty-port diehardism.-EDITORS THE NATION.]

#### CONTRIBUTORS

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LEIGH WHITE was a European correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1941 and 1942, spending much of his time in the Balkans. He is the author of "The Long Balkan Night."

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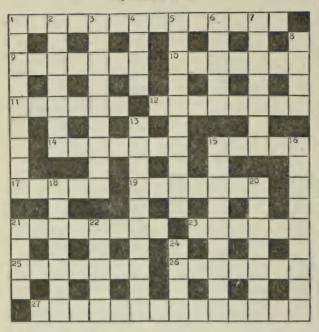
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## Cross-Word Puzzle No. 67

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- 1 If they ever did lie down together the latter was probably inside the former (four words, 4, 3, 3, 4)

  Elizabeth's state, with Raleigh's
- cloaked connivance
- 10 Artist's own copy 11 My set's out of order
- 12 A genuine quality 14 All Americans, in the eyes of most Europeans
- 15 Rhinestones, possibly
- 17 Jack Tar's workaday uniform. 19 "What can ----- sots or slaves or cowards? Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards" (Pope)
- 21 Arctic expedition's iron ration, com-
- plets with container
  "Untwisting all the chains that tie
  The ----- soul of harmony (Mil-
- 25 I'm in Art, and can always give you cocktail
- 26 Redhead (anag.)
- It looks as though a good root-hold would be essential to plants in these (two words, 7 and 7)

#### DOWN

- 1 One of the household, if upset, might cause the lad dismay (two words, 8 and 4)
  2 An epic journey
  3 and 8 They follow Shrove Tuesdays (two words, 3 and 10)
  4 Wooden skirting
- 5 Rash ensign (anag.)

- There may be a buttonhole in this Works hard (sounds like dirty work in the Bowery!)
- See 8
- 13 He only eats one kind of marrow
- A bookmaker not necessarily con-nected with the Turf
- I need muse, and get Greek furles! Poetic name for Wales
- 20 It's pleasure to this a check A cougar's got father in the extremities!
- All right on cakes, but not on air-
- plane wings He would have sent Oliver Twist to prison if Mr. Brownlow hadn't interposed

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 88

ACROSS:-1 START; 6 COLTS; 9 IVAN-HOD; 10 ERROR; 11 LIVID; 12 ARSENAL; 16 POMADE; 19 FAULTY: 22 SELECTORS: 23 JEHU; 24 USES; 25 NIGH; 26 TEAR; 27 USED; 29 POLE; 30 ENTOURAGE; 33 LEGREE; 85 NUDIST; 38 ASCENDS; 41 MAZER; 42 STORE; 43 EXAMPLE; SIDED; 45 TOSCA.

DOWN:-1 SWEEP; 2 ABRAM; 3 TIRADE; 4 CATS; I CHAN; 6 CELLAR; 7 LEVEL; H SADLY; 13 RELEGATES; 14 ETCH; 15 AFOREHAND; 17 OVERSEE; 18 ASUNDER; 20 USURPED; 21 TRELLIS; 28 TUNE; 31 NEARED; 32 GUSSET; 33 LIMNS; 34 GAZED; 36 IRONS; 37 THETA; 39 CHAR; an NIPS.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158

NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JUNE 17, 1944

NUMBER 25

## Dialogue in Limbo

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

"This is it!" say the American troops as they pile into flat-bottomed landing craft, as they tumble from transport planes in a kaleidoscope of colored parachutes, as they crash-land in gliders on the rough fields of France. No more "exercises." No more false alarms. This is the end of waiting, the end of controversy; this is the fabulous "second front," almost as important before it began as in today's bloody reality. . . . "This is it," say the Russians, shouting with relief, their blasted villages and dead millions in their minds and in their hearts a new sense of comradeship with the West. . . . And in Germany, Adolf Hitler and his fellow-conspirators say it, too, though not out loud. This is it; in the west as in the east and south the great German retreat has begun, and where it ends, they will end too. . . . "This is it," say the old people on the streets in Bayeux and the little villages of Normandy, greeting the Allied troops, smiling, bringing out wine long bidden, and flowers. "For this we have seen our homes and our people blown to pieces by your bombs, and have not wept. We knew you would come; we thought you would come sooner. But now you are here and, at the moment you arrive, we are free."

In the White House the President greets his guest. "How do you do, mon Général"; the Roosevelt smile expresses just the appropriate mixture of formality, cordiality, quizzical irony. (No title of state; he's a general, whatever he isn't; better stick to that and play safe.)

"How do you do, Mr. President. It is good of you to receive me."

"I'm glad to welcome you, General. It must have been difficult to leave England at such an hour."

"Not at all, Mr. President. This hour is not a particularly busy one for me." A pause; not a comfortable pause. "A few of our paratroops are at the front, in France, and doing well, I hear. But I, as you see, am not. Nor do I seem to be needed in London."

"The French are fighting like heroes, as we knew they would. And the underground, too, is evidently performing with amazing discipline—and an amazing degree of organization." The President smiled again, warmly and with an air of relief.

"You will pardon me, Mr. President, if I say that there is no reason to be amazed. The underground in all its phases—the Maquis, the saboteurs, our intelligence service—it does its work well. And why not? It has been fighting since the day the traitors of Vichy signed the Armistice. And for a long time, Mr. President, the resistance forces inside and those outside—the Free French forces—have been closely coordinated. This, of course, you know. I mention it only to explain why the performance of the underground fighters can hardly be termed amazing. They have poured their blood into the earth since long before your great country entered the struggle. They know how to fight, Mr. President."

The President smiled again, this time rather sardonically. He waved his cigarette. "Perhaps, General, it would be well to take up some of the particular questions you were good enough to come to Washington to discuss."

"Certainly, Mr. President. But these are exactly the questions we have been taking up. It is hardly a secret, I think, that the Provisional Government of France, which I have the honor to head, wishes the recognition of the government of the United States. It is specifically in its role as leader of the resistance of France, military and civilian, that it claims such recognition.

"I hesitated to come to Washington, Mr. President, particularly since the failure of your government to delegate a representative to meet with me in London seemed to underscore your attitude toward the Committee of Liberation. But the safety of France means more to me than my pride, which is considerable. Therefore I am here. I wish to talk of matters which should have been settled long before the Allied armies landed in France. Even now our people are beginning to ask uneasy questions. . . Mr. President, I put it to you plainly: Do you wish to repeat in France the sequence of unhappy events that took place in North Africa?"

The President stopped smiling. "I was not aware that things had gone so badly in North Africa. The Germans have been expelled from the country; a base was secured for operations across the Mediterranean—operations which are proving, I might add, a notable success; and in the French areas your own authority, my dear Gentral, seems quite firmly established. I hardly see how

North Africa serves to illustrate your point. In fact, if you will excuse me, I'm afraid I hardly see your point."

General de Gaulle's expression grew more stubborn. "North Africa was a military success, Mr. President, and a political fiasco. Only a timely assassination saved your administration from disaster. Your attempts to side-track the only French authorities that could command a popular following increased by many times the prevailing Gaullist sentiment; they cost you the friendship of the French people of North Africa. America is hated in the region you chose first to liberate. I find it painful to say this, Mr. President, but it is true."

Mr. Roosevelt flushed. "I think, General de Gaulle, we are again wasting time. You came from London not, I assume, to rake up past controversies but to discuss the future of France. Let us do so."

"As you please, Mr. President. North Africa merely illustrates France, but the illustration is not exact because in France, happily, we are spared many of the complications which confused the issue in North Africa. In France we need not, for example, worry about the feelings and prerogatives of the traitors of Vichy—or I assume we need not, Mr. President? No, clearly not. We have your explicit word for that. In France we can concentrate on wiping out and driving out the enemy and on maintaining an orderly administration."

The President nodded. "You could not have phrased the situation better, General. That is exactly the task we have set out to perform. You have omitted only one point: the determination of the Allied powers to see to it that the people of France have n chance to choose their own government as soon as the country is cleared of enemy forces. This is an element in our program of liberation which must not be forgotten, General."

"I have not forgotten it, Mr. President. It is equally an element in the program of the Provisional Government. Plans for a national referendum and the calling of a constituent assembly have been worked out in detail by the Committee of National Liberation and the Consultative Assembly. We announced those plans to the world, Mr. President; we are publicly committed to carrying them through. Meanwhile, the country must be administered and the Provisional Government has completed its preparations for that role, too. We believe it to be essential that civilian agencies move in as the enemy moves out.

"Mr. President, no other governing body has even been germinated in the soil of France—outside of Vichy. No other could possibly claim the allegiance of the people. It is stupid, I know, to sit here repeating known facts. They all point to one conclusion, and it is this that I wish to submit to you with all the energy and conviction I can command: You have only a single choice in France—to recognize and deal with the Provisional Government or to install an Allied military administra-

tion such as you set up in Italy, and then to look around, as you did there, for local functionaries to act as instruments of Allied policy.

"May I say, Mr. President, that the results of the political strategy pursued in Italy are hardly so striking as to make it seem worthy of imitation elsewhere? The government created by the Allies was from the start incapable of rousing a spark of popular support. But France is not Italy, Both you, Mr. President, and General Eisenhower have promised to entrust the administration of France to the French people. Secretary Hull said very clearly that the United States was 'disposed' to depend upon the Committee of National Liberation for the establishment of order as France is liberated. This is not a promise of recognition; Mr. Hull pointedly excluded recognition, but his words go well beyond the acts of your representatives. In each of his messages to the French people, General Eisenhower has studiously avoided any mention of the Committee of National Liberation, Naturally I am driven to wonder whether the cautious words of Mr. Hull are now considered inconsistent with your promise to let the French people direct the civil affairs of France. We maintain, Mr. President, that we represent the people of France as far as their will can be made known today. The Provisional Government has the active backing of the organized, political elements-all of them outside of Vichy, left, right, and center. Can any other government in exile claim more? Can many regularly elected governments claim as much? Can you yourself, Mr. President?"

The President was silent, and De Gaulle went on, with more confidence.

"The important things," he said, "in the next few months are practical things-feeding of the people, the organization of resistance. The agony of France has been great; it will be worse while the fighting lasts. The people are rising, all over France, to drive out the invader, to die in thousands-after five years of war and four years under Hitler. Nothing could be worse at this moment than a spreading suspicion that the Allied armies plan to use French lives-and then run France to suit themselves. . . . Those Allied francs! How could such scheme be invented for use in a friendly country among people already starving on the fixed currency of the invader? For the Allies to have set up a fiscal system for liberated France-without even consulting the Provisional Government-makes an ugly joke of the very word 'liberation.'

"This is only one instance. Another, equally significant, perhaps, was the failure to use French troops in the first landings. Can it be that the Allied command feared demonstrations for De Gaulle and the Provisional Government? I hope not. But that is what people are asking.

"I hesitate to speak, Mr. President, of the failure of

the Allied authorities to make use of my services in planning the military campaign in my own country, though to do so would have seemed not inappropriate to Frenchmen; I speak, rather, of their refusal to use me in helping direct the activities of the resistance movement inside France. My respect for General Eisenhower forbids me to question his judgment in military matters. On political questions, however, I can only believe that he follows the policy laid down by the British Foreign Office and your own State Department. And so I feel free to assume that his failure to use the Committee of National Liberation—whether recognized as a government or not—as an instrument of political war during the invasion of France can only be the result of an attitude on your part which I most passionately deplore."

The President puffed his cigarette. "I didn't like that business of executing Pucheu," he said.

De Gaulle frowned. "He was a traitor," he said.

"Bad business, that sort of retributive justice. Usually ends in terror, like Germany," said the President. "If your committee runs France, there might be a good deal of that. Too much."

De Gaulle spoke very carefully. "Pucheu," he said, "was tried in a French court. His rights were safeguarded as carefully as seemed possible in a situation such as exists today. Undoubtedly there will be more such trials. French patriots have died by thousands through the acts of traitors working for Germany. Either the men suspected of treason must go to trial—and promptly—or terror is inevitable. Not only inevitable, but excusable. I hope, Mr. President, that you do not imagine order will be better maintained without the help of French authority."

"Oh no, on the contrary. We must depend on French authority all the way. Under the direction of the military, of course. We've said that right along. The only question is, General, what authority? If we take your word for it, your committee is the only authority there is. Well, we'll see. If that's so, we shall soon find out. But—well, let's let it go at that.

"As for those American francs and the other specific points you brought up—I must say I think you have a case. It's too late to do anything about the francs, I'm afraid. They're all over the place already. But perhaps we can do something to keep prices from skyrocketing the way they did in Italy. Hard to, though, without taking money out of the pockets of American soldiers—and that's harder still. I'll speak to Eisenhower about the whole list. He's really the one to decide—within the limits, of course, of the government's basic policy.

"And now, General, haven't we pretty well covered the ground you had in mind? I have a good many appointments and I know you are anxious to get back nearer the scene of action. I am, myself; indeed I envy you. These are great days—and terrible ones. But we are winning, and that's the main thing after all, isn't it? These other problems—well, they seem secondary, however much they clamor for attention. When we think of those boys fighting their way in from the beaches ..."

"Into France," said General de Gaulle.

"Of course, into France," said the President. He looked a little nettled at having his closing sentence broken off.

The General stood. Mr. Roosevelt grinned with that sudden amiability that speeds the unwanted guest, held out his hand. De Gaulle looked down at the President. "I am going back," he said, "disappointed and confused. I thought I might alter your position, although I knew it was not likely. But I thought that if I failed, you might at least tell me honestly and openly your reasons for maintaining an attitude that seems to me so dangerous. You have not told me your reasons, though I think you approached them when you mentioned Pucheu.

"I am not taken in, Mr. President, by your smile, nor by the off-hand way you dispose of the problem of governing France. I have been told that you dislike me but I do not believe that this, either, explains your refusal to recognize my government. You are not a high-school girl. Nor do I believe you entertain serious doubts as to the strength of my government with the people of France. If you will pardon me, I think this a convenient and rather appealing excuse to give the public.

"No, Mr. President, I believe your attitude toward me and the government I head is an expression of policy. I can only guess at that policy. I think you are opposed to the Provisional Government of France because you believe that, under me, it will be too independent, too firm, too set upon maintaining the sovereignty of France. It will not be subservient, as Darlan was subservient. It will not protect men who are traitors merely because they consented to serve later as agents of the Allies. I do not know what other 'authorities' you plan to deal with, if any. I do not share the suspicions of those who say you are ready to make use of those pre-armistice appeasers who held aloof from Vichy-men like Georges Bonnet. Still less do I credit the stories that you have an understanding with Noguès or with the clique of financial collaborationists who wait to come to terms with any power that will assure them protection and profits. I realize that these are the sort of people you accepted in North Africa, but in France such a deal would bring down on you the unlimited anger of the very forces you are calling on today to share the struggle against Hitler. No, I do not think you will pick any Peyroutons or Pucheus in France.

"What then? What is your alternative to the Committee of National Liberation? I think I know. I think you prefer to the tough reality of the committee

—of my Provisional Government—a state of fluid uncertainty, a state in which you can maintain the dominance of Allied armed power, using as instruments whatever individuals or groups seem suitable—and suitably pliable. I think you want, for the present at least, a weak France, weak in will as well as in material force. With such a France it would be possible to make bargains—an island here or there, perhaps; a naval base. . . . Who can tell what the security of the United States will require in terms of power and resources? Dakar—can it be left safely in French hands? Or the French islands of the Caribbean?

"I think, Mr. President, that questions like this control your policy toward France—and toward me. I think you would prefer to hold off until you see whether more conservative, more 'reasonable' elements may not emerge with at least enough backing to give a color of excuse for dealing with them.

"I hope I am wrong, Mr. President, because such a policy seems to me reckless and indefensible. It may easily plunge France into civil war. I hope I am wrong but since you will not tell me, I can only take my suspicions back to England with me.

"Goodbye, Mr. President. In spite of everything we shall do our duty. We shall cooperate to the limit with General Eisenhower to drive the Germans out of our country. We shall also do our best to govern France until the people can speak. We shall try to prevent internal collapse and revolution even if it means shooting every collaborationist in and out of Vichy. We shall do our best, Mr. President. May God speed our common cause."

## The Shape of Things

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE BALKANS have been somewhat obscured in the past week by more dramatic events on the coast of France, but the Germans have lost nothing of their enthusiasm for controlling that part of the world. In Bulgaria the Allies have received a serious setback in the formation of a new pro-Nazi government; Russian attacks around Iasi, in Rumania, have been fiercely resisted, and Marshal Tito's headquarters in Bosnia have been subjected to a vicious German assault, Fourteen German divisions, four Bulgarian divisions, 120,000 to 130,000 Croat Ustashis, 15,000 followers of the Serbian puppet Nedich, three regiments of the Serbian White Corps, 12,000 Slovene legionnaires, and about 10,000 Albanians, all under the command of Field Marshal von Weichs, are fighting against Tito's 250,000 or 300,000 men, Fortunately, Axis efforts to annihilate the Yugoslav resistance have been frustrated by Tito's technique of rapidly dispersing and regrouping his troops, and air and sea contact between the Anglo-American base in Bari and Tito's headquarters has been successfully maintained. General Maitland Wilson's forces in the Middle East are undoubtedly waiting for a Russian victory over Rumania before rushing toward the Balkans. Once Russia has occupied Bulgaria, Tito can lead the Soviet and Anglo-American armies from northern Yugoslavia, through Austria, into Germany. The Balkans will be a decisive factor in the final collapse of German military strength.

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vescy St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

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REINHOLD NIBBUHR

WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE BADOGLIO regime the Allies' second experiment in imposing excollaborators with the Axis upon the liberated peoples has met its deserved fate. The Italian repudiation of Badoglio was as complete and throughgoing as the French repudiation of Darlan, Peyrouton, and Giraud. The new Premier, Ivanoe Bonomi, has a clean record as far as Fascism is concerned. He opposed Mussolini and his Black Shirts before the March on Rome in 1922, and has maintained his opposition through the years at the cost of great personal hardship. In recent months he has been the leader of the anti-Fascist National Committee of Liberation in Rome. Unlike some of the pre-Fascist political leaders, Bonomi's reputation for integrity is untarnished. Following Mussolini's rise to power he disposed of the furniture of a comfortable Rome apartment and lived for years in an attic. In sharp contrast to Badoglio's temporizing policies, Bonomi's first action was to promise a thorough purge of all Fascists still holding public office in the liberated sections of Italy. Another innovation was the Cabinet's refusal to swear allegiance to the royal house; instead, its members took an oath to uphold the Constitution-pre-Fascist model.

X

THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY ARE HARDLY visible from Capitol Hill. Inside the House of Representatives there is no sound of the Battle of Europe. It is D-Day; but Congress has its own work to do and it can hardly take time out for history. At first it seems that the representatives of the American people may turn from partisan politics and match the solemnity of the hour with high action. But the moment passes. Visitors to the galleries have come from their radios, from the headlines, from conversation with a taxi driver whose son is a paratrooper. Now they look down with bewilderment. There are good men down there, good Americans whose sons, some of them, are dying this morning so that Europe and the world may be liberated. But in charge of the debate are the shallow, unseeing men who are converting the tragedy of another fateful day into a tawdry issue of party gain. Step up to that microphone and rant that the Administration has something to hide in wanting to postpone a court martial. Block that amendment. File like sheep past the tellers. This is the time-tested game of politics. What day is this? D-Day? What has that to do with us? Our men are landing on the beaches of France? But have they votes in November?

\*

THE PRICE CONTROL ACT IS ONCE MORE IN grave danger. While few opponents of the Administration dare at this time to come out openly against the war-time regulation of prices, both the House and the Senate have adopted a number of amendments which, if retained, will completely wreck the stabilization pro-

gram. It is difficult to say which body has proposed the more crippling changes. Both have shown uncalled-for solicitude for violators of the act. The House version of the bill extending the life of the OPA permits violators of the agency's regulations to avoid prosecution for a year or more by throwing enforcement cases into the District Court and wiping out the present provision requiring all protests to be filed within sixty days. Another amendment hampers the OPA in checking the figures presented by a firm by compelling the agency to accept "the established accounting method of the firm" in determining whether a price violation has occurred. The House bill also removed an important weapon in enforcement by cutting the damages which a consumer may recover from three times the excess price to one and a half times the excess. The Senate went a step farther by writing an amendment that would ignore any violation of the price control where the offender could show that he had not acted "wilfully" or as "the result of failure to take practical precautions." In addition to these attempts to undermine the enforcement of the act, the Senate has passed the Bankhead amendment lifting ceilings on cotton textiles, while the House has written in clauses which will raise rents and increase prices of cheap clothing, gasoline, and oil. It is time for consumers to protest-loudly.

\*

WHATEVER HOPE SEWELL AVERY MAY HAVE had of capitalizing on his appearance before the House committee to attract public attention to his "blitz" against the government collapsed when his day in court happened to coincide with the invasion of Europe. But it did not matter much. Avery's testimony contributed little or nothing to his case. He was compelled to admit that he had forced his ejection from the plant in an effort to dramatize his protest against governmental interference. He attacked his industrial colleagues on the WLB because they were not as able as the union members, and suggested that he would probably be the best man for the President to appoint to the agency. Apart from this, his one constructive suggestion for a solution of the basic problems of war-time labor relations was the complete abolition of the WLB. Obviously delighted with the publicity he had received when he was ousted from his office, Mr. Avery prepared the way for a return engagement by refusing once again to extend Ward's contract with the union as ordered by the WLB. But meanwhile Mr. Avery's last hope for sustaining the legality of his action collapsed when a United States Court of Appeals held unanimously that the orders of the WLB were not reviewable in court. The decision not only vindicated Attorney General Biddle's rulings but directly contradicted the highly partisan report of the McCarran-Revercomb committee, which had been hailed by Avery's supporters.

#### Anxiety in Cairo

Cairo, June 11, by Cable

RENCH circles here are distressed by the apparent decision of the Allied command to deprive France's own government of wide prerogatives in the most critical hour of its history. Government by General Eisenhower is called "abnormal."

The French here are saddened by reports from Algiers that the broadcast on June 8 of Commissioner of the Interior d'Astier over the United Nations radio to the maquis was barred because the expression "Provisional Government" was used. They also resent the fact that non-French francs are being issued to the troops in France. Hostility toward America is mounting.

MICHAEL CLARK

THE HOUSE'S UNEXEPECTED DEFEAT OF THE Smith amendments designed to emasculate the WLB and prevent other plant seizures was by far the most thorough repudiation of that committee in years. Representative Smith had succeeded in persuading the Rules Committee that his anti-WLB amendments should be added to the pending legislation for the extension of the Price Control Act, Without voting directly on the amendments the House challenged the authority of the Rules Committee to introduce new legislation under the guise of establishing a "rule." The committee's highhanded action was repudiated by a vote of nearly three to one, with many Republicans joining the New Deal Democrats in administering the rebuke. It is to be hoped that in addition to checking the increasingly dictatorial practices of the Rules Committee the setback will serve as a warning against future conspiratorial tactics on the part of Old Guard Republicans and Southern Democrats.

THE KU KLUX KLAN HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY disbanded, but it is not as dead as it deserves. In an interview with the Atlanta Journal, Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott declared that he and other officers retain their titles although their functions are "suspended." "We have," he added, "authority to meet and reincarnate at any time." Reincarnation, according to our understanding, means rebirth of the spirit in a different body, and this seems to be exactly what is happening. We learn from Frank McCallister, who as Southern secretary of the Workers' Defense League did such valiant work from 1935 on in exposing Klan attacks on trade unionism, that already many Kluxers have joined the Keystone Society, a newly formed "patriotic" group. Another organization competing for their support is Vigilantes, Inc., fathered by ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. Moreover, the semi-disembodied spirit of the Klan surely was present at the Texas and

Mississippi Democratic state conventions which threatened to bolt the party's Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees unless the national platform included a "white supremacy" plank. And living up to its non-partisan tradition, it alighted recently in the midst of the Indiana Republicans, reviving memories of the time when the Klan dominated that state and under the leadership of D. C. Stephenson gave it the most corrupt administration it ever had. In those days Robert W. Lyons was treasurer of the Indiana Klan; on June 2 he was elected state member of the Republican National Committee.

### Beginning of the End

DAY was hailed with a sense of relief all over the world, but people were quick to realize that a new period of tension lay ahead. Now we must wait again, keeping our nerves under control, for indications that the invasion has succeeded. According to Arthur Krock of the New York Times, the High Command expects a lapse of four to five weeks before any conclusive verdict on General Eisenhower's operations can be given. By that time the whole design of the grand strategy decided on at the Teheran conference may have emerged. For it must not be forgotten that the landings in France are not an isolated event. They are linked closely to the drive in Italy, which is developing with such success, to the campaign of Marshal Tito, which may be supplemented by Allied operations in the Balkans, and, finally but most important of all, to the new blows which the Red Army has begun to deliver on the eastern front.

In the immediate future we can expect plenty of colorful details of the fighting but little news of the kind that will enable us to assess its progress. There will be no release from Allied headquarters of any information that could possibly help the enemy. This involves a risk that the public will pay too much attention to the artfully concocted mixture of fact and fancy that Goebbels is serving in generous portions. We can only hope that the press will be careful in handling stories from this source. It was unfortunate, to say the least, that the fall of Caen was headlined on a German say-so when next day the papers had to admit that the battle for the town continued.

The broad outline of General Eisenhower's strategy became clear as soon as the location of the first landings were known. It was based upon the geography of the Cotentin Peninsula, which sticks into the English Channel like a raised thumb. At its northern tip, less than ninety miles from the nearest point of the English coast, is the well-equipped deep-water port of Cherbourg. The shores of the peninsula are rocky and unsuitable for landing craft but immediately to the east are the wide sandy beaches of the Bay of the Seine. Here the chief landingto date—was made and a beachhead established cutting the main road and rail communications of Cherbourge

At the same time the peninsula itself was saturated with Allied parachutists whose apparent objective was to isolate Cherbourg and prevent any Nazi reinforcements from reaching it. If this port can be captured the first essential for the deep penetration of France—a good supply base where heavy equipment can be landed—will have been secured.

Our successes in taking the Normandy beaches proved that a certain amount of bluff had been mixed with the concrete of the Atlantic Wall. In places the first echelons ashore encountered fierce resistance and suffered heavy casualties, but the fixed defenses proved much less formidable than Nazi propaganda had suggested. This does not mean, however, that Marshals Rundstedt and Rommel have shot their bolt. Whatever Goebbels may have said, they have known all along that they could not stop an invasion on the beaches, and accordingly they have concentrated their best troops well inland as a mobile, strategic reserve to be hurled at the Allies once it is clear where the main line of attack is developing. The next crisis of the invasion, which may come before these words appear in print, will arise when this élite German force is put in motion. However, Rommel must be sure that Normandy is really the danger point before he can afford to counter-attack there. He knows that only a fraction of General Eisenhower's forces are engaged so far, and the Allied warning to fishermen from Norway to the Pyrenees to stay in port suggests that new landings are contemplated.

But while the Nazi generals wait, the Allied bridgeheads grow stronger, Moreover, the American and British air forces are busy sweeping a wide arc south of the Channel, bombing and shooting up everything German that moves on rail or road, attacking bridges, marshaling yards, stations, barracks, and supply dumps. This war of attrition from the air, together with that carried on by the underground, must be reducing both the mobility and the potential striking power of the Nazi strategic reserve. Yet in the opening stages of the invasion there was little sign of counter-measures by the Luftwaffe. In the first two and a half days of the invasion Allied planes flew 27,000 sorties with a loss of little more than 1 per cent. What remains of the Luftwaffe is being hoarded, perhaps for a blow to be synchronized with Rommel's counter-attack.

The dilemma of the German western command is but one phase of the total dilemma which total warfare has become for Hitler. Now his old nightmare has become grim reality. Germany is encircled, forced to fight not merely on two but on four fronts. Indeed, we may say on five, for while external foes batter down the walls of Fortress Europe, unarmed but increasingly formidable enemies fight within its gates. The strength Hitler commands is still great but not great enough to beat all his challengers at once. Where, then, shall he throw his

reserves? Into the western breach and have nothing left to bolster the east when the Red Army strikes? Or must he stem the Russian tide at all costs even though it means opening a path to the Rhine? Again, how far can he strip his home garrisons when Germany harbors ten million foreign slaves waiting a chance to break their bonds?

Facing defeat, Hitler will fight hard and cunningly. We must be prepared to withstand hard knocks, to suffer setbacks, to avoid diplomatic booby traps. But we have arrived at the beginning of the end, and only a suicidal disruption of the United Nations can rob us of victory.

### 50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

T IS EXTREMELY FORTUNATE that the mutual relations of the great powers of Europe are today as nearly cordial as they have been for many years, for the state of the Balkan peninsula is more than ever threatening to the peace of the world.—June 7, 1894.

THE TESTIMONY THUS FAR adduced in the police inquiry has agreed in fixing pretty definitely the rates of Tammany tariff on some forms of vice and other sources of revenue. Thus, the regular rate for a disorderly house is \$500 "initiation fee" to the police captain, to be paid whenever a new captain is placed in charge of the district; . . . the regular tariff for admission to the police force is \$300.—

June 14, 1894.

DU MAURIER'S "TRILBY," after having finished its course in the *Magazine*, will be published by the Harpers in August.—*June 14*, 1894.

WE LEARN FROM DR. MURRAY, who is passing the letter D of the New English Dictionary through the press, that American readers can render a great assistance by noting early instances of all the terms of American politics, since this research is very difficult if undertaken in England.

—June 14, 1894.

THE CURIOUS STATE OF MIND into which the world is getting on the subject of the unemployed is seen again in the new view of the horrible dangers of a general disarmament. Members of the English and French chambers of commerce met in Paris last Friday to discuss that question, and discovered a "consensus of opinion" that such a disarmament would have a most serious effect upon labor, as it would add the 3,750,000 now in European armies to the ranks of the unemployed.—June 28, 1894.

MR. CROKER'S MALARIAL AFFECTION, which started him for Europe so suddenly a few weeks ago, has disappeared, and he is about to return to us again without warning. . . As he will arrive here after the [legislative investigating] committee has adjourned for the summer, and there will be ample opportunity for his ailment to break out again before it resumes its work, this demonstration of "who's afraid?" must be taken for what it is worth.

— June 28, 1894.

# How Washington Took the News

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 9

OST of the Washington press corps, like most of official Washington, slept peacefully through the early hours of D-Day. The first announcement that the second front had been opened came at 12:37 a.m., long after the usual deadlines of the morning-paper bureaus and long before that of the evenings. The German source of the news and the absence of any confirmation here or in London made bureau chiefs skeptical, and decided them against staff mobilizations. The few who came down town after the German broadcast noted the usual sights—an occasional light in the darkened Navy Department, the lonely sentries before the White House, the couples making love across the way in Lafayette Park. The moon was full, the weather mild.

The Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff had left their offices at 5 p.m. the day before and were safe abed. The big military secret was that Elmer Davis, on leaving the National Press Club at 9:30 that night, had gone back to his office at the OWI. The one exciting place in town was the foreign news bureau of the OWI in the Social Security Building near the Capitol, but in the huge adjoining press room as late as 3 a.m. there were only two reporters waiting for the big news-Libby Donahue of PM and Joe Laitin of the United Press, neither certain that anything would turn up. There was a guard at the door to keep them away from Elmer Davis's office, and a terrific clatter and clang issued from the foreign news room, with its huge battery of tickers, each with a bell that rings when particularly hot news comes over the wires. The bells rang often and the place was a mad scramble of OWI foreign staff members, but as Libby says, "those boys are crazy even on a clear day," and one couldn't be sure. Five minutes before United Nations confirmation of the second front at 3:32 a.m. Miss Donahue was confidentially informed from an authoritative source that she might as well go home as there would be I long delay. She decided, however, to stay.

By the time news of the invasion was confirmed, a Philadelphia *Inquirer* reporter and an Acme photographer had also arrived, and all were ushered into Elmer Davis's office to hear General Eisenhower's broadcast over short wave. Davis looked tired and dazed but perked up over General Eisenhower's delivery, which was good. "That man could go places on radio when the war's over," Davis said admiringly.

The State Department moved its regular press conference from noon to 11 a.m. on D-Day, perhaps out of a sense of the urgency of the occasion. On the way there

we saw a group of curious people, police, and photographers waiting to get a glimpse of the visiting Polish Premier. He had an appointment with Under Secretary Stettinius at 10:30, and the latter, in full protocol. walked across the street to escort Mikolajczyk over, What they said to each other, then or later, remains a secret, but the Soviet Ambassador arrived at the department an hour afterward. In between, the Under Secretary met the press. Hull was away resting at Hershey, Pennsylvania, and as always it was a pleasure to see Stettinius's youthful face and quick smile in his place. The Under Secretary read a prepared statement, "The liberation of Europe has begun . . ."—one of many like it on D-Day from departmental and embassy mimeographs. Then he went on to announce recognition of the new Ecuadorean government, the arrival of the Gripsholm at Jersey City, an agreement by the Japanese government to pick up supplies at Vladivostok for interned Allied nationals.

From embassies and department heads, press releases on the invasion began to appear, but aside from these synthetic reactions there was little excitement in the capital and-significant item-bond sales actually fell off. I. Edgar Hoover called for alertness on the home front, and the War Department asked Congress to establish sixty-nine new national cemeteries. All over town, in government offices as well as in churches, there were special prayer services, and many who do not ordinarily pray joined in them with a sober sense of the struggle on distant beachheads and its human cost. But on Capitol Hill, where some of us seemed to feel prayer was most needed, it had little effect. The galleries were well filled, mostly with visiting service men, but there were only eleven Senators and a scattering of Representatives present when the day's session opened. Minority Leader Martin told the House that "partisan politics . . . disappear as we think of the heroic deeds of our men and women," but this must be put down to poetic license. The Republican-Southern Democratic coalition soon got back to work in both houses with unabated enthusiasm. "I felt humble this morning when advised of the invasion," Majority Leader McCormack said. "A strange feeling came over me." The feeling was not widely shared.

Celler of New York tried to block a resolution to speed up the trial of Kimmel and Short by pointing out that Pearl Harbor was in part due to an attitude of public "indifference and callousness . . . influenced by some of the isolationist remarks made in this very House . . . by the gentlemen who are the sponsors of this bill." Said Celler, "I have due respect for the gentlemen and

I do not charge them with anything . . . they had a perfect right to their opinions." Retorted Dewey Short of Missouri boldly, "We still have them." The House passed his resolution for trial of Kimmel and Short within three months by a vote of 305 to 35, though trial may disrupt military-naval operations. The Senate went ahead on a bill which promises to hamstring the OPA.

The big local event of the day was the President's regular press conference at 4 p.m., which drew a record crowd. Most of the President's official family, from Fala to Judge Rosenman, seemed to be with him in the executive offices, waiting in a kind of holiday mood to watch the old maestro handle the press. The President was happy and confident but tired, and he has aged. His hand shook a little when he lifted it to the same jaunty cigarette holder. He answers questions slowly, looking up at the ceiling, occasionally wiggling his face and scratching his chest between phrases. Our faces must have shown what most of us felt as we came in. For he began, after an extraordinary pause of several minutes in which no questions were asked and we all stood silent, by saying that the correspondents had the same look on their faces that people all over the country must have and that he thought this a very happy conference. I asked

him toward the close to tell us what hopes he felt on this great day, and he said to win the war—100 per cent.

I thought the President's prayer that night a gauche affair, addressing God in a familiar, conversational, and explanatory tone, as if it were a fireside chat beamed at heaven. But I am inclined to be charitable when I think of what D-Day means to Franklin D. Roosevelt, of the years since the "quarantine" speech in which he tried to awaken the American people to their danger and to gird them against enemies they so long refused to recognize. How different it would have been could we have gone into France before it fell; how much easier our task. And how different it would have been if the Germans had turned west and south toward Africa and South America instead of east. How poorly prepared we were in 1941 to resist, and how poorly prepared we are even today to understand. D-Day's events in Congress, the slash last Saturday in UNRRA funds, the unseemly and ungrateful uproar over the lend-leasing of a cruiser to the Soviet Union indicate how backward public opinion continues to be, and how formidable is the task the President will face in making the peace. D-Day served to remind us that we are heavily in debt to the man in the White House as well as to the boys on the beachheads.

# Montgomery, Master of Attack

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

[Lieutenant Bolté, late of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, is a young American who enlisted in the British army before the United States entered the war. He served in Africa under General Montgomery, now in command of the Allied ground forces in Europe, and was wounded at Alamein.]

ENERAL SIR BERNARD MONTGOMERY, who has soldiered for thirty-five of his fifty-six years with a kind of monkish devotion and single-mindedness, is the ideal field-army commander. His tough, wiry body is matched by his tough, flexible mind; he commands the fullest confidence of his troops; he has studied his enemy thoroughly; and he has mastered the principle

of close cooperation between air and ground forces. I emphasize toughness. Viscount Wavell, probably the best British general of this war and one of the great Englishmen of our time, says generals should be made to pass the same test for toughness that field guns used



Drawing by Laszlo Fodor

General Montgomery

to be put through by the Royal Artillery. The testing officers would drop new gun from a hundred-foot tower and then go down and fire it. If it went off all right, the board would consider it for further tests.

This test might snap the Montgomery body, but I can't believe it would damage the Montgomery mind or the Montgomery character. In the Western Desert Montgomery showed himself to be almost the first Allied commander willing to pay the price of victory. It took a tough mind to carry out General Alexander's plan of attack at Alamein, when desert-weary and defeat-sickened troops were ordered against the stiffest part of the German defenses. Montgomery knew in ad-

vance that casualties would run high—75 per cent, in some battalions—but he knew the victory would be worth the price, and his army paid it for him.

I first saw him about a month before the battle, when he reviewed our battalion at Burg el Arab, just behind the lines. In the clean sweep of commanders which followed the June retreat to Alamein, Montgomery had come out from England unknown except for two things: he was keen on spit and polish, and mad about physical training. To the Desert Rats, that most casual, cynical, and business-like of all armies, nothing more damning needed to be known. They were prepared to dislike the little general. The first meeting confirmed their suspicions. He reviewed the entire battalion without saying a word to anyone except the officers, slapped his open palm with a swagger stick as he walked, and stared into every man's face with the brightest and most piercing blue eyes I ever saw.

I was frankly scared of the man and what he might do with us. He looked to me like an old-line general with an infantry-artillery mind: crush 'em and walk through 'em. We moaned quite a lot after he left, and thought him arrogant.

The battle made us stop moaning, although we still thought him arrogant. In the first place, we all knew what was going on: by his order the plan of battle was passed down through the ranks, until the last rifleman knew not only what he was to do but what the divisions on his right and left were to do. Moreover, he knew why he was to do it. That was revolutionary, being taken into a general's confidence, and it made us feel with a kind of excitement that we were going into an adventure that had purpose and direction.

Taken into his confidence, we gave him our own. It was a very bad battle, but no one ran away. The victory strengthened our belief in him. Montgomery knows what makes our kind of men operate in battle, and he has said: "You must give our troops leadership and establish absolute confidence between commanders and soldiers." Then, a little wrily, he added: "The surest method of gaining confidence is success." Successes at Alamein, at Agheila, at Mareth, in Tunisia, Sicily, and Italy gave the Eighth Army so much confidence in Montgomery that they would cheerfully have started for Berlin on any day he issued the order. "You can do anything with an army if its morale is high," he says.

Tough-mindedness gives him the moral strength to pay the price of victory; self-confidence and the knowledge that he has the confidence of his troops give him freedom of choice in making difficult decisions. His profound knowledge of his enemy means that he can be assured of the psychological and tactical correctness of his decisions. Before he ever came to the desert, he saw Rommel's fatal limitation—that he was a brilliant tactician but repeated himself. Knowing what to expect from Rommel, Montgomery could always move in advance to counter him. But he slept with Rommel's picture above his bed, to remind himself what manner of man he had to beat.

As for the German soldier, Montgomery calls him

first-class and well-trained, very good technically in the use of his weapons, with a very good eye for ground and a sense of complete obedience. Still—some of them captured in Italy were "not frightfully intelligent." The youngsters, thoroughly indoctrinated with fascism, are "very cockahoop"; the older men, not so well indoctrinated, are not so cockahoop. In short: "The German is a good soldier and he will fight, though I believe it is true that once you get him down he cracks up."

This is important knowledge for a field commander to have. He can prejudge his opponent's reactions; he does not overrate the opposition, but he certainly does not underrate it. Thus forewarned by careful study, Montgomery can utilize his own flexibility of mind. It is always difficult to apportion praise for victory among a commander-in-chief, his chief of staff, and the field commander; nevertheless, I think history will credit Alexander for the African campaign, just as it will credit Eisenhower for the European campaign. Theirs the strategy; but Montgomery's the application of strategy, which is tactics.

Montgomery was one of a little group of forward-looking British officers who began to study and prepare for this war in the '20's, while he was still a comparatively junior officer. He familiarized himself with the mechanics of the war that was to come, especially the two innovations which were to prove most radical in changing the course of warfare—the internal-combustion engine and the two-way radio set, which gave mobility back to the army and gave the commander instantaneous intelligence which enabled him in turn to transmit in stantaneous orders. As the sledge-hammer translating first Alexander's and now Eisenhower's plans into action, Montgomery's flexibility of mind comes out strongly.

Thus at Alamein he reversed accepted desert procedure: instead of fighting a tank battle, he chewed up Rommel's infantry with his own guns and infantry. Rommel had either to counter-attack with his armor to save his infantry or retreat without them. He couldn't retreat because he would have no troops to hold another line to the west; so he was forced to fight a tank battle at Alamein, on ground of Montgomery's choosing. Since Montgomery dictated the time and place of the battle, he could mass his armor and hold it in reserve until Rommel had committed himself. Then the Eighth Army's preponderance of anti-tank guns and its armored superiority—guaranteed by the superb new American Sherman tank-were decisive. The Battle of Africa was won on the ground of Alamein, and Rommel never again made up his armored strength.

Flexibility gained victory at the Mareth Line next spring. Montgomery opened the battle with a frontal attack against the strongest part of the line, as he did at Alamein. The line held, and Montgomery sent a force through the desert around the Germans' right flank. The mere threat of its presence behind him caused Rommel to pull out

Finally, Montgomery has formulated and tested the great principle of modern war: "First you must win the battle of the air. That must come before you start a single land or sea operation." From Alamein to Normandy he has not fought a battle which violates this principle. He and Air Marshal Cunningham, commander of the Desert Air Force, lived side by side throughout the African campaign, and fulfilled Montgomery's precept that the land and air chiefs must be "very great friends." He goes on to say: "Each side must realize the other's difficulties. Air power cannot operate without good landing grounds. The getting of these is always part of the army plan. The air aspect dominates the plan. The airman is very sensitive about air fields." So you have bulldozers landing in the first wave in Normandy, and taking their place beside tanks and guns as prime weapons. The bulldozers clear air strips so the planes can take off and smash enemy resistance so the army can advance and the bulldozers clear more air strips so the planes can take off again, in a cycle that ends at Berlin.

Montgomery believes that each man should command his own force absolutely; but "the army-air have to be so knitted that the two form one entity. The resultant military effort is so great that nothing can stand up against it."

His careful study of the enemy, his understanding of the importance of establishing high morale in his troops, his insistence on gaining air supremacy make him careful. He will not be stampeded. He says: "I always go for certainty. That is why preparation must be complete and without hurry." This time he has the benefit of the most careful preparation ever lavished on a military operation. He goes into battle with troops who believe in him, who admire his cockiness, who like the savor of his orders of the day (he is one of the few generals who can get away with rhetoric). He faces his old antagonist, the bully boy become field marshal, whose daring was so fabulous we coined a verb to describe a hair-raising exploit-"to Rommel." I'm not predicting dates or places, but the Desert Fox will certainly have his brush taken again by the son of the Bishop of Tasmania, whose battle cry was Cromwell's: "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered."

# London on D-Day

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, June 7, by Cable TO ONE in Britain yesterday will ever forget the impact of the news. People seemed to walk about the street with a new spring in their steps. There was a light in their eyes that had not shone for almost four years. In Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Norwegians, Belgians, even the stolid Dutch-in all of them one could see a new radiance, Liberation was beginning. The idea of freedom was no longer a concept bandied about in discussion but a living fact which made the lives of each of us a different and a happier thing. We had waited so long: at last we could hope that we had not waited in vain. Anyone who listened to Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons yesterday must have felt that a new epoch had dawned. He was not excited. Rather he was soberly careful to make it evident that the immense operations upon which we had embarked must be thought of as the first stage in a process at the end of which the dreams of millions would come true.

It was not easy for the House to sit still. It was even difficult for strangers in bus and tube not to speak to one another. Wherever a newsvender appeared, there gathered about him a vast crowd which for the first time in years could not bear to form a queue lest it lose the

chance of a paper containing some new detail. I think the two main emotions were of relief and pride—of relief that at last the tradition which goes back so many hundred years in Britain was to secure its vindication, of pride that so massive a feat of organization had a clear prospect of a triumphant end.

What, above all, impressed me yesterday was the fact that the beginning of these gigantic operations has made the United Nations something more than a congeries of peoples. They have been welded, we hope, into a unity, a commonwealth, which has reached the stage where it can meet the enemy as a single being. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that yesterday the peoples of a dozen nations in London were one people, that they knew no difference because they shared a common hope that the backbone of Nazism was about to be broken. Men who had ceased to dream began again to dream.

A Frenchman invited me to dinner in Paris at Christmas; a Dutch professor asked me if I would give some lectures next year at the University of Leyden; a Czech spoke of the thrill that his family, which he had not seen since 1938, would know he shared with them at the same moment of time. It is, I think, literally true that for twelve hours of yesterday there was neither Jew nor

Greek, neither bond nor free. All of us in London were part of a great fellowship, the heart of which was on the beaches of the French coast.

We heard the long throbbing drone of the bombers with pride. This time four years ago we were waiting to be invaded; now we were moving to emancipate civilization. We were at grips with the Nazi enemy on European soil. Thousands of ships were taking our men to that rendezvous which, if it bring death to thousands, brings also the life of freedom to posterity. One man said to me in the tube that he had hardly dared even to think of a Europe over which the swastika did not fly, and the tears were in his eyes when he said how proud he was that his boy was among the first group of paratroops.

I saw American soldiers in Oxford Street shake hands with British Tommies whom quite obviously they had never met before. I saw members of Parliament so moved that they could not speak. Everyone I spoke with had about him an air of subdued excitement.

I do not think there is any tendency to underestimate the price we shall have to pay for victory. We know the fury of the rat in the corner. We recognize that these evil men who have the German people in their grip and have tyrannized two-thirds of Europe will stop at nothing if they can thereby save their skins. And many of us who talked together yesterday understood how great are the problems we shall face on the day of the Nazi surrender, realized that the Grand Alliance is easier in its relations as it shapes the victory than it will be when the victory is shaped.

Those of us who have had our doubts and fears of what Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt may intend found that for this day, at least, our worries had vanished. None of us thought of Mr. Churchill as the leader of the Tory Party, even though we may be driven to think of him as that tomorrow. We thought of him as a great Englishman who, with faults as high as the Himalayas, has never lost hope, has always given us encouragement, has never ceased to fortify our resolution. We thought of President Roosevelt as a great and generous ally. Tomorrow, perhaps, we may ask that he define the contours of the New Deal which made him the colleague of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Finally we did not forget that, at long last, the men in the Kremlin can see that our word is as good as our bond. We are on the road to freedom. There will be no turning back.

# Public Opinion and the Next President

BY JEROME S. BRUNER

ERY soon we shall be treated to the spectacle of two political conventions. On the platforms of the convention halls and in the lobbies and hotel rooms there will be much talk of what the American people want in the way of a President and an Administration from 1944 to 1948. If our politicians have the same capacity for innocent enjoyment as in happier years, we can count on the usual malarkey, the usual bromides, and the usual assertions about the demands of John Citizen. Neither side will have a monopoly on political shenanigans—especially since the election promises to be closer than it has been in sixteen years.

Before the nominating conventions are here, it might be healthy for liberals to sit back and try to figure out just what this election means to the American people, what their votes will be for and what against. The voters are going to get more excited between now and November, but their basic convictions about what they want from the next Administration are not going to change much. Whether it be Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Dewey, or Mr. Darkhorse who occupies the White House next year, the conduct of the Presidency is going to be judged according to standards which have been long a-growing.

No single public-opinion poll can reveal the "convictions" of the electorate. But taking all the polls together and sifting out the trends, we can learn a good deal about people's views. What have the polls been saying?\*

First, we know that the American people right now are not making final commitments, are not lining up politically with the same degree of fervor as in 1940 or 1936. And that isn't because the nominees have not yet been chosen. The fact of the matter is that America is awaiting the outcome of impending events—chiefly the invasion of Europe—before it makes up its mind finally on issues or candidates.

The voters will elect a man to do a job. If the war seems safely over in November, it will be a post-war job. If the sledding is still tough, the job will be to win the war. If we are thinking of a war President, we shall vote one way. If it is a post-war President we are electing, the vote will go another way. Obviously, a change is already setting in. If it is checked, if events prove that there is plenty of war ahead, Roosevelt can win hand-somely. He is the tried war President. Other matters can

"This analysis is based on the work done during the past year by the Gallun poll, the Fortune poll, the National Opinion Research Center, and the Office of Public Opinion Research of Frinceton University.

wait. But if the public has the feeling in November that the Presidency is primarily a post-war job, President Roosevelt will have the hardest fight of his life, assuming the Republicans nominate a strong candidate—and Dewey seems to answer that description.

Does all this add up to the conclusion that the American people are just waiting till the end of the war to reverse the trend of domestic and international progress? Not at all. One mistake to which the left is prone is to assume that a vote for Roosevelt is always a vote for progress. Let us consider what the majority of the country apparently wants—Republicans as well as Democrats—and see whether the victory of a Republican is to be interpreted as a mandate for reaction.

By far the most important post-war problem in the eyes of the people is the matter of jobs and personal security. That doesn't mean that we shall go back on our international commitments. It merely means-as it has always meant—that a job buys the family groceries. Americans want to work in private industry, to be sure; a tamed and fair capitalist system seems to them still the best bet. But they don't want Business with a capital B to be allowed to run rampant. A majority of the voters believe that the government should and can guarantee full employment. The free-enterprise advertisements have not dulled the memory of the Great Depression. Whoever sits in the White House, Democrat or Republican, is committed by our recent history to use the force of the government to prevent or alleviate a depression.

Why, then, does Mr. Roosevelt face such a tough fight in November? Is he not the symbol of our battle against depression? Has he not fought hard and long for the rights of the worker and the little fellow? To the downtrodden the President is still a champion. But not so many feel downtrodden these days. And besides, the glamour of a champion gets slightly tarnished over the years. A man's mistakes always seem to dog him more persistently than his wise deeds. Outweighing gratitude for the President's achievements in combating the depression is a growing weariness with the alleged ineptness of his Administration.

The country is tired of squabbles and the seeming inefficiency of a government which can't make up its mind about what to do on the home front. It dislikes the way strikes have been handled. Americans are not anti-labor; the great majority of them favor unions. But the great majority, thanks largely to the press, also feel that labor is not living up to its "no-strike pledge." And so people want firmer action—or clearer information on the problem. Then there is the bickering with Congress. While the average man simply deplores it, without blaming either side, the voters would certainly welcome a President who got along with Congress. Finally, the confusion in the war agencies is criticized.

The compromises and indecision in man-power and pricecontrol policy have goaded many Americans to the point where they would gladly swap our chaotic liberalism for an orderly conservatism.

But, still, the discontent doesn't add up to reaction.

What else do the voters want? They want an extension of social security. In spite of press comments on the report of the National Resources Planning Board, more than three-quarters of the people were at that time and still are heartily in favor of more comprehensive social insurance. It is significant, however, that in March, 1943, when the report was issued, a majority of voters thought action on it should be postponed till the end of the war. And so even though President Roosevelt gave us our first national social-security law, he may not be the man to extend it. But America now takes social security for granted. There won't be any more disdainful talk about "coddling" the people. The voters know social security for what it is—not charity but good, common-sense thrift.

These facts should answer those prophets of doom who foresee a return to the status quo ante. Social security, full employment, progressive taxation, regulation of harmful business practices—these things are no longer matters of controversy. The new President will be committed to them. If he should abandon his commitments, he would have to look for another job in 1948.

One very practical footnote should be added to this survey of American opinion on domestic issues as it affects the election of a new President. In the past the views of industrial workers have not had the same political weight as those of other groups simply because, as a result of indifference or a change of residence, many workers have failed to register and cast their votes. Now a new and powerful force has come on the scene. The C. I. O. Political Action Committee is concentrating its major effort on getting workers to register, in the fairly well-substantiated belief that they are generally inclined to back the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt in matters of social progress. Early results in the primaries are indicating that the committee's campaign is meeting with success. There is just a chance, however, that the campaign might boomerang if the committee should become identified in the public mind as an unofficial arm of the Administration.

Now let us consider the question of internationalism and whether a vote against Roosevelt means a vote for isolationism. The temper of the American people is internationalist and, barring a fiasco at the "peace conference" in which everybody starts grabbing for his share, is likely to remain internationalist. Isolation has availed us little. Some new form of anti-war insurance is wanted. The polls show that an international organization backed by force is the policy that three-quarters of us are ready to buy. That is President Roosevelt's policy, and Dewey's April speech shows that he, too, is inclined toward it.

But men are not elected President of the United States for their foreign policy. Though foreign policy may be important to the extent that people feel Mr. Roosevelt has had more experience in international affairs, the votes he gets on that appeal will not be decisive in November. An outspoken isolationist probably couldn't be elected President of the United States in 1944. But two shades of internationalism—Dewey's versus Roosevelt's—won't make much of an issue.

Finally, a word about "political cycles" and the 1944 Presidential vote. No man can be President of the United States for twelve years without being forced into unpopular compromises, without stepping on some toes. Figures on the voting cycle collected by Louis Bean and others show that the tide is swinging against the Democrats. The country is getting tired of old faces, old symbols, old controversies. It is not, however, ready to abandon its old ideals. We still want, and believe that the United States should have, jobs, security, and peace through international cooperation.

The next President of the United States will not be a free agent. He can trim and cut a bit, but he can't go against the wishes of the electorate. If he is a politician, he won't try to. And as Charlie Michelson says, there never has been a President who wasn't a politician.

#### PIETRO NENNI

HE liberation of Rome has also liberated Pietro Nenni, for many years the secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and later splendid fighter in the Italian emigration. Nenni went to Spain at the outbreak of the civil war and became one of the most stalwart defenders of the Spanish Republican cause. He journeyed from one European capital to another, begging his Socialist comrades, whether members of governments like Léon Blum or members of the opposition like Clement Attlee, for arms, support, funds. He tried to convince them that in Spain the last chance to escape disgrace and defeat was being offered to the Socialist parties of Europe. But while attempting to inject life into the Second International, he realized that it was dead, and he resigned with a magnificent letter to its Executive Committee. When war broke out in Europe, he devoted his energies to the organization of Free Italian legion in Paris, but his efforts were sabotaged by the traitors and appeasers at the Quai d'Orsay. He remained in France even after the German occupation, refusing to use a visa obtained for him to permit his entry into the United States. As soon as Mussolini fell, he returned to northern Italy. where he was active in organizing the resistance against the Germans. The Italian people can rejoice that men like Pietro Nenni, in whom intelligence, courage, and honesty are so admirably blended, are now free among them.

### In the Wind

THERE ARE IVORY TOWERS in the financial district too. Consider what the New York Journal of Commerce had to say about the refusal of 13,500 Brewster workers to be dismissed without warning: "The Brewster Aeronautical Corporation's employees are making the amazing contention that workers in war plants have a vested interest in their jobs. . . . At the close of hostilities, when wholesale shutdowns of war plants will become necessary, these demands could be satisfied only by heavy government spending programs to provide such jobs, making impossible a balancing of the budget and a return to a sound free-enterprise system."

SEE?—This one is from a recent speech by Eugene Holman, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York: "It is fortunate that the large companies exist so that the small operator can get a fair return on his business by selling it."

HUBERT C. REYNOLDS, Negro teacher in Miami, Florida, and president of the Dade County Colored Teachers' Association, whose suit seeking equal pay for Negro teachers was denied in the Miami federal court last March, has been notified that he will not be reappointed next term.

MEMBERS OF THE ABINGTON, Pennsylvania, public library will not be able to borrow "Strange Fruit." The man who buys books for the library has decided that "Colcorton" has a similar theme and is less controversial. As a matter of fact, the themes of the two books are not at all similar.

THE CONNECTICUT ECONOMIC COUNCIL, a most conservative organization, admits frankly in its current Fortnightly Letter that it will be impossible to maintain full production after the war if we return to the system of "free enterprise." It wants to return nevertheless.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The curfew at Maldeghem, East Flanders, is strictly enforced. Fire alarms at night are sounded on a bugle, and then the firemen rush to the Town Hall, where they are given permits to be on the streets. . . . . A Belgian boy was ordered to report to the Nazi labor service. His uncle, an employee of the local Zoo, suggested a way out: a large chimpanzee had just died, and the boy could wear its skin and take its place until the Gestapo gave up its search for him. The boy jumped at the chance. One day his mother came to the Zoo to visit him, and he showed her some of the tricks he had learned. But alas, while performing on a trapeze he lost his grip and went flying over the bars into a cage of lions. His mother screamed. One of the lions went over to her and said, "Contain yourself, madam. Do you want to give us all away?"

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in May goes to Mrs. M. D. Blankenhorn of New York for the story of the imperturbable London organist in the issue of May 20.]

# Wallace in Chungking

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

TT ITH the invasion of Europe being vigorously pushed, the Axis will undoubtedly try to gain a victory somewhere else to bolster the morale of its bewildered peoples. There is but one weak spot today in the United Nations line, one spot where an enemy attack could be successful. That is in China. Everything indicates that this attack will be made, and that General Tojo's threat of an audacious offensive which will cut China in two and knock it out of the war is not mere propaganda designed to counteract the effect of bad news from France. If Japan succeeds, as now seems inevitable, in capturing Changsha and opening China's one north-south railway, its position in China will be nearly impregnable. The Allies will be obliged to make a thousand-mile drive to recapture the railroad before they can use China as a base for direct air or land operations against Japan.

How real the danger is that China will be lost to the Allies and what the Allies can do to prevent it are two subjects I have been discussing during the past few days with several experts who have recently returned from China. The particular position these men occupy makes it impossible to give their names here, but I can assure my readers that they are exceptionally well-acquainted with the Chinese situation and are men of truly independent judgment. I present now the substance of our conversations, with special regard to the problems of political war.

The first question on which I found them in absolute agreement was the dominating influence of Chiang Kaishek. In spite of all the internal strife in China, about which so much has been written in the United States, Chiang is still the leader of his nation. Any policy which the Allies may adopt, any step they may take, to help China must be based on recognition of the fact that he is the only figure around whom unity is possible. This fact is of the utmost importance, for it is in the measure that unity can be achieved that China can resist the terrific blows which Japan has in store for it.

Geography cannot be changed. The only route to China open at present is over the Himalayas, and because it is the only route its usefulness is limited. Even the opening of the Burma Road would only relieve not solve the problem of supplies. But if it is not in the power of China or the Allies to change geography, it is necessary to change the internal political situation and end the dissension which for years has impeded China's gal-

lant military effort. China can and must so act that its two heroic armies shall no longer be played one against the other but be used fully against the Japanese. Several hundred thousand of the best government troops, instead of being at the front fighting the Japanese, are kept on the border of the Communist-held territory, as though the war were not between China and Japan but between the Communists and the Kuomintang.

The reasons for this division are grave and old. It is natural that the Communists should not forget the massacre at Shanghai, when Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers killed thousands of Communists, even though they were still officially part of the Kuomintang. Nor can they forget their sufferings on the "long march," when they were forced to move from Kuomintang territory in the southwest and to travel 6,000 miles on foot, with all their belongings, fighting most of the way. They lost half their men on that march.

On the other hand, some of the men surrounding Chiang, particularly various generals, cannot easily overcome their deep-rooted distrust of the men in command of the Communist army. Marshal Yen, in an interview published in the New York *Times* on June 5, declared that communism must be wiped out. But he added, "In order to make it impossible for Communists to appeal to the masses, we must improve our administration."

Strong prejudices underlie the estrangement. But the reasons for getting together are more immediate and more potent. The two parties realize that a Japanese victory would destroy them both. The Communists and the Kuomintang need each other. The Communists, whose army consists of several hundred thousand men, and who have perhaps an equal number of poorly clad, undernourished guerrilla troops, know very well that their primary aim-to defeat Japan-cannot be accomplished unless they combine forces with the central government. The Kuomintang, on its part, realizes that the Communist army, though badly armed and inferior in numbers, is located in the north, the strategic sector, and that the influence of the Communists is spreading, probably even into Shantung. Their increasing prestige derives from the fact that although they have received no support in the form of arms or money in the last few years, they have continued to fight Japan with great local success. Moreover, they have understood the advantage of organizing the population into effective guerrilla bands.

The ideological gulf between the Communists and

#### Three Cheers for the Underground!

The first week of the invasion has justified our faith in the underground. No one could ever have doubted its devotion to the cause of freedom. Its courage has never faltered through three terrible years of waiting. Long before the advent of D-Day Fortress Europe had become a battlefield where old and young, men and women, workers and bourgeoisie had learned to kill and to die. All that is known. But to persons who have been unwilling to admit the importance of political war and of the great changes that have taken place in the mood of the peoples of Europe it must have been a revelation to see the underground match beroism with discipline, restraining impatience, leashing enthusiasm, adhering strictly to the directions of General Eisenhower. The underground has given the measure of its political maturity and of its high sense of responsibility. It has proved that it is the foundation on which the democratic Europe of tomorrow must be built.

the Kuomintang is not so wide as to prevent an understanding. The Communists have not set up socialism on the land, have not collectivized the farms. On the contrary, they have left the land in the hands of the peasants as private property. They have not displaced landlords, but have directed their chief effort to establishing reasonable taxes and to preventing money-lenders from bleeding the peasants white, as they did before. They have organized small cooperatives to supply the principal needs of the people, but they have not imposed a policy of collectivization. They have brought self-government to the villages, opened schools for the people, eliminated corruption; and they share all the hardships of the population.

If the Chinese Communist Party is not so red as may be thought abroad, neither is the Kuomintang so black as its detractors would pretend. The Kuomintang Party today is composed of various social groups—landowners, military leaders, financiers, industrialists. Its ideology has changed with its composition. But it still contains democratic elements—today in a minority—and even the conservative members realize the importance of land reform. A measure of land reform has been obtained by the creation of a state-owned bank, which grants loans to farmers for land improvement and furnishes funds with which to buy marginal land for division among the landless peasants, to develop irrigation, and for settlement schemes, like those, for example, in Yunnan and Sinkiang.

Finally, the Generalissimo has never forgotten what happened to him in 1936, when he was kidnaped, not by a Communist, but by General Chang Hsueh-liang, whom he had sent to crush the Communists. Since then

Chiang has gradually come to the conclusion that he cannot defeat Japan if he opposes the Communists but only if he fights with them against the common enemy.

The basis for an understanding is therefore present. But without the friendly intervention of a third party the process of unification may take longer than the interest of the war permits. No foreign power is held in greater esteem in China than the United States. And no man, perhaps, among Americans is more trusted than Vice-President Wallace, who is viewed as a staunch opponent of imperialistic exploitation. When I was in Mexico, I saw how Henry Wallace had won the confidence of the peoples of Latin America. The same belief in the sincerity of his convictions prevails in China, according to the authorities with whom I have talked.

Chiang Kai-shek has repeatedly stated that the period of "tutelage" is coming to an end, and that a democratic constitution, under which the Kuomintang Party will not enjoy special privileges, will be introduced after the war. If Vice-President Wallace could convince his Chinese friends that such a step, taken now instead of after the war, would be the best proof of the central government's willingness to cooperate, the end of the crisis would be assured. As a practical measure, Chiang Kaishek could set up a kind of council which would be specially intrusted with the conduct of the war, and give the Communists representation on it.

The Chinese press has indicated what great hopes the country places in Wallace's visit. But even the best-intentioned negotiator cannot achieve his ends if he arrives with empty hands. China needs, immediately, something more than sympathy, good-will, and beautiful words. If geographic factors and the lack of a large port prevent the Allies from sending a great quantity of war materials into China, at least a few thousand planes can be provided. Their receipt would tremendously increase the army's ability to resist the invader and to an equal degree raise the morale of the Chinese people.

On the other subject of our conversations—how great the danger is that Japan will actually knock China out of the war-I did not find the same unanimity of opinion. Some of the people with whom I spoke were frankly pessimistic. Not that they feared that China could be seduced by Japanese diplomacy to make a separate peace. There has been a good deal of talk lately about the "Cliveden set" of Chungking, and appeasers may in fact be active there, as they are in almost every Allied capital, but they can never force a capitulation. No one, not even Chiang Kai-shek, whose prestige is so great, could survive politically a deal with Tokyo. Nor would appeasement serve the interests of big business within the Kuomintang. A peace with Japan would deprive them of the money they expect to make out of the industrialization of their country.

I found disagreement only upon the question of whether the Chinese will be able to carry out their resolve to fight Japan to the bitter end. The final impression I got is that it is not only possible but certain that they will continue to fight even if Japan seizes the Hongkong-Canton railroad, the only important line at the service of the Chinese today. The loss of this railroad would be a terrible blow of course. It would mean that Japan could "bring Manchuria to Canton"; that is to say, it could bring the war resources of Manchuriacoal, steel, iron—to the battle front for a smashing, allout drive into China. "It could mean," some of my informants told me, "the loss of Chungking. We might even witness the creation of a Chinese 'government in exile' somewhere in a remote part of China; but even then it would not mean that China would give up."

Much will depend upon the ability of the United States and its distinguished emissary to unify the resistance and furnish substantial aid. The fate of China must be of the greatest concern to all the United Nations. Events in China in the coming years will influence the history of the world. I was deeply impressed to hear China praised with so much enthusiasm by people who have no concern with the artificialities of propaganda. "A human society living in material poverty but in mental freedom"—so one of my friends characterized China. If China had complete confidence in the sincerity of the great powers, if it did not have the demoralizing example of India at its very door, it would think less of increasing its military strength after the war and more of serving the peace.

Henry Wallace in Chungking will face one of the great tests of his career. If he can help China to emerge from its present crisis, he will have rendered an invaluable service to the United Nations,

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY AKGUS

THE employment of foreign workers in Germany is organized in great detail. To enumerate the many classes into which they are divided and to define them precisely would require considerable research. But a new group, which has very recently come to notice, deserves some comment. An announcement published in Hanover in the middle of May refers to them as "foreign workers in brown uniforms" and states that a large number of them "were recently set to work in the heavily damaged industrial districts and along the North Sea coast." They are organized in battalions according to nationality. The battalion in Hanover, for instance, is composed entirely of Frenchmen; there are also Belgian, Dutch, Polish, and Czech formations. Each battalion contains a certain number of men of every trade—brick-

layers, carpenters, glaziers, painters, unskilled laborers. The public's attention is called to the fact that they are "volunteers" and that the Supreme Army Command has made special rules for them. "The foreign workers in brown uniform are not subject to the rules which apply, for example, to prisoners of war. They may move about freely in the town, use the trains and buses, and visit the restaurants and movies."

The impression is strong that these brown-uniformed battalions, which are treated in a measure as an aristocracy among the "foreign workers," are genuine volunteers. And although it is not explicitly stated, it appears that they are an "élite" slave group formed as a counterweight to the ordinary foreign slaves, just as the famous Elite Guard of the S. S. was created as a counterweight to the riffraff guard of the S. A.

The Deutsches Aerzteblatt, organ of German physicians, published the following order at the beginning of May:

All kinds of medical equipment must be saved from possible destruction by air raids. Therefore physicians are herewith ordered to carry into the nearest air-raid cellar every evening all pieces that can be moved, such as microscopes, surgical instruments, syringes, sterilizing apparatus, and typewriters.

The order also declared that no physician may leave his home town without permission. Physicians whose offices are destroyed must apply for instructions as to where to move. All physicians must wear arm bands, and all doctor's offices must be marked with a Red Cross flag.

The average German suffers more from the scarcity of soap than from the lack of anything else. Not only is the ration so small that it amounts to practically nothing, but what soap is obtainable is of unbelievably poor quality—the fat has been largely replaced by clay. All the more depressing, therefore, was a laconic decree made public by the official news agency on May 26:

The Reich Commissioner for the chemical industry has ordered that in the future shoe polish, colored or colorless, can be bought only on surrender of the current soap coupon.

Breslau is a city of half a million people. Situated in the most eastern part of the Reich, it is one of the few cities which have so far been spared an air raid. On May 18, however, the following public notice appeared:

The Breslau telephone exchanges are overburdened. During the busiest hours they cannot meet the demands on them. From now on, therefore, a certain number of telephones will be discontinued, in turn, during the busy hours of the day. Subscribers cannot be informed in advance of the days and hours of the interruption.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

#### The Many and the Few

FAITH, REASON, AND CIVILIZATION: AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

ASKI, in this new volume, which is certainly not his best, is looking for a scheme of values adequate for the moral reorientation of modern man. The book is disappointing, primarily, because it lacks consistency. The basic assumption upon which the modern system of values is to rest is variously defined.

In one of the early chapters Laski defines it this way: "If we are to build anew a scheme of values in society . . . we must begin with the assumption that the sole method open to mankind by which we can improve his lot is an increasing mastery of nature." Somewhat later in the volume he insists that "the only working assumption upon which we can proceed . . . is that where the drive of some given society is to make its material circumstances favorable to mass wellbeing, the inner life of its citizens will be shaped toward the realization of happiness." The two propositions are not necessarily incompatible, but the relation between the two is not well thought out. Furthermore, both propositions are questionable. The idea that the mastery of nature is the basis of the good life is not new. It is as old as the eighteenth century at least; and a civilization which is destroying itself by the same technical instruments by which it mastered nature will certainly be forced to question the adequacy of such a basic assumption. The second proposition is even more dubious; it leaves out of account the fact that totalitarian societies might well be devoted to "mass well-being" and yet destroy all the richer values of existence. Mr. Laski thinks his goal would satisfy all but the few "who find fulfilment in that pursuit of the unworldly end which may drive them to poverty or exile or prison or even death."

On the whole, those who are driven to prison or death in a society are not consciously seeking an unworldly end but are devoted to some high end of life which a given society finds incompatible with its particular order. We would, I think, all grant that a society ought to seek the well-being of all its members, but Mr. Laski has given little thought to the tension which must exist between the individual and the community, even if the community achieved ten times as much social justice as we now have.

These preliminary definitions of basic assumptions do not, however, suggest Laski's real thesis, which is that Russia has given us the fundamental reorientation of values. He defines this reorientation variously. On one occasion he calls it the "revision of that attitude which from the dawn of recorded history has looked with contempt upon manual labor." In another case he declares that the "Russian idea is nothing so much as a revival of the faith of the men of Ionia in the sixth century before Christ, that men are saved by the chance of that abundance which comes from the mastery over nature." Again, he thinks that "the central

idea of the Russian Revolution [is] that we must as a society plan production for community consumption." Sometimes he goes so far as to assert that "wherever the idea of the Russian Revolution has taken hold it has bred in its exponents a yearning for spiritual salvation; and it is out of that yearning that there is at least the hope that we may recover a philosophy of values."

These various assertions about the Russian Revolution may not all be incompatible, but Laski does not give us a clear statement of the hierarchy of values which he finds in the revolution. He is really contending for the adequacy of a Marxist interpretation of life, history, and our social possibilities. Why he associates this so closely with Russia is difficult to understand, particularly since he is no fellow-traveler spiritually bound to Russia. Russia is of course the great exemplar in history of an accomplished proletarian revolution; politically we shall undoubtedly learn much from it. But we shall be better able to learn our lesson if we do not make Russia the idol of the cause of social revolution.

When confronted with some of the aberrations of Russian politics, Laski responds with curious apologies. He compares the cruelties of the Russian regime with the rudeness of early Christians. He explains the dictatorship as follows: "No one who analyzes the Soviet experiment honestly can look upon its acceptance of a proletarian dictatorship as a permanent feature of the effort they are making. For, first of all, the sheer anarchy of the situation they inherited required a strong government, etc." Of course. No intelligent person would accuse communism of desiring a permanent dictatorship. Communism believes-and, I am convinced, honestly believes-in the provisional character of the dictatorship and in the ultimate "withering away of the state." The important question concerns not the intention of Communist idealists but the validity of the idea that the necessity of political coercion, of the state in short, will disappear on the other side of the revolution. Every fact of history refutes this utopian hope.

Marxism is undoubtedly a perennial resource for the solution of the political and social problems of our era. But it can be the better guide in social politics if we discount its effort to become a total and adequate world view, solving all problems of human existence. It is precisely because the relativities of Russian politics have refuted some of the extravagant overtones of Marxist religious hopes that we must look at Russia critically as well as sympathetically if we are to salvage what is true in Marxist economic thought from what is false in its utopianism.

Nothing but confusion can result from the lyrical identification of Russia with the ideal scheme of values which Mr. Laski would project. He declares, for instance, that "Russian heroism in the two years of struggle against Hitlerism has convinced the common man all over the world that there was a magic in the Revolution of 1917 somehow adaptable to his own concerns." There is a great deal of heroism in this war. The Russian heroism has been superb.

But if we are to judge the quality of a faith by the courage with which it is defended what are we to say of the faith which young Nazis are now defending with desperate courage?

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

#### Image of America

AMERICA. By Stephen Vincent Benét, Farrar and Rinehart. \$1.50

HERE might have been every reason to look with suspicion on a tract written by even a good poet in response to an invitation by an official body to produce a short volume that would explain America, its history and its essence, to foreigners. But the OWI is not the Gestapo, and the late Stephen Vincent Benét was both a poet and an honest man. It needed a poet to compress the great miscellaneous prose facts of our history into their poetic incidence and meaning. It needed a candid intelligence to communicate our actual and felt virtues as a people without blinking our failures and our follies. The job could scarcely have been better done. It is so well done that one feels its excellence can better be appreciated by Americans themselves, for whom these succinct pages will be weighted with meaning and emotions they cannot have for foreigners who may be hearing of Antietam for the first time. To them the founding of the colonies, the building of the West, the mechanical mastery of a continent, the growth and occasional backslidings of freedom as these took place on American soil-all these things as here recounted must seem more like a catalogue than a succession of poetic images of the greatest themes in our national consciousness.

Perhaps, however, even foreigners, uninformed as to the facts of our history would feel the imaginative force of them as they appear in this brief volume. They would, one suspects, feel at once the passionate love of the writer for his country and his twin sense of its ideals and its lapses.

"It is," writes the author of this 112-page summary, "a queer country in some ways. It is young among the countries of the world. But its system of government has endured for over a century and a half, flexible to changed conditions but without material change. The thirty-second President of the United States now sits in the White House; the seventy-eighth Congress of the United States is in session. They were put there by the will of the people. . . . Always, since the first, American people have had a chance to use their own judgment, make their own mistakes, correct them and go ahead. And the people does not mean a class or a caste or a specially appointed set of men."

This is the statement of an ideal rather than of an unvarnished fact, and Mr. Benét knew it and in his book says so. He does not deny the corruptions that have occurred in our politics, the exploitations in the robber-baron era, the materialism in our lives. He also points out that no one has said this sort of thing more strongly than certain great American writers, like Emerson, say, or Thoreau.

But there is an ideal not defeated by its failures, an aspiration that first began to be embodied at Plymouth Rock and Jamestown. The record is one toward freedom and toward equality. Its chapters are the Revolution, the Constitution, the exploring and settling of the West, the deepening quarrel between the two economies of North and South, and the moral issues that their differences eventually focused. There is the chapter of the Civil War, and the image, almost, of a people's moral mission in Abraham Lincoln. There is the age of industrial expansion, "the age of bronze and lead." There is the "America we know." There were the New Freedom and the New Deal. There is the war for freedom and the struggle for it at home. There is a passionately focused image of what we have been, what we are, what, as a people, we hope to be. To read this little book is to know America better because a rapt but intelligent poet has used his eyes.

#### Two Books, Three Saints

THE FAGLE AND THE DOVE. By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

CARMELITE AND POET: A FRAMED PORTRAIT OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. By Robert Sencourt. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

Linto outer darkness. Sanctity is not an attribute in which the twentieth century, by and large, has any great interest. "In our time," Yeats quotes Thomas Mann as saying, "the destiny of man presents its meaning in political terms." Politicians, economists, warriors, athletes, actors, whether fill or legitimate, even artists—to these we pay some attention. Not to saints; why should we? By us, if I may quote the conversation of an irreverent friend, by us gives no God.

Still, there are signs and portents which might indicate that skepticism is reaching that vanishing point wherein it is skeptical even of itself. We have, for instance, the rather vulgar remark that there are no atheists in fox holes. We have so devout a materialist as Earl Browder breaking down enough to admit, if somewhat archly, that history has many secrets locked in her bosom. We have Somerset Maugham writing plays and stories about saints and mystics as they seem to him. We have the editors of the Partisan Review professing a little worry over a religious trend among the literati. We have Professor Einstein acknowledging that one of the most beautiful things man can experience is the mysterious, and that it is, in fact, the true source of all science and all art. All this might not be so regressive as some people seem to think; it might be the beginning, rather than the failure, of nerve. Where has rationalism got us, halfway, or nearly, through the twentieth century? Hatred, evil, destruction, death assail us from every side; perhaps we need to start developing superrational faculties if we expect to progress toward goodness, life, creation, and love. In other words, toward God.

For those who are interested, as well as those who ought to be, here are three saints in two books, unhappily both I little dry, I little outside their subjects, though the Sackville-West prose is considerably better than the Sencourt. To begin with the saint nearest us in time, we have Thérèse of Lisieux, 1873-97. No sinner, I suppose, should sneer at any saint—though we should also bear in mind that even

saints can be sinners at times. But what the life of Thérèse leads us to feel, a little uneasily, is that perhaps, as with governments, societies get the kind of saints they deserve, and if this is the best the French bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century could produce, no wonder France fell, God help us all, and so on. Writing about her, Miss Sackville-West seems, at times, a little embarrassed, more than willing to change the subject and talk about someone more lively and more interesting. She admits that the little way of the little flower can be very exasperating to many temperaments -"treacly dulcification" is not a sympathetic phrase. The ardors of the saints fulfil themselves in many ways; those of Thérèse led her to become not so much the passionate bride of Christ-though her language on this point is at times a little shocking-as His little Ladies' Home Journal housewife. Let those who think this an easy road to sainthood try it sometime; they will not covet her praise.

Teresa of Avila, the eagle of the Sackville-West title, was a character more fiery and rugged. This high-born Spanish lady (1515-1582) was also more than a little high-handed; "a contumacious gadabout female," her enemies called her. She danced before her nuns in the evening to the music of the castanets, hated the Andalusians—it is a consolation, perhaps ignoble, to realize that saints can hate—and walked by the banks of the river telling God the reason He had so few friends was because He treated them so badly. "Deliver me from sullen saints," she said; she did not seem to object to angry ones. She had the reformer's austerity and zeal and, what is rare in combination with those qualities,

"Whoever honestly strives for enlightenment and justice should read this book without delay." -ALBERT EINSTEIN A Factual Analysis of Anti-Semitism. by Sigmund Livingston "Here is a calm, reasonable refutation of the evidence usually marshalled against the Jews. The cure for anti-Semitism is chiefly the responsibility of non-Jews. The man who instinctively detests race prejudice can find here the factual basis for his position. The man of bigotry, if he can be induced to read it, will have a hard time thereafter even to state his views. It is a much-needed book." - RAYMOND GRAM SWING.

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the wholesome, practical, cleansing common sense that enabled her to take on politicians and intriguers and mop them up. There was something in her of the bounce and vigor that we see, in our time, in a Dorothy Thompson or an Eleanor Roosevelt; she also had what they have not—the mystic vision and a superior literary style.

St. John of the Cross, whom Mr. Sencourt mentions throughout his book as Fray Juan, was a younger contemporary of Teresa of Avila, whose friendship he enjoyed and whose tribulations he shared. Like her a reformer and organizer, he had something less than her knack in rough-andtumble battles with the politicians, and they got him in the end, though their victories were not overwhelming. Mr. Sencourt's book about him is loving, long, and labored: there is a good deal of repetition in it, and it is most interesting when the saint is quoted directly. The quotations, moreover, are generous, and several of the poems are given in the original Spanish. In interpreting the spiritual ideas of St. John of the Cross Mr. Sencourt is painstaking and elaborate: what is needed, beyond what is there, is the sudden flash of illumination, the quick and radiant intuitive phrase; but that is not Mr. Sencourt's way. He mentions so much that it is a little curious, in the chapter entitled What English Literature Explains, to find no mention of T. S. Eliot and the Four Quartets, which are so much beholden to the writings of Fray Juan.

Chesterton's Life of St. Francis, Shaw's drama of St. Joan-either of these books conveys more of the sense of the poetry of saintliness than do the two books at hand. Nevertheless, in spite of their rather prosy ways, both books do more than convey interesting and curious information. They help to correct our notions about the mystic character, our prejudice to the effect that mystics and saints are rapt and moony creatures, unable to distinguish between their elbow and third base. There was nothing the matter with the brains of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, nothing the matter with their eyes and ears, their nerves and hearts. If they learned to transcend the use of their senses, their senses were unusually bright to begin with. Diana Trilling, writing recently in The Nation apropos Mr. Maugham's latest interests, observes that "mysticism is bound to be inviting to the person who is afraid of the deep emotions." This, I hope, refers to those who admire mystics from a safe distance, not to the mystics themselves. If their testimony can be believed, the emotions of both St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa were literally terrific. They had intellect and intuition; they were gay, they were vital; they knew the glory of creation and the creator; and of which of us can this much be said? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

#### History as Progress

MAN THE MEASURE: A NEW APPROACH TO HISTORY. By Erich Kahler. Pantheon Books. \$5.

TEN years ago at Marienbad, Czechoslovakia, Nazi murdered the exiled Professor Theodore Lessing. By a strange irony, Lessing, the Socialist Jew, unwittingly had aided the very forces of nihilism that destroyed him. In his book, "Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen," for in-

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# A SHORT HISTORY

RUSSIA

stance, he branded as wrong the common belief that history is a true mirror of sense and reason, of progress and justice. If there is a relation of cause and effect in the process of history, he declared, this causality usually differs from that other causality which is a post-festum product of the historian's own wishful thinking.

Now, in the midst of our war against the revolutionaries of nihilism, an exiled Central European scholar, in a book of seven hundred pages, challenges the tenets of Lessing without mentioning his name. Kahler visualizes history as the development of homo sapiens, as orderly and consistent evolution toward the Kingdom of Man. If this were not so, history would be "nothing but an incoherent mass of rising and falling powers, growing and dying people and individuals." He warns: "Eternity has no history, and neither has chaos."

The novelty of his approach to history lies in his attempt to write it as the spiritual biography of man, not of menjust as anthropologists have traced man's development from the primate's rough structure to the complicated physique of this generation. He reinterprets history by retelling it from the age of primitive man to the outbreak of the Second World War. Contrary to certain modern philosophers, he believes in the unity of mankind and hence in the unity of history. According to this view, before the rise of the Jewish-Christian concept of man as the image of God, the creator of the universe, there existed no history, but merely a number of chronicles of different tribes. History thus begins with the development of the Jewish-Christian idea of the common origin of all men from the same ancestor and of a common God-given destiny of all men, to use Kahler's terminology, · concept rejected by neo-paganism. The fact that in the era preceding the Renaissance the subject matter of history was not man as a secular entity but the development of the human soul, and that from the Renaissance on, when man discarded religion, the subject matter of history became human reason, or the economic condition of man, does not invalidate the general trend. Only in the pessimistic nineteenth century, when the philosophers decided that man had become neither better nor happier, was the idea of the unity and community of mankind and with it the idea of human development shaken. Kahler strongly resents thinkers like Nietzsche or Spengler who "denied the fundamental values of our civilization: love and brotherhood among men," especially Spengler, who "split human history into isolated cultures rising senselessly and fading away into nothingness."

For Kahler history is "not an accidental conglomerate of events, not a meaningless come-and-go of forces, not the deliberate accomplishment of individuals, but a connected whole, the unified, consistent development of an organic being that is man." And we must defend the view that history is a unity moving, despite all setbacks, in the direction of community and fraternity against fascist nihilism, which recognizes no bonds except those the fascists produce or break, as it pleases them.

This well-written and thoughtful book, which guides the reader through all the "isms" of the past two thousand years, ends with a warning that without human community and fraternity we are lost, and that "man needs goodness as he needs his daily bread."

ALFRED WERNER

#### Peace Plan

BEYOND VICTORY. By Jerry Voorhis. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

REPRESENTATIVE VOORHIS has patterned his book upon the very sensible idea that the way to discuss lasting peace is first to consider the causes of war in modern society and then to propose steps necessary to get rid of those causes.

In presenting the causes of war he has given most of his attention to the climate of opinion which makes war possible. He achieves a reasonable and on the whole persuasive balance between the economic factors that generate the conditions under which war is likely to occur and the exploitation of those factors by propaganda that whips men up into a mood to fight. His early chapter headings outline the argument: Great Lies; Fear; Religion of the State; Possessions; Young Men Without Hope.

But he returns constantly to the economic maladjustments which must exist before a modern nation is likely to go to war, and the essence of his peace plan is to raise the standard of living throughout the world. His proposals are liberal rather than radical, and most of them should appeal to any reasonable reader who is not too deeply afraid of change. Yet these proposals, modest as they seem against the magnitude and urgency of the problem, provide a discouraging measure of the distance the United States must travel in political thinking before we are ready for full participation in a world order where there can be no more war.

The most striking suggestion, and the most fundamental, is that each nation should guarantee to maintain for its people purchasing power sufficient to absorb all the goods and services it can produce or receive by exchange with other nations. Something of the kind was approved in vague and general terms at the recent conference of the International Labor Office, but Mr. Voorhis makes it specific with an interesting and frankly unorthodox proposal for the handling of money and credit.

In brief, he urges that the United States government, instead of paying interest for money borrowed from banks, should itself create each year enough additional money or credit to pay for that year's increase in gross national product. Almost as an afterthought he suggests that the Treasury might retire money or credit from circulation to avoid inflation in any year when there was a decrease in gross national product, but obviously he believes that if his proposal were adopted, the lean years would be few and far between.

As concomitants of this idea, the author recommends drastic changes in the Federal Reserve System, permanent abolition of the gold standard, and a compulsory balancing of international trade in terms of goods rather than money. He also devotes considerable attention to the evils of monopoly and cartel arrangements.

The principal weakness of the book is that it covers much too much ground to explore thoroughly all the ideas it presents or to answer many of the fairly obvious objections which might be raised to them. Many more subjects are discussed than can even be mentioned in a review of this length.

Nevertheless, Mr. Voorhis has at least partially supplied

the need for a critique of world problems which is uninfluenced by preconceived ideas, either conservative or radical. His approach has a fresh quality which comes from willingness to look at the world we live in without fear of any change that might bring improvement, and also without commitment to any plan of change based upon a rigid political or economic formula.

If it were possible to hope that "Beyond Victory" will be widely read and its proposals considered without prejudice by the general public and political and business leaders, the prospects for great social gains immediately following this war would seem much brighter than they do at present. But the author himself recognizes, for example, that monopolies and cartels have been strengthened rather than weakened by the war, and the optimism of his final chapter seems to rest more upon faith than conviction.

At the same time the book contains the basis for I fighting liberal program which is bound to make headway sooner or later, because the economic potentialities of the twentieth century have so clearly outgrown existing institutions. Perhaps more people are ready to recognize that fact than one would guess from the present political campaign. It is certainly encouraging to find a member of Congress who is willing to state it publicly in an election year.

CHARLES E. NOYES



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#### FILMS

HEN Roger Touhy and his six colleagues broke out of Stateville Penitentiary they managed it, so far as I can make out by the old papers, without outside help. The greenness fewness, and carelessness of the guards -their personnel changed and diminished by the war-seem to have been responsible. In "Roger Touly, Gangster" the mob does get outside help, and it is not indicated that the guards were green, few, or careless. Again, in fact the fugitives knocked over an armored car for \$20,000 for a hideout nest egg. In the film no such holdup occurs, and I kept wondering what they were living on. In fact they got draft cards, through a series of holdups, which roughly fitted their descriptions. In the film they get draft cards by holdups, but nothing is done about the effort of the men, which must have been awful, comic, and cinematically promising, to single out victims who bore them a reasonable resemblance. In fact they comforted themselves abundantly with women and liquor. In the film there are no women around their hideouts and most of them stay sober as judges. In

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fact they lived in such excruciating claustrophobia, plus agoraphobia, plus mutual mistrust, plus general terror and anxiety, that as time wore on they became all but incapable of swallowing solid food; they seem to have lived largely on whiskey and coffee. In the film you get only the mildest idea of this physical and psychic misery. Ten to fifteen years ago the makers of such a film would have had a natural, vigorous feeling for the value of such detail. They would never have allowed it to be by-passed-or, if this or that in it seemed libelous or censorable, they would have invented some tougher equivalent which was not. "Touhy" has some fairly exciting and intelligent things in it, and anyone who loves the best of the old gangster films will get some nostalgic pleasure out of it; but it is a long way short even of the ordinary ones in immediacy, drive, tension, and imagination.

Seeing the screen version of "The Hairy Ape" I wonder whether it was really such a very good play in the first place. In any case it is hardly worth seeing as it stands here. The obsessed stoker is sincerely played by William Bendix, but Bendix is not a man to inspire the sort of fear or the sort of pity that is needed; and the character, robbed of all biological-political meaning and of the best of his talk, and glossed over with sub-comedy, could inspire neither emotion even if Bendix could. Susan Hayward, as the loathsome girl who makes him trouble, is more interesting. She is of the wrong social wave length to carry this particular role; but there are roles, not yet invented so far as I know, in which she could do a paralyzingly good job on one important kind of vivacious American woman. Who would be left in the audience is harder to imagine. JAMES AGEE

#### RECORDS

OLUMBIA has managed to produce an impressive list for June. To begin with it has issued a new set (547; \$3.50) of Haydn's Symphony No. 103 ("Drumroll"). This is one of the last group of symphonies that Haydn composed for his London visits, and one of the finest of the lot—with the spontaneity and richness of invention, the mischievous surprises, the breathtaking audacities of the Haydn process operating at incandescence. As for the performance, the English companies make mistakes (the Pro Arte

Quartet performances of Haydn and Mozart, the Busch Quartet performances of Beethoven), and this is one of them. Heward's performance of the symphony with the Hallé Orchestra may be better than the Golschmann-St. Louis Symphony version that has been available until now; but it is no better than a performance of a first-rate work by considerably less than first-rate musician can be. Heward starts without any feeling for right tempo; and he continues with a fondness for coy retardations. The recorded sound of the performance is good, except that the treble is not strong enough for the bass. And the surfaces of my copy are a little gritty.

Then there is a set (X-241; \$2.50) of Debussy's "En blanc et noir," three pieces for two pianos. Constant Lambert includes them among the late works that he ranks with the "Images" for orchestra as the culmination of Debussy's style. He certainly is right about the "Images" as examples of Debussy's fully developed orchestral style: each new hearing of "Rondes de printemps" (which Victor issued a few months ago) leaves me newly overwhelmed by it and newly convinced that it is one of the most wonderful of Debussy's achievements. And Lambert may be right about the two-piano caprices as examples of the fully developed piano style: the style itself is fascinating at once; and further hearing may increase and widen the fascination-though I imagine only for the person with a taste for Debussy's piano music. The performance by Bartlett and Robertson seems good; its recorded sound is lifelike, but unresonant, steely at times, and rattly at others; and the surfaces of my copy are very noisy.

On a single disc (71577-D; \$1) are Zerlina's arias Batti, batti and Vedrai, carino from Mozart's "Don Giovanni" -lovely music, beautifully sung by Bidu Sayao with an orchestra conducted by Leinsdorf. And on another (71582-D; \$1) is a Sonata in E minor for violin and figured bass by Bach that I don't recall hearing before (it is identified as Peters Series 3, Vol. VII, No. 2), with a highly impressive first movement, but with subsequent movements which I find uninteresting. The violinist of the performance is Busch, whose playing is in every way superb; and Artur Balsam at the piano makes it a fine ensemble performance (though my ear tells me what is hard to believe-that several of Balsam's bass-notes in the opening Allegro are not in time with the violin). The recorded sound of voice

and violin on these two single discs is a little brash: but the surfaces of my copies are admirably quiet.

Together with these new releases Columbia features not one but two of its older recordings. One is Franck's Symphony performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic (Set 479: \$5.50); and the work being as inflated in feeling and structure as it is, I like the simplicity and directness of Beecham's statement of it, the refinement of its recorded sound, preferring them to Monteux's more expansive treatment of the music, which is recorded with more expansive gorgeousness of sound in the Victor set (surfaces in my copy are gritty and noisy). The other (Set X-115; \$2.50) is part of the delightful Offenbach music used in Massine's ballet "Gaité parisienne," which is performed well enough by the London Philharmonic under Kurtz, and recorded with a brilliance that is made brash and noisy at times by reverberance (surfaces are good).

Answering the question whether the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe was worth seeing, Mr. Denby ended by saying: "And of course no dance-lover will want to miss seeing Danilova, You-

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to the Men in the Armed Forces skevitch, or Franklin." One goes to the ballet, that is, to see great dancers. True, one goes also to see fine ballets; but even then one goes to see them performed by great dancers. One went to the Ballet Theater, then, to see Markova, only to discover that she was not dancing-which meant that one saw "Les Sylphides," but with Gollner and with Chase dancing the Prelude, or "Romeo and Juliet," but with Kaye's Juliet. Also there were evenings when Markova did appear but was unmistakably in less than her best form-which of course was still quite wonderful. But the last week she gave several memorable performances, of which I saw only onethe last Juliet, in which there were not merely the flashing miracles of movement and motionless pose in space but expressive gesture and attitude that left no doubt that one was watching not only the greatest dancer but the greatest dramatic artist there is to see on the stage today. And the entire company rose to the occasion with an incandescent performance of the work-one in which everything fitted together with timing and placing and emphasis that produced extraordinary clarity and coherence in the progression of movement, and in which this progression seemed to flow out of the similarly clear and coherent progression of the music as it was conducted by Beecham.

No dance-lover, it seems to me, would want to miss seeing Massine in "The Three-Cornered Hat" and "Capriccio espagnol"-for the unique gifts of style and wit that he has as a dancer, and the qualities that he has through long exercise of these gifts: the authority and power of presence and projection that make him a great stage personality. In these two ballets one sees some of his best work not only as a dancer but as a choreographer; and this time I noticed how much they have in common: the marvelous finale of "Capriccio" might be a new and more brilliant climax for "The Three-Cornered Hat." Its brilliance is diminished somewhat nowadays by the dancing of Romanoff in the part that was done first by Eglevsky and later by Lazovsky.

There is no space in which to discuss the other fine performances and ballets; but I can get in my opinion that the dancing of Argentinita and her associates requires a smaller auditorium than the Metropolitan, and that its style does not lend itself to the expressive purposes of a choreographic scenario. That would be my comment on "El Amor bruio." B. H. HAGGIN



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# Letters to the Editors

#### A Few Suggestions

Dear Sirs: I have read with the greatest interest the article by J. Alvarez del Vayo entitled Mexico's War-time Boom which appeared in The Nation of May 27. This will be of very real interest to those who genuinely care about being good neighbors with our nearest Latin American neighbor.

As one who shares Mr. del Vayo's views about the importance of maintaining and extending the cordial relationship which has been developed in recent years between our countries, I should like to make the following suggestions based on my own experiences in Mexico and a fairly intimate knowledge of the views of many Americans, particularly men engaged in business

enterprises

1. Mexico is the natural playground for the United States. In my judgment the tourist trade could produce for Mexico a revenue of between \$100,-000,000 and \$200,000,000 annually. It does not produce such a revenue because tourists coming to the country cannot find adequate accommodations or proper food. A tourist who has had experience with dysentery in Mexico is not likely to repeat a "pleasure trip" there, however enchanting the country may be. Certainly it should be possible for the authorities to take the steps which would remedy this situation. It has been done in other countries. It can be done in Mexico.

2. Mexico is a natural replacement market for notions which formerly were manufactured by Japan and Germany. It has failed to become such a replacement market owing primarily, I believe, to the lack of uniformity in manufacture. By this I mean that an American client may place an order for notions based on a sample submitted; the finished product, however, very often is so far afield that it becomes embarrassing to the purchaser. This, too, is matter which with a little application may be adjusted to the benefit of Mexican industry and the American market,

3. There is another matter which is delicate but which ought to be faced frankly. If there is to be confidence in our Mexican neighbor, then it is absolutely indispensable that the present financial corruption prevalent in the country should be eliminated. As long

as the current situation exists, the distrust which it engenders will act as a very strong deterring factor in the development of economic relations. This is a problem which many countries have faced and successfully solved. It is a problem which the Mexican government must face and solve if it wishes to spur the development of the country.

4. In line with this there is a final suggestion, and that is that a mean be found to enforce the income-tax laws of the country. At the present time the statutes remain on the books and the taxes in the pockets of the rich. What is involved here is really even more fundamental than providing the necessary revenue. What is involved is establishing the authority of the government in a fashion which will make for stability at home and confidence abroad.

WILLIAM ROSENBLATT
New York, June 1

### Poland and Russia

Dear Sirs: It hardly reflects objective liberal journalism, let alone fair play, to publish such an article as that in The Nation of May 20 by Eric Estorick, entitled Polish American Politics. In a typical Stalinist amalgam, this author attempts to smear the coming Buffalo meeting of the Polish American Congress by devoting three-fourths of his article to a stale exposure of Ignacy Matuszewski, the fascist columnist of the New York daily Nowy Swiat, whose views in regard to Russian expansionism happen to coincide with those of Poles of all political factions except Stalinist studziks like Leo Krzycki, Professor Lange, and the phony Union of Polish Patriots.

The influence of M. F. Wegrzynek, publisher of Nowy Swiat, is exaggerated to an extent that will amuse Polish American readers. In reality Wegrzynek and the other Polish publishers are about as chummy as Colonel McCormick and Marshall Field. But on the question of the acceptance of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop line as a future boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union there can only be one honest Polish opinion. Ten Soviet divisions would have to be permanently garrisoned in Warsaw to protect any Polish government which would accept Stalin's present demands.

Strong criticism can be made against the Polish government in London for not calling for the creation of a free United States of Europe with a socialist economy such as must some day inevitably be established. However, such a free Continental federation of states is the last thing desired by Churchill or Roosevelt, Stalin or the Pope. Nor, in a country where every new "liberal" or "labor" party indorses the capitalist system and its imperialist wars, can it be expected that the petit-bourgeois leaders of Polish American organizations will advocate anything approaching the manifesto of Polish exiles away back in 1836, which won the praise of both Karl Marx and Robert Owen for its forthright avowal of the principles of the French Revolution and its farsighted predictions that "only through the complete abolition of all class privileges and the establishment of real equality for all the people of whatever race or religion" would there be any hope for the future not only of Poland but of Europe itself.

JOHN SWITALSKI

Chicago, May 24

[Reports of the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at the recent Buffalo convention of the American Polish Congress appear to have fully borne out Mr. Estorick's analysis. According to the report in the New York Times, among the new vice-presidents elected were Maximilian Wegrzynek, publisher of Nowy Swiat, and Frank Januszewski, publisher of the Detroit Polish Daily News.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

#### Unity-but Not for Reaction

Dear Sirs: Thanks are due The Nation for bringing out into the open two facts that have too long been subject to "Hush, hush!" tactics: that Churchill is no man on whom democratic-minded people can pin their faith, and that appeasement of reaction is merely unity for reaction and disruption of all liberal and general efforts.

For over two years the writer has been saying to his friends that Churchill's record, both before and during this war, shows no trace of toleration for democracy, and only admiration for ruthless force, whenever this does not

seem to threaten the British Empire. Such comments were often branded as subversive of unity with England in the war. But unity with England ought to mean unity with the liberal elements in a war against fascism, and our uncritical acceptance of Churchill's attitude toward India, toward the De Gaullist forces, toward King George of Greece, and now toward Franco has only dismayed liberal elements in England and strengthened the reactionary elements not only in England but in our own State Department, just as Churchill's commendation of Franco has propped the tottering power of that stupid sadist. We might have strengthened the hands of those Englishmen who know Churchill better than we do, but we chose to appease Churchill and his Tory crowd we have appeased so many reactionary elements in other lands.

The cries for "unity" with reaction are easy to understand when they come from reactionaries. But some of the most insistent "Hush, hush!" talk has come from people who must detest all for which Churchill stands. They apporently cannot understand that unity is of value only when it is with people moving in the same direction we are going, and that unity with anybody else is a drag that may lead to utter defeat. If we win this war and follow Churchill's ideas of the peace to follow, we might just about as well not have fought the war at all. ERIC A. STARBUCK Cambridge, Mass., June 2

#### CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES G. BOLTE is a young American who joined the British army before Pearl Harbor and fought as lieutenant under General Montgomery.

HAROLD J. LASKI, professor of political science at London University, is a leading member of the British Labor Party.

JEROME S. BRUNER has just resigned as editor of the Public Opinion Quarterly, organ of the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton, to take a government position. He is the author of "Mandate from the People," to be published soon.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary.

IRWIN EDMAN is professor of philosophy at Columbia University.

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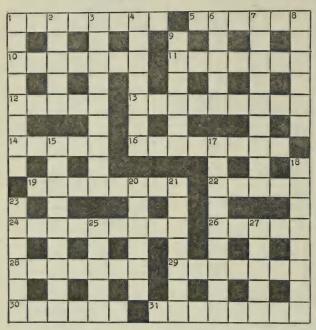
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### Cross-Word Puzzle No. 68

By JACK BARRETT



#### ACROSS

- I He may marry many women and yet remain single
- 5 Sam and pal make a blood donation 10 Is self-confident, despite the bom-
- bast about Yale

  11 Ancient and kind-hearted lord in
- Measure for Measure
  12 Fifty are unwilling to take the oath
- 13 She mangles our shirts for us
- 14 "And the ---- shall be filled with
- music" (Longfellow)

  16 In literature might be a sister country to France
- 19 Sounds a suitable description of the wedding day of him who has wife in every port
- 22 A sharp change from North
- 24 Coat of the tree dingo
- 26 Is this the famous London street where they used to press men into the Service?
- 28 That can be deleted
- 29 An unpractical political reformer 30 Specimen that is more than enough
- without its head 81 Listens, poetically

#### DOWN

- 1 State where the great Atlantic liner might have called
- 2 Allen returns for the girl
- 8 Italian food that I come to the end to at last

- 4 Heroine of Dickens' Great Expecta-
- 6 Tied up
- 7 Loon fires and gives battle
- 8 Help needed to make a donkey sit 9 She might have been amused—be-
- fore Perseus cut off her head!

  15 Whist! What a noise! (two words,
- 5 and 4)
  17 Under the weather (hyphen, 3-2-4)
- 18 These are of momentary signifi-
- cance
  20 Of all Shakespeare's women (says
- Hazlitt), she is perhaps the most tender and the most artless 21 West of England river smart
- enough to perform

  23 Text book of U.S. undergrad
- 25 Inventor of noble extraction
- 27 He is far from home
- 21 he is far from home

#### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 67

ACROSS-1 LION AND THE LAME; 9
DRYSHOD; 10 REPLICA; 11 SYSTEM; 17
EMBALNESS; 14 YANKEES; 15 PASTE; 17
DUCKS; 19 ENNOBLE; 21 PEMMICAN; FI
HIDDEN; 25 MARTHNI; MADHERED; 27
HANGING GARDENS.

DOWN:—I LADY'S MAID; 2 ODYSSEY; II ASH WEDNES; II DADO; III HARNESSING; II LAPEL; 7 MOIDERS; II DATS; 13 VEGETARIAN; 15 PUBLISHER; 16 BUMENIDES; IS CAMBRIA; 20 ENDORSE; II PUMA; 22 ICING; III FANG,

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CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 69 by Jack Barrett

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Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Veeps St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 313 Kellogg Building.

### The Shape of Things

THE LONG-AWAITED PACIFIC OFFENSIVE HAS begun on a scale that a year ago would have been regarded as utterly fantastic. As a powerful American force launched its attack on the advanced Japanese base at Saipan, B-29 Superfortresses struck at the great steel works at Yawata in the industrial heart of Japan, Liberators carried out bombing attacks of unprecedented fury against Truk, Yap, and Palau, and a carrier-based force hit the Bonin Islands, 650 miles southeast of Tokyo. On the days immediately preceding the Saipan landing, all the more important islands in the Mariana group were subjected to heavy air and sea attacks. and another naval task force bombarded Paramushiru. Shimushu, and Matsua in the Kuriles, 1,000 miles north of the Japanese capital. At the same time other Allied bombers delivered exceptionally heavy blows against Japanese bases at Rabaul and Bougainville and along the New Guinea coast. While some of these coordinated attacks merely represented the necessary softening up for so ambitious an enterprise as a penetration into the heart of the Marianas, the scale of the operations indicated that further and perhaps even more sensational steps may be expected in the immediate future. With Saipan and Biak in our hands, an attack on the Philippines becomes possible, and the promised drive to the China coast may materialize before the end of 1944.

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TWO WEEKS AFTER INVASION THE AMERICAN contribution to the UNRRA is still to be appropriated by Congress. Our share has been set at \$800,000,000, of which \$450,000,000 is to be an outright grant and the remainder in the form of lend-lease credit. Both items have already been approved by the Senate, but the House has voted only the first. Unless it now concurs in the Senate action, the appropriation bill may be delayed still longer by wranglings in conference. Yet with the invasion progressing there is urgent need for the UNRRA to buy stocks of food and clothing and make other preparations. The task facing it is already formidable; it will certainly be enlarged by wholesale destruction during the final phases of the Battle of Europe. Nor is this fact to be gainsaid because certain correspondents have described Normandy as a "land of

plenty." It is easy to believe that local supplies of food in the neighborhood of our beachheads are ample for the population that remains there, but this provides no clue to general conditions in France. Normandy is the Wisconsin of France, producing large surpluses of butter, cheese, meat, and other farm products for export. With its communications with the rest of the country smashed, a local backing up of supplies is only to be expected. Moreover, there is a temporary glut of meat owing to the slaughter of livestock by shells and bombs. This in turn suggests that even Normandy may be short of food in the near future. And while, as a Reuter correspondent reports, a few country-houses may have full wardrobes, the inhabitants of towns like Caen, which the Germans are defending house by house, are faced with the total loss of their homes and possessions. They are in dire need of the assistance of the UNRRA.

ON THE SOIL OF YUGOSLAVIA LIBERATED by the armies of Marshal Tito an accord has been reached between King Peter's exiled government and the National Liberation Committee. The representative sent out by the London government was the liberal Dr. Ivan Subasich, whose appointment to ministerial rank some weeks ago coincided with the dropping of Mihailovich from the Cabinet. Although pressure was undoubtedly applied to King Peter by the British government, the greatest credit must go to the unconquered Yugoslav people, who, fighting for the freedom of their country, demanded full recognition of those leaders in whom they have put their trust. The accord will almost certainly bring into closer coincidence the military and political aims of the forces of liberation of Southeastern Europe. An almost forgotten footnote to the larger issue is the inevitable elimination of Constantin Fotich from his post as Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington. As Bogdan Raditsa pointed out in The Nation for January 9, ever since the Mihailovich-Tito rift appeared in the open Fotich has acted frankly as one-man propaganda bureau for Mihailovich and attacked the Partisans as Communist bands. He turned openly anti-British after Churchill's recognition of Tito and worked with the most reactionary Poles in attacking Russia. Fotich represented a fiction which finally fell apart but which for a time fooled our State Department and thus controlled American policy. Now it becomes clear that the strength of Yugoslavia is not in a small nationalist ruling class but in the people.

THE PLAN FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION which has been advanced with the President's blessing closely conforms to the principles suggested several weeks ago by Secretary Hull and Prime Minister Churchill. So far as the plan goes, there is little to which either an isolationist or an ardent believer in collective security can take exception. The crucial question of how the organization's decisions are to be enforced is left largely to the imagination. Mr. Roosevelt's rather extreme language in rejecting "a super-state with its own police force and other paraphernalia of coercive power" strongly suggests, however, that no real effort is being made to create machinery strong enough to cope with disputes between the major powers. It is generally understood that collective military force will be employed against a potential aggressor only when the "Big Four" are in complete agreement. Such a program has the virtue of being based on the realities of existing cooperation among the United Nations. It probably represents the most that can be hoped for in the immediate postwar period. But as a permanent plan for the preservation of peace its weaknesses should be obvious to anyone who lived through the tragic 1930's, when short-range national interests prevented any of the powers from accepting the responsibility of checking aggression.

THE SWEEPING SUCCESS OF THE C. C. F. IN THE Saskatchewan election leaves no doubt as to the destination of this remarkable Canadian movement. Now, for the first time, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation will form the government of an important Canadian province. Tomorrow it will put in its challenge to become the government of Canada, Opposed by one of the most powerful Liberal Party machines in the country, the C. C. F. captured forty-three out of fifty-two seats, allowing the Liberals only five, with four seats still in doubt. The Progressive Conservatives did not take a single seat of the thirty-eight they contested. In popular vote the C. C. F. polled considerably more than the other two parties combined. The outcome of this election is a striking confirmation of the article, Canada Swings Left, by David Lewis in The Nation of June 10, and proves that the agrarian West more than matches the industrial East in popular insistence upon an advanced program of social planning. The new government will be led by the capable forty-year-old T. C. Douglas, since 1935 a member of the Canadian House of Commons. There is perhaps an omen in the fact that the C. C. F. captured the Prince Albert constituency which is represented in the Canadian Parliament by Prime Minister Mackenzie King. American liberals, in congratulating the C. C. F., will find in its magnificent victory inspiration for their own struggle for economic and social progress.

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S READERS OF challenging new pamphlet, "Our Job in the Pacific," will readily understand why he was chosen for the difficult mission to Chungking. The pamphlet, just published by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, shows that the Vice-President has an extraordinary grasp of the fundamental forces that are shaping the Asia of tomorrow. He explodes the myth that Asia may become a dangerous competitor-pointing out that industry must continue to play a subordinate role for years to come, and that the primary task of the immediate post-war period must be a substantial increase in agricultural production. He warns us that efforts to push either industrialization or public-health measures too rapidly would intensify Asia's difficulties unless they were accompanied by improvements in agriculture. He then goes on to show how closely the economic problems of the East are intertwined with the colonial problem, and reveals great sympathy for the struggle of all Asiatic peoples for political and economic freedom. Since Asia's greatest economic need in the post-war years will be for large-scale projects for developing agriculture, transportation, and industry, America must think in terms of governmental aid rather than a system of uncontrolled private investments such as has already been repudiated by China.

AN OUTLINE OF A POST-WAR PROGRAM HAS finally been submitted to the Senate by the Economic Policy and Planning Committee headed by Senator George. Although the committee's report is hardly more than a checklist of important items that must be considered in shaping post-war policy, its reactionary outlook is unmistakable. Its proposals for encouraging the creation of jobs by private enterprise consist mostly of admonitions to the government to keep hands off and not change the "rules of the game." It suggests, however, further investigation to find out what changes in corporate taxes should be made "to make ownership and equity investment more attractive," together with a study to discover "how much can be taxed away from the purchasing power of low-income groups." On the constructive side the committee has little to offer. It expects to report later on "home-building programs," but says nothing about urban reconstruction or public housing. Although approving in principle the idea of planning useful post-war public works, it recommends a post-war budget "to eliminate unnecessary expenditures." Not a word is to be found about the need for extending educational facilities or providing better medical care for the American people. Although the report illustrates the folly of expecting a Congressional committee to provide leadership in matters involving a high degree of technical information, its inadequacy must not be allowed to serve as an excuse for inaction.

GOVERNOR DEWEY'S SOLDIER-VOTE RECORD deserves considerably more attention than it has received throughout the country. A survey recently made in four of the key Eastern states—Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York—reveals that under Mr.

Dewey's "simple and workable" plan a much smaller number of service men are being qualified in New York than in the other states. As a result of a house-to-house canvass Pennsylvania expects to send a ballot to every one of its 1,000,000 men and women in service. New Jersey has already qualified 337,000 of its 375,000 service men and women. In Massachusetts it is estimated that at least 50 per cent of those in service will receive state ballots, But in New York, despite an extensive campaign by the C. I. O. to encourage service men to file their applications with the War Ballot Commission, only about 65,000 out of a prospective 1,000,000 voters have qualified. In New York City, where the larger part of the applications have been received, the Board of Elections is so shorthanded that it has been unable to process all applications that have come in. In spite of the difficulties of voting on the New York ballot, Mr. Dewey has consistently refused to accept the federal ballot for overseas soldiers, although the Republican governors of neighboring New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Vermont-who are not Presidential candidateshave agreed to count the federal ballots, Governor Dewey's stiff-necked rejection of any of the many proposals for facilitating service voting in New York can only be explained logically by the assumption that he expects little support from those who are risking their lives for their country. And if he persists in his present course, he will doubtless be proved right.

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CREDIT GOES TO CHARLES M. LAFOLLETTE, liberal Representative from Indiana, for his vigorous stand against any tie-up between the Indiana Republican Party and remnants of the Ku Klux Klan, once a powerful factor in state politics. In demanding the resignation of Robert M. Lyons, former state treasurer of the Klan, from his post of national committeeman, LaFollette said that he was "opposed to the domination of the Republican Party by anyone who has made a profit out of peddling racial and religious intolerance." Popular protest backed LaFollette, and Lyons resigned. Something more added to the good record of an excellent Congressman.

WE WELCOME CHARLES G. BOLTE AS REGULAR contributor on military affairs. Beginning July 1, his critical reviews of special aspects of the military situation will appear frequently. *Nation* readers will recall his excellent article on General Montgomery in the issue of June 17. Mr. Bolté enlisted in the British army some months before the United States entered the war, served with the King's Royal Rifle Corps in the North African campaign, and was wounded at El Alamein. A student of military science, he has been serving for the past ten months on the military desk of the OWI.

### Who Is Out of Step?

N JUNE 14 General Charles de Gaulle returned to French shores to receive a rapturous ovation from the conservative Normans. Earlier the same day, the A. P. had sent out a highly tendentious account of the French leader's cancelation of the orders of several hundred French officers scheduled to accompany the invasion. This report was dated not from General Eisenhower's headquarters but from Washington, and it was ascribed to high military officials in that city.

Dispatches from London soon proved the story incomplete and inaccurate: the mission had been planned as part of a civil and military agreement between the French Provisional Government and General Eisenhower—an agreement which the French, at least, had believed would surely precede invasion. But when D-Day came without any provision for civil administration in France by the French, De Gaulle decided that he could not allow the employment of French officers who would have no responsibility to his government. He was willing to lend interpreters and liaison officers, but if the AMG was going to rule the liberated areas it could not expect to do so under a false cloak of French authority.

Unhappily the explanation of his not unreasonable stand cannot obliterate the damage done by the original story. "De Gaulle refuses to cooperate" does not make a pretty headline, and now the General is being called "untrustworthy" and accused of disloyalty to the Allies. In the same way his refusal to indorse the "invasion francs" which the Allied command is issuing is being held against him: he is, it is alleged, making difficulties by instilling distrust of this money among the French people. But how can he authorize this currency when his authority as head of the French Provisional Government is not recognized? We cannot have it both ways. We cannot expect at one and the same time to disparage De Gaulle's leadership and to obtain full value from it.

The aid which our invasion forces are receiving from the French underground groups, the vast majority of which are closely linked to the Algiers government, has been praised by General Eisenhower. In a special communiqué issued June 17 he declared that in the past two weeks "the army of the French forces of the interior has increased both in size and in the scope of its activities." Sabotage of communications, he said, effectively coordinated with Allied operations, has considerably delayed the movement of German reserves. In other places the maquis are fighting openly. This is risky work undertaken by poorly armed men who, if captured, must expect to be shot. Can we afford to dampen their enthusiasm by slighting their acknowledged leader and leaving our plans for France open to misinterpretation?

There is only one way out of the present mess, as

almost everyone but Mr. Roosevelt now seems to realize -recognition of the French Provisional Government and its assignment to the task of civil administration in the liberated areas. Four of the governments in exile have expressed their feelings on the matter by granting such recognition. The British press seems almost unanimous on the question. Pleading for indulgence of the House of Commons, which was pressing him for a definite statement on the situation, Mr. Churchill said it was necessary to consider the United States and its relations with the French committee and suggested that any discussion would merely "emphasize any differences which may exist." Could he have said any more plainly that his hands were tied by Washington? General Eisenhower himself, it has frequently been asserted, is anxious to come to terms with De Gaulle but cannot exceed his instructions from the Commander-in-Chief, E. C. Wilson, our representative at Algiers, is said to have resigned because he was thwarted in his attempts to reach an understanding with the French. Is, then, everyone out of step except Mr. Roosevelt?

### Invasion—First Round

THE first three crises of the Allied landing in Normandy have been met and passed successfully. As this is written, the Cotentin Peninsula has been cut off, the deep-water port of Cherbourg is within the Allied grasp, and the fourth crisis—the enemy's strategic counter-attack—has still not developed. When it has been successfully met, we shall know that the Allied team is in Western Europe to stay.

The first crisis, the actual landing and the breaching of the Atlantic Wall, was passed with a good deal less difficulty than the Allied commanders had apparently expected. The scare talk about blood baths has proved unfounded, as so much of the scare talk in this war has previously proved: casualties so far announced are certainly not what many of us feared from this most difficult of all military operations.

The second crisis was passed quickly when the beach-heads were consolidated into a single eighty-mile foot-hold and the enemy's local forces were defeated. In the face of terrible weather and determined opposition this was a signal achievement; and it was recognized as such by the German radio, which began to talk about the "decisive battle" of Europe being fought west of the Rhine—a damaging admission.

The third crisis was successfully passed last week when the enemy's tactical reserves were repulsed. Counterattacks were violent and widespread all the way from Troarn on the extreme left flank to Montebourg on the extreme right flank. But when this phase developed, it again was in no such strength as had been anticipated, in that no really decisive and carefully mounted offensive was made; and the pattern of these counter-attacks revealed two very serious errors on the enemy's part bad intelligence and bad handling of the available force.

First, the enemy mistook the main line of the Allied drive, apparently thinking it was aimed through Caen on the left. Actually Caen proved the pivot of a great wheeling movement through the Cerisy Forest in the center and the base of the Cotentin Peninsula on the right; Caen was merely a holding action. The Germans then had to whistle up reserves from Brittany to make a stand on the west coast of the peninsula, too late.

Second, the error in intelligence was compounded when the enemy tried to hold us all along the perimeter of our foothold, which was and is steadily expanding. Elements of four panzer divisions were thrown into action between Caen and Villers-Bocage. Thus the German armor, which alone could have broken through to the sea and split our position in two, was committed piecemeal and rendered incapable of striking a decisive blow. Once committed, it could not be withdrawn and reformed for a concentrated attack because the enemy lacked sufficient infantry to hold ground and cover the armored preparation.

Thus the enemy lost his first and best chance to throw the Allies into the sea—actually lost it by default. Tactically, this phase is very revealing: it seems to show that Rommel's over-impetuosity is again serving the Allied cause as it did in Africa. Strategically, it reveals the fear of the Germans that Eisenhower had not yet thrown his real punch; so that they were unwilling to rush too many troops to Normandy lest another landing elsewhere find them uncovered.

By the time this appears in print the strategic counterattack will probably have started. The great Allied success in weathering the first three crises of the landing gives solid ground for confidence in the outcome of this fourth critical phase in Europe's beginning liberation.

### Insurance Is Commerce

THE Supreme Court's decision in the fire-insurance case has been grossly oversimplified and badly misconstrued not only by the press but by so distinguished a legal historian as Charles Warren. The decision permitting the Department of Justice to proceed against a fire-insurance combination under the anti-trust laws was rendered four to three, Roberts and Reed abstaining. Mr. Warren in an article for the New York Times has learnedly demonstrated that this is the first time the court has departed from a rule established in 1834 under Marshall, a rule that the court will not decide a constitutional case except by majority vote. It is true that the decision was concurred in by only four justices, but a

closer reading shows that on the constitutional point involved—whether Congress has power to regulate insurance under the commerce clause—the seven participating justices were unanimous. The split came not on a constitutional question, the right of Congress to regulate, but on a question of statutory interpretation, the question of whether the Sherman Act applies to insurance companies.

The dissenters in the fire-insurance case were the Chief Justice and Justices Frankfurter and Jackson. The press would not have gone so far astray if it had noted that on the very same day that the fire-insurance decision was handed down, the entire court, speaking through Frankfurter, with only Roberts abstaining, held that an insurance company was sufficiently in interstate commerce to be subject to the authority of the National Labor Relations Board. The combination alleged by the Department of Justice in the fire-insurance case constitutes a far heavier obstruction to interstate commerce than any conceivable labor dispute in an insurance-company office. The minority in the fire-insurance case did not question the power of Congress to regulate insurance and was as prepared as the majority to reverse the seventy-fiveyear-old decision in Paul v. Virginia that the issuance of an insurance policy "is not a transaction of commerce." The minority's dissent was based on the view (1) that Congress did not intend the anti-trust laws to cover insurance; (2) that their extension to insurance companies is a question of policy, to be decided by legislation, not by judicial decision; and (3) that as a practical matter it is unwise to upset state regulation of insurance at a time when the only available federal weapon is the blunderbuss of the Sherman Act. In our opinion, the first argument is factually correct, the second theoretically sound, the third rather dubious.

The necessarily broad dicta of the earlier Supreme Court decisions now haunting us were handed down in an effort to prevent the insurance companies from escaping state regulation. Forty years ago insurance companies were proposing federal regulation as a means of evading supervision by the states, and liberals like Brandeis were fighting it. But today state regulation has become extraordinarily weak and frequently corrupt. Given the more flexible and realistic conception of federal-state relations which obtains in the courts, the solution is both to strengthen state regulation and to supplement it with federal, as we do in dealing with public utilities. Though the anti-trust laws are hardly suited to the complex job of regulating insurance companies, they may be a valuable weapon in combating such extortionate combinations as the one alleged in this case of the Southeastern Underwriters' Association. Some may deplore the Black majority decision as judicial legislation, but it will be a blow to the powerful and unscrupulous insurance lobby in Washington and provide a basis for correcting some long-standing abuses.

## Mr. Willkie's Challenge

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

ITH a young candidate in prospect, the Republicans as they converge on Chicago are advertising themselves as the party of youth. Rejoicing at the signs of disintegration and decay in the Democratic ranks, they suggest that an old and weary Administration will prove a pushover for a G. O. P. that is as spry as ever it was.

Mr. Willkie does not agree. In the course of a series of articles outlining his ideas for the Republican 1944 platform he indicates his belief that the G. O. P., far from showing signs of renewed youth, is in fact exhibiting the symptoms of second childhood. It is, he implies, deaf to the call of today and blind to the vision of tomorrow. And dipping into the discarded black bag of Dr. New Deal (retired), he has produced a prescription

for Republican rejuvenation.

I am aware that Mr. Willkie would probably protest this description of his medicine. He might point to his many differences with the Administration in regard to foreign policy, to his criticisms of Mr. Roosevelt's administrative techniques, to his own emphasis on the role of private enterprise. It is, of course, a little difficult to define the New Deal with any exactitude. Born in a crisis and developed as a series of improvisations, it was a trend in thinking, an approach to social and political problems, rather than a set program. Whatever its enemies may say, it was never hostile to free enterprise as such. But attempting to enlarge the freedom of the many, it inevitably curtailed some of the freedoms of the few. By protecting the right of workers to combine and contract, it shrank the former liberty of employers to set their own labor standards; by regulating the security exchanges and providing that stockholders be given more information about their own property, it hampered the enterprise of speculators and promoters. Consequently, those whose freedom had been limited attacked the New Deal as the enemy of private business and labeled it as collectivist or even Communist. Mr. Willkie, to judge by these articles, has adopted the New Deal approach. He also is seeking to enlarge the boundaries and opportunities of the many, and by so doing he endangers vested interests. He is thus inviting the same kind of attack from the same quarters that the New Dealers have experienced. I hope he will not let it discourage him.

I can best illustrate the kind of "dangerous thinking" that Mr. Willkie has been indulging in by referring to his proposals for social security and labor. Demolishing the popular conservative argument that security undermines initiative, he declares that we need both. Since a free economy involves risks, these risks, he asserts, should be spread by means of a social-security system that provides universal protection against old age, illness, and

unemployment. Criticizing the present law as inequitable and unduly complicated, and going far beyond the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, he advocates complete medical care, uniform federalized unemployment insurance, and, without using the expression, family allowances. It is not hard to imagine how orthodox Republicans will gag when asked to drink this "Beveridge."

Nor are they likely to swallow cheerfully a proposal that the Republican platform be furnished with a labor plank including an improved wage-and-hour law and repeal of the Smith-Connally Act. Mr. Willkie deplores the fact that the G. O. P. has allowed itself "to be put on the spot on the labor question" by its failure to appreciate that freedom in today's industrial society must include some control by the workers of the circumstances which dictate their means of livelihood. He urges that our post-war economy be built on a high wage level and favors an annual wage for seasonal trades—a proposal greeted with horror in industrial circles when recently put forward by the Steel Workers' Union.

Mr. Willkie's plans for combating post-war depression are less impressive. He recognizes that the demand for full employment cannot be dodged, and cannot be answered "by merely passing resolutions in favor of 'free enterprise." But his suggestion that a "cooperative mechanism" in which industry, labor, and government should participate could prove an important factor in ironing out trade cycles must be catalogued under the heading of wishful thinking, unless he is able and willing to reduce it to more concrete terms. Nor do I find very convincing his assertion that the "basic answer to our problems of a demobilization economy . . . lies in our great productive ability." No one denies that, but we have learned by bitter experience that capacity to produce and production are not the same thing. Again, while Mr. Willkie properly denounces monopoly as "the Trojan horse of the free-enterprise system," he leaves us without any definite proposals for disarming the animal. It is only fair, however, to recognize in his very forthright program for tariff reduction one exceedingly effective method of attacking monopolistic prices.

In this instance Mr. Willkie is calling upon the Republicans to turn their backs on a cherished tradition. In his article on the Negro question—perhaps the best in the series—he reminds them of their historical mission in the abolition of slavery. It is strange, he says, that the party should yield year after year to the states'-rights argument against federal protection of Negro rights, and he urges the Chicago convention to "commit itself unequivocally to federal anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching statutes." I shall be surprised if his fellow-Republicans heed this plea. They are interested in retaining states' rights as a weapon against federal economic controls; they are anxious to continue their covert alliance with the reactionary Southern Democrats: these considerations

are likely to outweigh their need of the Northern Negro vote, which they hope to capture in any case by Democratic default.

The G. O. P. also seems certain to muff the opportunity which Mr. Willkie dangles before it of seizing the internationalist banner half relinquished by Mr. Roosevelt. The Administration, he charges, "has made many protestations of noble aims in foreign policy, but when the moment came to act on them" it has resorted to measures of expediency which have "produced little but dislike, distrust, and loss of prestige for the United States." He therefore calls upon the Republicans to frame "a foreign policy that will recapture America's lost leadership" and to restate our war aims as a fight for freedom, not only at home, but everywhere in the world. Unfortunately, the tendency of most Republicans has been to attack Mr. Roosevelt's international ideals while supporting, openly or tacitly, his practical expedients. Still more than the President, they are haunted by fear of democracy and horror of social revolution. Liberal critics of the Administration's foreign policy can expect no help from this source.

I do not think that Mr. Willkie expects the G. O. P. to swallow this or any other of his proffered aids to rejuvenation. He knows too well that, as a party, it has no desire to recapture its lost youth and go forward to a new age; all it wants is to return to a dead past, What, then, is his purpose in drawing up this progressive program which, released through the major news agencies, has reached millions of citizens? One motive, perhaps, is a desire to provide a yardstick by which the shortcomings of the Chicago platform can be measured. But beyond that, I suspect, Mr. Willkie is anticipating a fluid political situation after the war. The reactionaries have tight control of the Republican machine; the New Deal grip on the Democratic Party is weakening. Yet inside and outside both organizations there is a huge body of progressive opinion that will seek increasingly to express itself. Mr. Willkie's program could be a bid for the leadership of that politically homeless multitude.

# Beachheads for Victory

BY ALFRED VAGTS

Popular support for the defense measures adopted before this and the First World War was based chiefly on a widespread anxiety about invasion, especially invasion from overseas. "Well-engineered scares," one of the highest British defense officials once confessed, won funds for armies and navies, for coastal fortifications, and for other assurances against a hostile landing. Most clearly affected were the great maritime powers with their isolationism—literally, islandism. The Monroe Doctrine as a defense policy was deeply rooted in the idea that America, or the Americas, was an island continent menaced by invasion from Europe or Asia. As late as 1898 Bostonians could believe that a Spanish Armada was on its way to attack them.

Yet though the fear of invasion was acute, and often artificially heightened, there was remarkably slight interest in or preparation for amphibious warfare on the part of military or naval men in any country. None of the great military or naval theorists did justice to the subject. Clausewitz had little more to say about landings than that they might be useful diversions and were mostle apt to succeed when they took place in a province hostile to its own government. Jomini hardly rose above that, perhaps because he was impressed by Napoleon's two great failures—Egypt and Boulogne. Mahan, among the naval writers, was even more crassly one-sided in outlook. About Wolfe at Quebec he said merely that "all his

operations were based upon the fleet. . . . The landing which led to the decisive action was made directly from the ships. . . . In a word, the possession of Canada depended upon sea power"—not, apparently, upon soldiers, too, and quite a number of other things. "Decisive" might easily be a word for service egotism. It was the exceptionally good cooperation of the two services that was actually "decisive" at Quebec.

Until the present war teachers of tactics in the various national forces remained almost as little concerned with the potentialities of amphibious undertakings as the theoreticians. For the British the failure at the Dardanelles was the ghastly result. The teachers of the pre-1914 German army, von der Goltz and Balck, considered landings by one great power on another's coast a "chimera" rather than "a serious danger." Later, General von Seeckt, carrying World War experiences over into German post-war schemes, wrote that "America cannot be attacked as far as we are concerned, and until technology has produced new weapons, neither can England. She is more vulnerable in her limbs than in her heart. For that reason we must clear the road to Asia." To a certain extent the bound-by-precedent warnings of such authorities against landings remained influential with the Germans; possibly they kept Hitler from making an attempt against the Festung England when it was weakest, immediately after the fall of its bastion, France.

During the First World War there were, aside from Gallipoli, only two minor amphibious enterprises—the German capture of the Baltic islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Riga in October, 1917, and the blocking of Zeebrugge by the British in April, 1918. Gallipoli was the concept of civilian war-makers who were unable to break down the narrow specialized attitudes of the services and achieve the tactical cooperation necessary to an amphibious undertaking of such scope; the failure of the attempt acted as a new deterrent to military thinking in that direction.

Total war abrogated the old prohibition, subconscious or not, against amphibious, or three-element, war. Despite German hopes that a decision could be won on land, by tanks at a blitz pace, or at sea by submarines, or, as the adherents of Douhet thought, by air power alone, war could no longer be kept departmentalized. It was not by sea power, by land power, or by air power, but by power of all kinds brought from air and sea to land, that decision could be forced. The Axis powers began to try landings even before 1939, their admirals admitting that "combined operations represent the most effective form of naval warfare" (Admiral Dr. Groos, "Seekriegslehren"). Italy's Abyssinian expedition was an experiment in large-scale military transportation. Troops were landed in Spain from the air. In China the Japanese used for the first time the modern type of landing craft -motor-driven steel barges with unloading facilities.

After the disasters of Dunkirk and Greece, when England evacuated the European continent, and after Pearl Harbor, which forced a withdrawal of the United States from Asia, the problem of landing on hostile shores could no longer be shirked by the political, military, and naval leaders of the United Nations. In a large measure both Germany and Japan were beyond the reach of blockade, and amphibious warfare was thus forced on the Allies (it was also required by the second-front expectations of Soviet Russia). Since they had little or no practical or theoretical preparation for this kind of warfare, the British and Americans had to experiment, using points along the German-controlled Atlantic coast, the Pacific islands, North Africa, Sicily, and Italy as testing grounds and laboratories for the coming D-Day.

The Japanese were perhaps the first to bring army-navy-air cooperation to some degree of perfection, as if to disprove the all too common assumption in the West that conflicts between the rival services are inevitable. Organizational cooperation had been won by the Germans in the second half of the 1930's when they set up unified over-all command, not merely a constitutional commander-in-chief but a Supreme Command for the three component parts of the armed forces, an Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, with an overarching staff for planning, intelligence work, inter-service communications, war economy, public relations, and so on. Such

arrangements are imperative not only for the attacker but for the defendant in amphibious warfare; they were wanting at Pearl Harbor on the receiving end,

The essentially new development in modern amphibious warfare is the supplementary landing, made subsequent to the original invasion and in the enemy's rear. Once a front has been established, with one or more wings resting on the sea, the invader, as in Sicily, or the defender, like Russia in the Far North and the Caspian region, may land troops behind the enemy's line. It is now evident that air power has robbed the coastline of importance by being able to fly over it and deposit parachute or glider-borne troops and material at crucial points. This has revolutionized coastal defenses, which was formerly assured by works unprotected in the rear, and has also given immediate depth to fighting on the seashore. While from the nature of their task many of the air-borne troops must be considered "forlorn hopes," one man behind a line of coastal strong points may be worth ten in front of them.

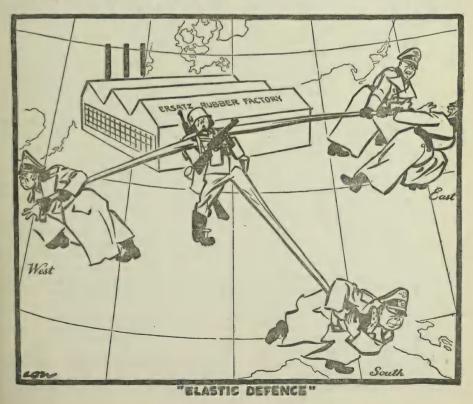
The strategic advantages in landing operations may be with the attacker, but most of the tactical ones are with the defender. These tactical advantages have to be overcome by the most minute planning against contingencies and the gathering of immense quantities of data on such features as tides, depth of coastal waters, weather, and terrain. Of all operations none are more dependent on weather. Luckily, in the present invasion of France the Allies have the advantage of being closer to the regions from which come the "highs" and "lows" that make the weather.

The difficulty of the operation makes it necessary for the invader to employ superior troops, specially equipped and trained and familiar with all the three elements in which they may have to fight or through which they are brought to battle. The troops should also be instructed about the conditions and perhaps the language in the strange country they are invading. As their artillery support may for some time have to come from naval guns or from bombers, communications with which may be hard to maintain, they must be prepared for great independence of action. Thus in its latest developments amphibious warfare calls for extreme specialization in various techniques, such as loading and convoying, for great independence and mobility on the part of individual units, and for the utmost elaboration in timetables and planning, all to be combined under small staffs, with perfect unity of command. Above all, it calls for secrecy.

Every operation of modern war demands surprise statement which seems less of a truism if we compare modern combat conditions with the openly drawn-up battle arrays of earlier times—but none more than a landing. Of the three forms of landings, the raid, the diversion, and the full-scale invasion, the first depends most upon surprise: it is a hit-and-run affair using tactics similar to those of infantry shock troops, based on minute reconnaissance, and undertaken with small forces to test the enemy's strength, as at Dieppe, or to destroy special installations like the U-boat lairs at St. Nazaire. The diversion is intended to mislead the enemy or tie down his forces and is less dependent on surprise. The full-scale invasion must be prepared to force its way into enemy territory despite resistance; both sea and air supremacy are required for its initial advance and the maintenance of its communications. Only in operations of a restricted nature will supremacy in a single element, air or sea, suffice: in the German conquest of Crete the air-borne invasion was successful while the water-borne attempt was repulsed with heavy losses by the British fleet, which still preserved a remnant of supremacy. In the giant invasion the attacker races with time to land both men and material before the enemy has gathered his strength for the counter-attack.

Contrary to common belief, the first landing is not usually the most difficult thing. The history of invasion by sea shows that at this stage of the enterprise many more landings have been successful than otherwise; in

the majority of cases surprise did operate at least at first. Not the reaching of the coast is hard but the maintenance and widening out of the beachhead and its use for victory. The so-called Atlantic Wall of the Germans is of course not an unbroken fortified line co-extensive with the coastline, but blocks of fortifications designed to dominate likely invasion areas by flanking fire and to prevent the use of desirable permanent harbor installations. Whether it will prove a worth-while investment of steel, cement, and human strength for the Germans the next few weeks will show. Psychologically the Atlantic Wall is a high-tension line loaded with the highest possible expectations through that old charging station Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry. A break in its continuity may have enormous consequences. Unlike the slow loss of terrain in trench warfare, the landing of a hostile force in Festung Europa will have repercussions on the German people recalling older popular fears of water-borne invasion. The collapse of Italy when its mere periphery was penetrated shows how powerful is the impact of invasion on the mass imagination-shows that a military reality can be based on an ancient nightmare.



# Nye—a Lost Leader

BY HOWARD G. WILLIAMS

HEN Gerald P. Nye, senior Senator from North Dakota, goes before the voters in the Republican primary on June 27, he will meet the opposition of the very forces that elected him in each of his previous campaigns. In former days Nye was a progressive leader in a progressive state. The subtle



changes that carried him from association with men like Norris and Wagner to the side of Vandenberg and Fish spell one of the tragedies of American politics.

North Dakota has a great progressive record. Shortly after the last war the Non-Partisan League captured control of the Republican Party, elected the governor and a majority of the

legislature, and launched a program of reform. It set up a state bank in which all municipal, county, and state funds are deposited; with these resources it buys its own bonds, saving millions of dollars in interest charges. It organized a state insurance plan; during the depression a loan of \$1,000,000 from this fund paid teachers' salaries—at a time when the unpaid teachers of Chicago were storming the office of Charles G. Dawes. The state operates a grain elevator and a flour mill, whose prices encourage operators to keep their own prices within reason. All this has paid well.

It was the Non-Partisan League that first sponsored Gerald P. Nye and that elected him to the Senate in 1926. Time after time it has rallied to his support. Now it is against him. During recent years the League has grown more conservative, and many of its younger farmer members have turned from it to the Farmers' Union and the cooperative movement. But whatever their political and economic divergences, all three groups are now united in their opposition to Nye and in their support of Usher L. Burdick, one of the state's two Representatives.

It is the reactionary, not the liberal, camp that is split

in this election. While the main contest is between Nye and Burdick, two other candidates will get some votes. A. C. Townley, one of the founders of the Non-Partisan League, can count on the support of a few old-timers who cling to him out of personal loyalty, but his vote will not be large. Lynn U. Stambaugh, a Fargo attorney and a former national commander of the American Legion, has a good record on international matters but on domestic policies is reactionary and anti-labor. The leaders of the Legion, not the rank and file, are behind him, and he has been receiving substantial aid for an extensive advertising campaign from the business men of Fargo, Grand Forks, and Bismarck. On account of his conservative record, he is likely to steal votes from Nye and not from Burdick. Stambaugh has so far failed to attack Nye's isolationism.

Nye is receiving his main support from the Republican Organizing Committee, the successor to the Independent Voters' Association, which for years has operated as the anti-League wing of the Republican Party. The I. V. A, has always put up a slate of its own and when defeated in the primaries has often joined hands with the Democrats in the elections. The present Democratic governor, John Moses, was elected in this way. Besides backing Nye officially for reelection to the Senate—although many of its members are privately supporting Stambaugh—the Republican Organizing Committee is behind Bill Lemke, a "funny money" man who was Father Coughlin's candidate for President in 1936. His presence on the ticket as a candidate for Congress will be of little help to either Nye or Stambaugh.

Usher L. Burdick has the solid backing of the Non-Partisan League, the Farmers' Union, and the cooperatives. The Leader, the League paper, with a circulation of 100,000 in the rural areas, is giving substantial aid, and the League's organizers have been active arranging meetings, forming local committees, and doing house-to-house and store-to-store canvassing. In addition to the support of the League and the farmers' organizations. Burdick has received the indorsement of the North Dakota Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and the few local C. I. O. unions. In every city of the state where labor is organized, committees have been formed by union members to help defeat Nye and work for Burdick. There is complete union cooperation—in spite of William Green's indorsement of Nye.

Burdick stands an excellent chance of victory. The people in the state have believed in him from the depression days, when as president of the Farm Holiday Association he fought an effective battle against mortgage foreclosure and brought pressure on the state and federal governments to relieve the plight of the distressed farmers and workers. People say that in those days only the collections of pennies, nickels, and dimes taken up at his organization meetings kept Burdick himself off relief.

He had been prominent in the public life of the state before then. In 1905 he was graduated in law from the University of Minnesota, where he had been an all-American football player. Three years later, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected speaker of the state House of Representatives—the youngest man to hold the office. Two years later he became lieutenant governor, again the youngest in the state's history. As a rancher and a breeder of pure-bred cattle and horses he became closely identified with the farmers of the state.

In 1931 Burdick was appointed United States District Attorney. In 1933 he was elected to Congress and has been there ever since. His record on domestic issues has been good. Though a Republican, he has supported the reform program of the New Deal. He helped elect Roosevelt in 1940. He was an isolationist before Pearl Harbor, but his views reflected the sentiment of the state as a whole. Immediately after Pearl Harbor he had the courage to declare publicly that he had been wrong and that henceforth he would support the Administration fully in its conduct of the war. He has kept his pledge.

Before the party conventions Nye did some active campaigning in the state. He attacked the book "Under Cover" and spoke darkly of revealing the Eastern forces which were raising huge sums of money to defeat him. But thus far there have been no revelations. He has taken no part in the campaign in recent weeks; in fact, he has been out of the state. His henchmen have been making use of seven-minute recorded speeches of Senators Wheeler, Vandenberg, Shipstead, Bushfield, and Bridges, which are broadcast on local radio programs throughout the state. They call attention to Nye's nine years of service and point out that he might become chairman of the Appropriations Committee if the Republicans obtain a majority in the Senate.

If Burdick wins the Republican nomination he will face Governor Moses as the Democratic candidate. Moses has no opposition in his own party. He is not a New Dealer, but he is not likely to get many Republican votes. North Dakota Republicans are not in the habit of crossing the party line in an election for national office. On the other hand, thousands of former Democrats have registered as Republicans this year and are supporting Burdick in the primary. It is probable that they will carry on their support into the election.

There is just a possibility that if Nye is not too badly beaten in the primary he may run as an independent in the election. This would complicate matters, but it would hardly affect the outcome.

### 25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

Levery DAY MAKES it more clearly evident that we do not even yet know the worst about the "peace treaty" that was handed to the Germans to sign. Not one substantial reason has been given for withholding from the public the full text, which, it is stated, reposes safely in the files of the State Department.—June 7, 1919.

THAT THERE IS a measure of revolution behind the Canadian strike situation would now seem to be beyond question. . . . The strike committee in Winnipeg seems to be ruling the town; and since we undoubtedly should have been given the news of any disorders had they occurred the absence of such news would seem to indicate the same element of self-control there which is the characteristic feature of this general strike everywhere.—June 7, 1919.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE through Congress at last; one must rub one's eyes not to believe oneself dreaming.... All honor to the women who won the fight, in whatever camp, of whatever faith.—*June 14*, 1919.

A YEAR AGO it looked as if, owing to the economic disarrangements of the conflict, the Negroes would profit much by it. . . . But with the return of the colored soldiers from France and the ending of the war boom, the hopeful note has faded out of the news from the South, and it has taken on a sinister aspect. . . The Ku Klux have begun to ride again. On a single morning recently they burned in Putnam County, Georgia, five Negro churches, two schools, and a lodge hall.—June 14, 1919.

WASHINGTON, JUNE 7—The sensation of the week in the capital—namely, the disclosure in the Senate that copies of the peace treaty are in the hands of financial interests in New York—has been at once amusing, discouraging, and alarming. . . How does it happen that such a scandalous accusation can pass unchallenged—that it unquestionably is true? How did financial interests get advance copies of the treaty? . . . How deeply involved are they in the negotiations at Paris? What are they planning to do with the world?—LINCOLN COLCORD, June 14, 1919.

PARIS, MAY 30—There is no new spirit at Paris. The same Big Four who have dominated the situation thus far still dominate it, and the forces upon which they rely for support are still solidly behind them. There is among them no more of generosity or of genuine regard for the people than there has been all along, and the only concessions will be such as may be deemed expedient, not to right essential wrongs, but to prevent too open a manifestation of discontent.—WILLIAM MACDONALD, June 21, 1919.

THE FALL OF ORLANDO marks the beginning of the disappearance of the Big Five who have done such mischief to the world in Paris. The next to go will probably be Clemenceau. . . . No one can even guess whether there will be a revolution, and if so when it will come.—*June 28*, 1919.

# Tory Eyes on Quebec

BY EDMOND TURCOTTE

A GOES Maine, so goes the nation; as goes Quebec, so goes Canada. But in the latter case the barometer has to be read with colored glasses and a logarithmic table. Quebec is not a sign of Canadian trends, nor does it start them; it checks and sometimes guides them by throwing its weight one way or the other.

The French-speaking province is always something of an enigma to the rest of the country. With language differences acting as a barrier to understanding, distorted or erroneous notions circulate widely in English-speaking Canada, and Quebec is both disliked and feared—besides

being courted by all parties.

This is election year in the Old Province. All eyes in Canada are turned toward it. What panel of men and what set of ideas will Quebec support? Will it favor the nation-wide Liberal Party and vote for Mackenzie King and "national unity" at Ottawa, and for Adélard Godbout, Liberal reform, and a full war effort at Quebec? Or will it back Maurice Duplessis, the province's antiwar leader who engineered a regrouping of demagogic conservative forces in 1935 under the name of Union Nationale, captured the government in August, 1936, and went down to ignominious defeat in October, 1939? Or can it be that French Canada will turn to the Bloc Populaire Canadien, a parafascist movement launched in October, 1942, along much the same lines as Pétain's Vichy government? Even the Empire Loyalist Tories, led since December, 1942, by John Bracken, a progressive farmer who for twenty years was Prime Minister of Manitoba, seem to think that a profitable alliance can be made in Quebec this year-with the anti-loyalist Union Nationale!

The Bloc Populaire Canadien is a crystallization of various isolationist, anti-British, socially reactionary, profascist, and nationalist trends in French Canada. It is a greater threat to the Union Nationale than to the Liberal Party because it carries the Union Nationale's demagoguery several steps farther. Launched by the Liberal members of the Ottawa House of Commons who opposed their own party on all war issues, the Bloc is led by the austere and single-minded Maxime Raymond. Its rankand-file support in the Old Province is based chiefly on the ever-present and never-successful nationalist sentiment. The Bloc is rent by personal jealousies and factional bickerings over petty dogma. For that reason it is not a great political force, but it is a disturbing factor of considerable importance.

The C. C. F. (Cooperative Commonwealth Federa-

tion) has made astounding gains in Ontario and the Western Provinces and has become a dangerous rival of the orthodox parties, but its progress is extremely slow in French Canada because the church still frowns on any hint of socialism. Indeed, if French Canadians are ever headstrong enough to ignore the taboos of their church with regard to socialism, they will as likely as not go to the extreme of traveling with the Communists, now the Labor Progressives. Neither the C. C. F. nor the Labor Progessives are at present a political factor of real weight in Quebec. Socialism is exerting a very subtle influence on French Canadian ideas but not on Quebec practical politics.

Last but not least as a locally important figure is Camillien Houde, stormy petrel of Quebec politics, once provincial leader of the Conservative Party and many times Mayor of Montreal. Houde was interned in July, 1940, under Defense of Canada Regulations because he publicly advised the people against compliance with the war-time National Registration Act. He is a powerful mob orator and has a fanatical following in Montreal working-class quarters, but no one knows which way he will turn when he secures his freedom, which he is likely to do before election day. The deciding factor may be his undying personal feud with Maurice Duplessis.

A natural line of cleavage between progressive and reactionary forces has developed in Quebec as a result of the terrific blow struck at the power trust by Premier Godbout. Legislation to socialize Montreal Light, Heat, and Power Consolidated, a \$70,000,000 corporation, was introduced on March 22 in the Legislative Assembly at Quebec. Three weeks later full possession of all the company's properties required for the generation and distribution of gas and electricity, wholesale and retail, was taken by the newly created Quebec Hydroelectric Commission, known as Hydro-Quebec.

From the partisan political angle it is significant that this government move was opposed at every step, in both houses of the legislature, by the Union Nationale and its leader, Maurice Duplessis, although in the critical election years of 1935 and 1936 the overthrow of Premier Taschereau's long-lived Liberal regime had been brought about partly by the inflammatory speeches of Duplessis and his followers against the power trust. Since that time it has been revealed by Duplessis's quondam ally, Edouard Lacroix, a big lumberman with pulp interests in Maine as well as in southern Quebec, that agents of the power trust contributed \$150,000 to the

Union Nationale's campaign funds at the very time Duplessis was inveighing against Montreal Power. Lacroix's revelation, never openly denied by Duplessis, would explain why the latter, when he became Premier, evaded execution of his campaign promises to destroy the power trust. Instead, he undertook to build in the remote and sparsely inhabited mining district of Temiskaming, in the Far North, a so-called yardstick power plant which operated actually for the exclusive benefit of Noranda Mines, one of the big Canadian mining corporations. Even the Tory Montreal Gazette has described this project as "excessively costly and uneconomic."

The socialization of Montreal Light, Heat, and Power brings to a climax one phase of the people's struggle against what French Canadians call la dictature économique. This struggle began over a century ago against an oligarchy of English colonial administrators and big landholders known as the Family Compact; in our generation it has taken the form of a fight against les trusts, with the power trust the symbol of all the others.

The anti-trust upsurge in French Canada is powerfully reinforced by racial and cultural antagonisms. Big business all over North America speaks English, which gives "economic dictatorship" an added odium in the eyes of the average French Canadian. Even T. D. Bouchard, the first president of Hydro-Quebec and long a tenacious and very practical leader in Quebec's fight against the power trust, based part of his strategy on the people's desire to shake off "foreign "domination, though he has been himself a life-long critic of narrow French Canadian nationalism.

A traditional reform Liberal, Bouchard has long been regarded as a dangerous radical by fellow Quebec Liberals, most of whom succumbed to the dry rot of conservatism after the Laurier era. Undeterred by their defection, the short, burly, and square-shouldered Bouchard, a visible symbol of physical and moral strength, carried on the fight for his reforms, one of which was the creation of a socialized hydroelectric system like that in the neighboring province of Ontario.

Bouchard brought together the various currents of opposition to the power trust, and finally, in 1934, the Liberal Premier of Quebec, aristocratic Alexandre Taschereau, yielding to popular clamor, appointed a commission of three, presided over by French Canada's elder statesman Ernest Lapointe, to make a thorough study of the question. Bouchard appeared before the commission with facts and arguments completely mobilized for the assault. He spoke for eighteen hours in all. And he was so effective that a high official of Montreal Power called him aside during a recess and made this diplomatic approach: "Splendid! Do you know how much a man of your ability would be worth to us? Half a million dollars!" Bouchard smiled incredulously and shook his

head. Montreal Power's diplomatic agent tried again: "No? Well, maybe one million dollars." The matter went no farther. Honi soit qui mal y pense!

When Taschereau admitted Bouchard to his Cabinet in 1935, it was too late. The forty-year-old Liberal regime was tottering with the ills of nepotism, sluggishness, and old age. Duplessis and his Union Nationale made reckless accusations of fraud, embezzlement, and outright theft, not a single one of which Duplessis could prove after he became Premier and Attorney General. The Liberal regime, however, had permitted itself the usual carclessness with public funds, and this gave verisimilitude to the cry of "scandal." In the summer of 1936 Maurice Duplessis's motley Union Nationale took power, ridding the crest of a popular wave against les trusts. But in October, 1939, Duplessis in turn had to yield to a revamped Liberal Party under the progressive leadership of Adélard Godbout and T. D. Bouchard.

Godbout, prudent but resolute, slowly built around Montreal Power a subtle ring of Public Service Board inquiries and then suddenly sprang the dramatic announcement that a bill to socialize the corporation would be introduced at the spring session of 1944. An intensive campaign in defense of Montreal Power was immediately launched in the Tory and financial press, over the radio, and in boards of trade. The case was linked with the preservation of free enterprise. Every device of propaganda and press relationship was used. But Godbout was adamant. The act to establish the Quebec Hydroelectric Commission was given royal assent, and on April 15 the new government-created body took possession of Montreal Power and of its subsidiary, Beauharnois Light, Heat, and Power, a large generating development astride the Canada-United States hydroelectric and canalization projects on the St. Lawrence above Montreal.

The immense significance of the power policy inaugurated by the Godbout government is better understood when one knows that Quebec, with countless streams and waterfalls, possesses 50 per cent of Canada's hydroelectric developments, and that Montreal Power was by far the largest power company in Quebec.

In the act creating Hydro-Quebec no amount was set as compensation for the expropriated assets. The act stipulates in essence that the indemnity eventually to be paid shall be the capital sum which the Public Service Board recognizes as legitimate for the fixing of rates. Throughout the debate Montreal Power has maneuvered to be expropriated, if matters came to the worst, at its own estimation of its overcapitalized value—\$114,000,000—as against the figure of \$70,000,000 arrived at by the Public Service Board.

In a letter of February 7, 1944, to Montreal Power's chief counsel, Aimé Geoffrion, Premier Godbout quoted Justice Douglas of the United States Supreme Court to the effect that "the value of the going enterprise depends

on earnings under whatever rates may be anticipated." Spokesmen for Godbout in the Liberal press also made use of the United States Federal Power Commission's order of November 8, 1943, to the Public Service Electric and Gas Company of New Jersey, requiring it to show cause why its plant accounts should not be reduced by \$67,893,000.

Premier Godbout's term of office is running out. He will have to call elections before the snow flies. If he were to be judged solely by his policies, he would again sweep the province. His creation of Hydro-Quebec is only one of many progressive accomplishments of, for Quebec, an almost revolutionary character. But the Union Nationale and the Bloc Populaire will make the most of surviving isolationist sentiment in French Canada and of the war fatigue.

When war broke out and Canada entered the struggle at Great Britain's side in September, 1939, Premier Duplessis, whose government was in dire financial straits, made an issue of Canada's participation in a war for "foreign" interests. He was roundly repudiated at the polls, his party obtaining only sixteen out of eighty-six seats. His English-speaking Tory followers in Montreal and elsewhere turned against him in droves. Loyalty to the British tie has always run high among them, and in the fall of 1939 it was a stronger bond than Conservative Party fealty.

Now that the United Nations have passed the crest of military preparation and that victory appears to be only a matter of time, the henchmen of big business, grouped in the Progressive Conservative Party—a December, 1942, label for a very old Tory bottle—are willing to pass over the memory of their hurt British loyalties. They think they can safely risk a new horse trade with the unsavory Duplessis ("he's so un-British, you know!") for the sake of free enterprise and political success in the national field—no political party can hope to gain power in Ottawa, save by a miracle, unless it can rely on at least substantial minority support from Quebec, where about 30 per cent of Canada's population lives.

If a combination of Tories and the Union Nationale should win in Quebec, there would be dark days ahead for Canada during the aftermath of the war, for Quebec looms large in the Canadian picture. At this writing, however, uneasiness is fast receding. The legislature has made a \$10,000,000 provision for rural electrification, and Hydro-Quebec has announced general rate reductions of \$2,210,000—an average of 19 per cent for domestic consumers—and a \$300,000 salary increase for its employees. The Godbout Liberals are again enjoying a high tide of popularity, and it does not seem that French-speaking Canadians will play, even unwittingly, the Tory hand.

# In the Wind

TRUSTWORTHY FREE FRENCH SOURCES reveal that Léon Blum is in prison in southern Germany, with his wife. His health, it is reported, is good, his morale excellent, although he is permitted little intellectual activity or social intercourse. He is allowed to see only Georges Mandel and Mme Mandel, who are in the same prison. He may send two letters a month to his son, a prisoner of war elsewhere in Germany, but may correspond with no one else. No word has been received in Algiers concerning Léon Jouhoux, who is believed to be in a German prison for Aryans, along with Reynaud and Gamelin.

WASHINGTON ADAMS, Washington correspondent of Leon de Aryan's *Broom*, suggests a constitutional amendment which would provide, among other things, that "no person may become President who has within five years previous to appointment or election been a resident or citizen of New York City, or resided within one hundred miles of said city's incorporate (sic) limits."

THE X-RAY, ANOTHER SHEET with fascist sympathies, has this to say about public education: "One wonders if the old-time private school is about to reappear. We could, in such schools, keep out the red rat, communistic doctrines, and English propaganda from contaminating the minds of the children." And no doubt English grammar too.

FROM A LAUDATORY REVIEW of Eric Johnston's "America Unlimited" by Henry M. Wriston: "Though he went through a university and a professional school, he mentions no single teacher, and the only books given much attention are those of Horatio Alger."

THE MOST REFRESHING political comment we have seen in a long time is this letter to the editor of the New York Daily News: "You Newsites are all a bunch of rotten Dodgerites, and the only reason I buy your filthy rag is for the sports, features, and comic strips, the funniest by far being that daily editorial smear of F. D. R. After it's all over, you can crawl back into your holes, together with other Dodger derelicts. Hail to the Giants, and long live Mel Ott!"

FESTUNG EUROPA: Berlin's domestic radio recently offered its listeners a lecture on the biological and psychological causes of gooseflesh... The social-minded Danish underground movement is endeavoring to provide the blind with underground newspapers and pamphlets. Recently, patriots invaded a Copenhagen printing house for the blind occupying it for several hours and "forcing" the staff to print a considerable amount of material in Braille.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

# Recovery in Russia

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

RECONSTRUCTION is the first item on Russia's agenda after the war, and there is reason to believe that we shall see an industrial miracle comparable to the military miracle we have already witnessed in that country.

Russia's victories have not been cheaply bought. No other country has suffered such terrible wounds. In addition to its military losses, which have been the largest in the war thus far, it has lost millions of civilians to the barbarism of the German occupation authorities; and the destruction of its industries and agriculture has been greater than that in any other country the Nazis have visited.

Modern war is industrial war. The Russians have understood this from the beginning. Ever since June 22, 1941, the day the Nazi armies marched into Russia without a declaration of war, the Soviet authorities have acted in the knowledge that every factory, every machine, that fell into the enemy's hands would increase his military strength. Their scorched-earth policy consisted of two kinds of measures: (1) the evacuation of industries and all qualified workers from the regions immediately threatened by the Nazis, and (2) where evacuation was impossible for technical reasons, as in the case of the dam at Dniepropetrovsk and of coal mines everywhere, the destruction of everything that could help the enemy either directly or indirectly. The Germans restored some of these industries, but when they withdrew they tried to leave nothing behind them. They destroyed not only factories and machinery but houses and buildings of all kinds. In some cases their retreat was so rapid that they had no time for complete destruction, but according to the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, "not a single enterprise in South Russia's iron and steel industry has escaped damage. . . . To cripple the area where before the war two-thirds of Russia's iron and steel industry was situated, the Germans created a special demolition school in a Donbas city. . . . Winding machinery and cranes at the mines were cut so thoroughly with oxygen torches that their rebuilding is judged impossible."

In some Russian provinces which changed hands several times in the course of the fighting the decline in production is estimated at 75 per cent; in many others it exceeds 50 per cent. Of course this does not mean that the total Russian production has declined by 50 per cent. The Russians evacuated a considerable portion of their

industries, and they have vastly expanded their production in the eastern regions and in Soviet Asia. Taking all these factors into consideration, it may be estimated that even in the most difficult months of the war Russian production did not fall below 50 per cent of the prewar total. Today it has risen probably to two-thirds of that figure, if not higher.

The work of reconstruction is already under way in the midst of war. In order to take the offensive, for example, the Russians were forced to repair their transportation equipment. Naturally, only the most urgent repairs could be made, but the rapid advance of the Soviet armies in recent months shows that by and large they succeeded in putting the Russian rail network back into working order. A large proportion of the arms factories in the newly retaken territory are already producing again. But these feats could be accomplished only because Russian civilians made the severest personal sacrifices. Living standards continue to be extraordinarily low.

One gets a certain insight into the present low level of Russian consumption, and its probable level throughout 1944, from the budget report of M. Zverev, Commissar of Finance, to the most recent joint session of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet. This report is the first official statement on war finances which has been published in Russia since the beginning of the war. One of the most important sources of revenue is the turnover tax, applied at the point of production on all manufactured articles. In 1941 this tax brought into the public coffers 124,500,000,000 rubles; in 1944 it will bring in only 80,200,000,000, despite the fact that the rate has been doubled since 1941. The London *Economist* comments thus on the budget:

If the revenue from the turnover tax is taken as a rough index of consumption in Russia—and it is a pretty accurate index for consumption in the towns—then the conclusion seems to be that in 1943 about two-thirds of Russia's normal population consumed only one-third of the total quantity of goods consumed in Russia immediately before the war. Consumption during the war appears to have been halved—and the comparison is with 1940, a year of relative underconsumption.

Russian agriculture has suffered especially heavy losses. The Nazis looted most of the collective farms, slaughtered much of the livestock, carried off tractors and other machinery, and burned provisions which they could not

### Salute to Russia

In three years of epic struggle Soviet Russia has astonished everyone: not only by the heroism of its armies but by the strategic genius of its generals; not only by the iron determination of Stalingrad to withstand the assault but by the swift rebuilding of the city as soon as the siege was lifted; not only by Russian audacity in attack but by Russian ingenuity in laying, in the midst of war, the basis of reconstruction. On the third anniversary of the Soviet Union's entry into the war we hail its accomplishments in a spirit of deepest admiration for the world's great proletarian state.

take along when they retreated. It is true that the Russians had evacuated much of their cattle and farm machinery and are now bringing them back; but Russian resources, already overtaxed for war purposes, simply cannot fill all needs at once. The meager extent to which the returned animals will meet the needs of the liberated areas can be judged by the following table, which shows the present animal population of certain provinces as a percentage of the pre-war figure. It was compiled by the London *Economist* on the basis of official Russian statements:

	Horned	Sheep	
Province	Cattle	and Goats	Horses
Kalinin	3.5	2.5	2.0
Smolensk	6.0	3.0	2.0
Kursk	. 0.3	0.9	0.3
Orel	. 2.5	5.0	2.0
Rostov	. 5.0	10.0	8.5
Stalingrad	. 1.5	3.0	1.0

The figures we have today are not and need not be final; but even if they should double they would still show with cruel clarity the terrible decline in Soviet agricultural production and indicate the difficulty of reconstruction.

While the war is on, the Russians are rebuilding only what is absolutely necessary, but plans are already in the making for the complete reconstruction of Soviet industry and agriculture. The outlook in this respect is much better than it was at the end of World War I. At that time the civil war and the general disorganization of the country made it impossible to start the actual work of rebuilding until 1921, but now the Russians are beginning the work before the end of the war. Moreover, today they have millions of skilled workers; their technical advance from 1921 to 1941 was unmatched by any other country in the world. And there is one other factor: after the last war they financed the rebuilding chiefly with their own funds; this time there will be considerable assistance from other countries.

After the war it is probable that the United States and Britain will occupy the western half of Germany and Russia the eastern half. Thus far the eastern half has been bombed least of all, its production is far above peace-time levels, and even after the war there will probably be a great deal of industrial activity there. Thus it is not too optimistic to assume that the Russians will be able to use at least part of the industry of eastern Germany to repair some of the havoc wrought by the German armies. And there are indications that the United States will help substantially with supplies.

What Russia needs primarily is capital goods to set its industrial system in motion again—locomotives, railroad cars, machines, machine tools, electrical apparatus, motors, tractors. It is in this field that American productive capacity, which, as we know, has grown more rapidly during this war than at any other period in the country's history, shows the most striking increase. Production today is 50 per cent greater than it was in 1940, the best year before the war. If after the war American production declines to the level of 1940 there will be unprecedented unemployment. The Department of Commerce study, "Markets After the War," analyzes the situation as follows:

It seems almost certain that post-war output must exceed the best pre-war year. If it should be no more than in 1940 there would be the nine million who were unemployed in 1940, plus the two and a half million added to the civilian labor force between 1940 and 1946, plus eight million who would be replaced by improvements in efficiency over the six years, a total of over nineteen million unemployed. Even with an average work week five hours shorter than in 1940 there would be more unemployed than the thirteen million in 1932.

If large-scale unemployment is to be prevented after the war, expansion of foreign trade is essential. In this connection a statement by W. Averell Harriman, American ambassador to Russia, is noteworthy. The New York Times quotes Harriman to the effect that "he and other members of the American embassy staff planned to give the greatest possible consideration immediately to the assistance the United States can give the Soviet Union in the rehabilitation of devastated areas and the repairing of other war-caused dislocations." Certainly the Soviet Union will offer a big market for American manufactured products. Harry Hopkins has estimated that American exports to Russia will amount to some \$750,000,000 annually.

Taking all factors into consideration—Russia's technical progress, its millions of skilled workers, the contribution German industry may have to make, and the probable assistance of the United States—one can conclude that after this war Russia's reconstruction will be much more rapid than it was after World War I.

# Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A FTER a few years we shall know in what respects the German army command was surprised by the invasion. The publicity and propaganda officials were certainly thoroughly prepared for it. The civil and military authorities of the Reich must have agreed on their line weeks before H-hour.

About purely military events they must have decided to give out swift, accurate, and fairly detailed news. The early Allied communiqués were intentionally laconic and indefinite, but the Germans gave many details and names. In fact, at first German announcements almost filled the American press, and they were proved later to have been in large part correct. It is clear that in the matter of military news the Germans had resolved to establish a reputation for trustworthiness both among their own people and abroad.

The way the events announced were colored and interpreted is another story. From the very first the German domestic radio was flooded with commentaries and speeches sounding a hundred variations on a few themes and apparently in large part written beforehand. Prominent among these was the assurance that the High Command had not "allowed itself to be surprised at any point." Everything had been exactly foreseen and even publicly predicted—including the fact that the Allies would win a few narrow beachheads. This possibility, indeed, was very prudently emphasized by German propaganda for some weeks before the invasion.

Another favorite theme, incessantly repeated, was that "the Anglo-Americans are not acting on their own initiative in attacking Europe; they are merely carrying out Stalin's orders"—a distinction which must have elicited from Germans mentally the German equivalent of "And so what?" One note that was harped on constantly was a reference to "Europe's" enthusiastic solidarity before the attack of non-Europeans. Even the French were represented as furiously hostile to the invaders. The Wilhelmstrasse spokesman, Dr. Schmidt, in his first press conference went so far as to say that when Allied prisoners were marched through French cities they "were scoffed at and mocked by the population."

But the principal theme was and is: Fortunately our waiting is now at an end and the war is at last nearing a decision. "The hour has come," said the ace radio commentator Hans Fritzsche, "for which the German command, the German soldier, and the German people have prayed, for which they have long prepared, for which they have long prepared, for which they have worked, suffered, and fought." This time, "in repulsing the last danger threatening us we shall secure once and for all our freedom and our right to live." And why is this the "phase of decision"? Is it

because Germany has lost the war if the Allies win this phase? Quite the contrary—it is because the Allies have lost the war if they do not win this phase. That is the center of gravity of the whole German propaganda effort. By every means at its disposal, by mysticism and mystification, it is trying to engender in the public the feeling that not the Third Reich but England and the United States are playing their last card on the northern coast of France. If during the coming weeks the invasion is stopped at the coast, German propaganda reiterates, the Anglo-Americans will be incapable of making another move. They will be through, beaten to their knees, and the Reich will have its foot on their neck.

All neutral correspondents still in Germany describe the repressed excitement of the people. "As one walks through the streets one gets the impression that the war has just begun. The man in the street has the most intense interest in every detail of the great landing operations; he discusses and judges them expertly. Every radio broadcast is listened to; every newspaper is snatched from the vender's hands." "In Berlin the people form small groups at street corners and in restaurants and discuss the news." But while the correspondent of the Stockholm Aftonbladet gained the impression that the reaction of the German home front to the landings could "best be described as solemn," it seemed considerably more prosaic to his colleague on the Nya Daglight Allehanda. "The question most discussed," he said, "is whether with the Allied forces so occupied in the west the home front may not be spared further bombings."

# Spain and the Invasion

NOWHERE did German propaganda about the impregnable Atlantic Wall find a more trusting audience than in Madrid. The invasion has therefore been a terrible blow. The Phalangist press and radio are obliged to acknowledge Allied advances, but they cannot hide their impatience for the expected German counter-attack. They place all their hopes in the ability of the German High Command to drive the Anglo-American forces back into the sea.

Twice in public, when addressing the officers of the Spanish army, Franco has developed his theories of the war. In private conversations he has been even more outspoken about the role he would like eventually to play. He sees himself, together with the Vatican, as the chief agent for a negotiated peace. Since the end of 1943 he has hoped that the Germans would halt the Soviet armies at a safe distance from the East Prussian frontier, at whatever sacrifice of troops, and then launch a tremendous counter-offensive in the west which would cost the Allies dearly in men and material. In other words, he has counted upon a stalemate, which would mean the reestablishment of Germany's defensive position and the creation of propitious circumstances for a negotiated peace. Every new Allied thrust into Normandy stabs at his heart.

The Market William

# BOOKS and the ARTS

# Vanity, Justice, and Falstaff

THE FORTUNES OF FALSTAFF. By J. Dover Wilson. The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

OVER WILSON'S latest book, "The Fortunes of Falstaff," is worthy of its subject. It is his most entertaining venture. By now everyone realizes that Wilson is a creative artist, a critic who regards a drama of Shakespeare's as material for the free play of his imagination. Fortunately such liberties as he takes with the plain facts are never expressions of subjectivism run rampant. Nor are they products of "pure" aesthetic criticism, like that which pours from the transcendental mind of Wilson Knight. Dover Wilson conscientiously tries to base his interpretation upon a careful reading of the text and to submit his conjectures to scholarly discipline. Yet he must be followed warily, for he is at his ingratiating best when taking the most precarious positions.

It should be said that he begins his study impeccably. He rejects with some scorn the Falstaff myth born in the eighteenth century and given wide currency by the late A. C. Bradley. This interpretation assumes that Shakespeare's plans for the treatment of his comic hero miscarried. According to Bradley, the dramatist intended that Prince Hal's rejection of Sir John should serve as triumphant proof of the young man's reform. But he unwittingly made Falstaff so captivating a fellow that almost everyone today regards his final banishment as the heartless deed of a calculating politician. This view Wilson brands as pure sentimentalism. Yet he has no more sympathy with Stoll's "realistic" notion that Falstaff is nothing more than a familiar Plautine braggart. To mediate between Bradley and Stoll, Wilson tries to take Dr. Johnson's sturdy common-sense view of Falstaff.

However, Wilson at the outset of his journey makes . characteristically precise conjecture that should prepare us for his new interpretation. Shakespeare, he supposes, intended the second part of "Henry IV" to follow the first part "by not more than twenty-four hours." So he assumes that Shakespeare from the first planned the two plays as a carefully unified and integrated single drama. They were to form a glorified morality play presenting an irrepressible conflict between Government and Vanity. In Part I, Wilson goes on to say, Prince Hal, representing Chivalry or Prowess in the field, triumphs over Riot, impersonated by Falstaff; in Part II Justice is victor over a still lower form of Profligacy. Most critics have long been agreed that the two "Henry IV" dramas form a rough equivalent of a typical prodigal-son play and that one of Falstaff's many forbears was the joyous tippler who haunted the tavern where the prodigal son wasted his substance. But few possess an active enough imagination to discern in the merry saga of Falstaff and the Prince traces of a stiff morality pattern.

This hypothesis does not prevent Wilson from taking honest delight in Falstaff's early triumphs. He easily disposes of the foolish question of Falstaff's cowardice, Shake-

speare made him a coward in action only that the heroism of his wit might shine the brighter. For in the realm of wit, Wilson says, Falstaff is no coward; his impudence is a form of daring. But our critic surely exaggerates the speed of Falstaff's mind when he imagines that from the first moment of his meeting with the Prince and Poins after the Gadshill robbery he divines that these two were his assailants. Since Shakespeare's lines do not make this clear, Wilson is certain that the actor playing the part did so by sundry winks and nods to the audience, the meaning of which the intelligent spectators easily caught. The scene is thus reduced to a private joke between the actor and a few cleverlings in his audience. These favored few would lose all the swift surprise of Falstaff's witty escape from the Prince's trap: "Was it for me to kill the heir-apparent?" "I was now a coward on instinct."

The Falstaff of Part II suffers a strange metamorphosis at Wilson's hands largely because the critic makes the extraordinary assumption that all England believes the Prince's tale that it was Sir John who slew Douglas. This fiction has gained the rogue a "European reputation" for bravery, an imposture that works like wine in his brain. Finding his old role of "mock-maudlin highwayman" beneath his new dignity, he now blossoms out into a "complete courtier," "the preposterous, self-satisfied pink of gentility."

To make this conception plausible, Wilson tries not to laugh much at any of Falstaff's doings in Part II. He finds, for example, little to amuse him in Sir John's two interviews with the Chief Justice. He sees in them only Shakespeare's purpose to show how absurdly inept Vanity appears when she attempts to fence with Justice. But a reader ridden by no such theory rejoices in these absurd encounters. Falstaff's success in thawing the Justice's severity into mirth is proof sufficient that Sir John has lost none of his ability to drown gravity in laughter. Wilson is also resolutely not amused at Falstaff's "overreaching of Shallow," insisting that Shakespeare expected us to regard this episode with only "tolerant amusement."

Now it is undoubtedly true that Shakespeare made some effort to win approval for the Prince's rejection of his disreputable companion. By presenting in the early scenes of the second part of "Henry IV" a Falstaff who is morally debased, the dramatist weans us from our affection for the rascal. Sir John is sent to Boar's Head Tavern, not as of old to give his wit a holiday, but to fondle the foul-mouthed whore Doll Tearsheet. Such conduct is calculated to make the rogue sink low in our esteem. But when Falstaff meets Justice Shallow he again devises matter "to keep the world in continued laughter." Then we realize that our aesthetic delight in him is as strong as ever. Thus to the very end of his double drama Shakespeare holds the artistic balance so evenly between Falstaff and the Prince that the rascal's vices never affect us like actual evil-doing. To turn from them with moral aversion is deliberately to close our eyes to Falstaff's continuing charm and to twist Shakespeare's artistic pattern completely out of shape.

But it is ungracious to dwell on the blemishes of Dover Wilson's brilliant volume. Only when his craving for critical adventure carries him beyond the reach of Shakespeare's text is he dangerous to follow. Most of the time he sends us back to the plays with renewed curiosity and with an enriched understanding of the Fortunes of Falstaff.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

# War in the Sky

WAR BELOW ZERO: THE BATTLE FOR GREEN-LAND. By Colonel Bernt Balchen, Major Corey Ford, and Major Oliver La Farge, Houghton Mifflin Company, \$2.

OUR HIDDEN FRONT. By William Gilman. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

G—FOR GENEVIEVE. By Lieutenant J. M. Herbert. Roy Publishers. \$2.50.

HIS business of making war in the sky has so many facets that there are innumerable good tales to be told, given reasonable amount of imagination in the telling. In "War Below Zero" we have the cooperation of two expert story-tellers. Oliver La Farge and Corey Ford, who include in their team one of the most admirable of the pioneer fliers, Bernt Balchen, commander of the Greenland army air base. Major La Farge is historical officer of the Air Transport Command; his job is to assemble the full chronicle of the A. T. C., much of which must be kept secret until after the war. Major Ford is assigned by the army to write about flying men. Colonel Balchen is the large, calm man who has looked down on more ice than any other air pilot in the world. The three of them came together in Greenland, fascinated by this weird land of frozen death which suddenly became one of the vital junctions of modern North Atlantic travel.

In Greenland the horizon frequently is erased by the blending of snow and sky, so that an expecienced flier may make a perfect landing—fifty feet up in the air; or may make a landing involuntarily when he thinks he is flying. The latter happened to a Flying Fortress being ferried over the ice cap on November 9, 1942. It was not until five months later that eight men finally were rescued; meanwhile three of their rescuers had been killed. Major La Farge tells about The Long Wait in the sixty-three-page middle section of the book, and surely this must rank among the classic stories of the Far North in the aviation age.

Having so many authors makes "War Below Zero," like the Greenland ice cap, choppy. Nevertheless, one gets the feel of this land where "a deep breath will shrivel your lungs" and where the heroism of men like Balchen has kept open the ferry route to England against incredible odds.

The fliers fighting the Japanese in the Aleutians were not so near the top of the world, but they were near enough so that they, too, learned how to roast a plane's motor to make it fly after being out in a fifty-below-zero blizzard. Their main problem, described in "Our Hidden Front," was the unnatural combination of blinding fog and the eighty-mile-an-hour williwaw wind. The bomber pilots complained that the clouds had too many rocks in them; but

they said it wasn't so bad as long as the pilot still could see the co-pilot.

Mr. Gilman devotes only part of his book to fliers, for he is concerned primarily with writing as much of the history as can now be disclosed of the Alaska-Aleutian campaign. He blames our armed forces for having been inexcusably unprepared for war in that area-so much so that the Japanese could have walked right through Alaska into Canada at the beginning; he even suggests that the army for a time expected to lose Alaska. Mr. Gilman was the first newspaper correspondent to reach Alaska after Pearl Harbor, and he stayed there the longest of any, two winters, devoting a goodly portion of his energies to battling a censorship that made Singapore look like an open forum. Perhaps he is too enthusiastic in accepting Billy Mitchell's thesis that America could dominate the world by air power based on Alaska. Even if we don't want to dominate the world, however, the development of short-line global transportation across the Arctic by way of Alaska and Greenland may turn out to be one of the most significant achievements of these war years.

"G—for Genevieve," a thoroughly beguiling book, should be read for entertainment rather than for information. The author, who writes under a pseudonym, was an ancient (last war) Polish fighter pilot who fled to internment in Rumania, then sneaked out to France hoping to kill Germans, then went to England for the same purpose, and finally wangled a highly unsafe job as a rear gunner in a night



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# TRANSIT

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LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY - BOSTON

bomber, Genevieve, which was manned and serviced by Poles, all bent on killing Germans.

Lieutenant Herbert yields to none in his pride in being a Pole, but he looks at his countrymen with loving amusement. They feel that there is no race of man that can equal Poles. The Rumanians were unspeakably dumb and disorderly. Didn't they allow thousands of Poles to outwit them and escape to freedom, thanks largely to the ingenuity of the author and his fabulous ex-chauffeur, Pryszcyck? As for the French, Lieutenant Herbert speaks of them "without anger and without pain, rather with a sense of compassion." The English were not so bad, except for their lack of imagination, their need of enlivenment, and the fact that their island wasn't situated in Poland. Reading this book, one begins to think the Polish braggadocio has a certain justification in fact, not to mention a rich background of humon.

# Grand Old Man of Impressionism

CAMILLE PISSARRO: LETTERS TO HIS SON LUCIEN.

Edited by John Rewald with the Assistance of Lucien
Pissarro. Translated from the French by Lionel Abel.
Pantheon Books. \$6.50.

PISSARRO wrote to his son Lucien in 1896: "We are on the right track, be faithful to your sensations." During the twenty years (1883 to 1903) covered by these hundreds of letters the old painter changed his mind more than once. But to "nature" and his "sensations" he remained true from first to last. His shifts of attitude in other respects came not from a vacillating temperament but from humility and an ineradicable hope, derived from analogies with science, of finding the Method.

Painting had begun to move fast in Pissarro's day, faster than it had in three hundred years; he in particular must keep pace with it. The Method, if discovered, would consummate and at the same time stop the development of art, just as the fulfilment of socialism would, according to Marx, stop history. Pissarro believed in the possibility of the Method because he believed in the nineteenth century. He was naive and optimistic, a complete materialist in philosophy, a Proudhonian anarchist in politics. The countermomantic fifties and sixties had made him, and he remained

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immune to the aestheticism and mysticism which came into style during the later decades of his life. Aestheticism he characterized as "a kind of romanticism more or less combined with trickery." Nature was too productive to be comprehended within it: "There must be an element of nature in my canvases which hurts certain aesthetes." Of the neo-Catholicism with which aesthetic London tempted Lucien in the nineties he wrote; "It is philosophically outside the ideas of our time." "The ideas of our time"—this was the way Pissarro liked to express himself.

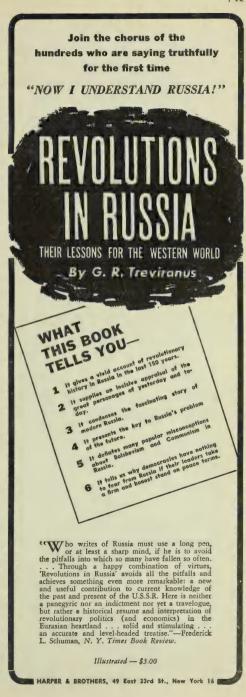
With the exception of Seurat, all the neo-impressionists, among whom Pissarro belonged for a time, professed anarchism. Pissarro's, however, was of earlier date and less an avant-garde gesture—the anarchism of an artisan rather than of an artist. He was the only one of the original impressionists to concern himself with revolutionary politics, Degas was a reactionary, Cézanne a conservative, while Renoir, Manet, Monet, and Sisley seem to have been more or less indifferent. The neo-impressionists-who were the most positive agents of the so-called classical reaction in French painting during the eighteen eighties, insisting on prescribed techniques and the primacy of objective laws over individual humors-were the first after Courbet to join avant-gardism to radical politics. By their time the opposition of intrenched society to advanced art had become an established fact from which political conclusions were to be drawn. But later on, when the market for advanced art began to expand, the avant-garde again turned away from politics, and all it concluded from its experience was that bourgeois society was ugly and crass, yet could be circumvented in private life. Hence aestheticism and religiositywhile the generation of artists and writers that rose in Paris after 1900 occupied itself with neither politics nor religion but went in for experience, that is, bohemianism, when it went in for anything at all besides the practice of art.

None of the original impressionists was bohemian in his actual way of life, least of all Pissarro, a family man with seven children. He was the only notable advanced painter of his time to attempt to support a family on the proceeds of his work, even before its market appeal had been assured. This happened relatively late-later than in the cases of Renoir and Monet, who waited for financial success before acquiring families. The trials of Pissarro's course are reflected in his constant complaining about money and difficult relations with his dealers. Again and again he had to run to Paris and peddle his work to raise money. But he loved Paris, and he does not seem to have lived badly, and there may be some exaggeration in his complaints. Certainly he would fall into that rhetorical paranoia so habitual with the French, and talk of "enemies," "plots," "machinations," and so forth. But it was little more than rhetoric, and the old man usually doubted his own suspicions.

In himself he was one of the most decent persons ever to have won renown in art. Degas—who was anti-Semitic, while Pissarro was a Jew—Cézanne, and others have testified to that. He never dramatized himself as an artist, his humility was utterly sincere, and, rarest of all in a painter, he was seldom jealous, or grudging in his praise of contemporaries. The evidence is in these letters.

Pissarro's lack of egotism was responsible perhaps for certain shortcomings of his art-its tendency toward monotony, its frequent lack of incisiveness and motion. He sacrificed too much of his temperament to whatever method he happened to be practicing. He was greatly concerned about the "synthesis," the harmony or unity of a work of art, and rightly so, for a painting, like a living organism, exists by the simultaneous relation of its parts. But the total final effect of the flat rectangle was often a paralyzing obsession for him. He allowed his perception of the free atmospheric diffusion of light to hush and merge all salient features, was too egalitarian in his treatment of the canvas-like another materialist. Courbet-and would mistake uniformity for unity. Yet his virtues redeem and more than redeem his faults. He could be a great draftsman, as his work in black and white shows. And he had a certain innocence of eye which permitted him to love phenomena the way no other painter of his time could. His relish of the pictorial, his fresh sense of what a picture does and how it relates to that which it pictures, gained him some of the qualities of primitive art without its liabilities. Pissarro was simple but not poor. He had a wealth of his beloved sensations, and could not have had that wealth without being learned in his art. Only someone who has experienced painting as a world in which it is possible to immerse as well as divert oneself can appreciate the inflections of Pissarro's painting. Shock and immediate effects are sacrificed for the sake of subtleties, passages, modulations, the mediation of contrasts. And little masterpieces are to be found complete in themselves in the dozen or so brushstrokes with which such a detail as a cab is indicated. It was only Pissarro's inhibiting preconception of unity that prevented him from treating the whole canvas in the same manner.

He was one of the few professionals to write professionally about art-from the inside, without high-flown verbiage or spectacular paradoxes. Everything is to the point -the authentic shorthand which even the layman will recognize as such. Pissarro was addressing himself to his son, upon whose equal familiarity with craft problems he could rely. The milieu and the period were under intense critical pressure, created, as is usually the case, by competing activity in the exploration of new possibilities rather than by the words of the critics. The monolithic opposition to the new painting was in itself valuable because the writers who embodied the opposition-not the academic painters-were often learned and really interested in painting. Unlike the advanced artists of the period after 1918, when the reputation of being advanced was a goal in itself and meant eventual rewards, Pissarro and his fellows had little to encourage them except the excitement of discovery. Judgment could be exercised with relative purity and was unwarped by issues accidental to art. Whatever came out of the studios aroused an immediate, keen, and uncompromising response. Comparatively few of the judgments of Pissarro and his friends have needed posterity's correction; they knew how to value Cézanne and Gauguin; and Pissarro's own work was during his lifetime put to as searching and intelligent a criticism as any it has received since. All this appears in these letters, which form one of the most fertile of all sources of insights



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into the nature and state of mind of nineteenth-century French painting—not to mention their richness in aperçus of painting in general. Translated from the manuscripts, they appear in this book for the first time in any published form.

## Fiction in Review

U SUALLY where there is a low degree of emotional tension in a novel, we expect to find false feelings, and when a story is told as easily as James Norman Hall tells his new story, "Lost Island" (Little, Brown, \$2), we are unprepared for any serious content. But the conjunction of technical smoothness with false emotions or the lack of ideas is by no means inevitable. As a matter of fact, in fiction, and even more in the movies, a great many of the smooth commercial jobs strike me as having more validity than the knotty "art" jobs. Nowadays, a display of seriousness is likely to be only a display of our newest emptiness; emotional tension has itself become a slick commercial trick.

Certainly "Lost Island" has the mark on it of a hand practiced in writing for a large unselected audience. (You will recall Mr. Hall as half of the famous "Mutiny on the Bounty" duo.) I find it much more serious, however, than such a patently "serious" novel about the war as, say, John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano." It is more thoughtful, and it seems to me to spring from deeper feelings. The story is simple: it is the brief account of the life and death of a South Sea island. We need the island for a Pacific air base; in a week we destroy the fruit of generations of peaceful living. Yet obviously, if the United States didn't take the island, Japan probably would; and as between America and Japan, or as between democracy and fascism, there is no question in Mr. Hall's mind. On the other hand, there is the island itself, with its beautiful quiet life. It has not only one of the few indigenous cultures left in the world, but it is inhabited by people who are incapable of understanding the issues for which they are sacrificed; they don't even understand the world on a map. The fact that they are victims in a cause bigger than themselves scarcely makes them any the less victims.

I think Mr. Hall makes it clear that the tragedy of his island is perhaps only a small tragedy. But it is an absolute one, and it implies a very large tragedy. For what "Lost Island" is saying—and strongly, too, though its voice is so politely pitched—is that it is a strange world we have contrived in which we have to destroy civilization in order to try to preserve it.

DIANA TRILLING

Next Week in The Nation

## What the French Underground Wants By Michael Clark

The Nation's correspondent reports from Algiers on the Program of Action adopted by the National Council of Resistance—its detailed plan for cooperation with the Allied army and for the reconstruction of France—and on the relations of the underground with General de Gaulle.

# IN BRIEF

AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC.

By Members of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

This little book reprints papers prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations conference held at Mont Tremblant, Ouebec, in December, 1942. It does not, therefore, take account of such . major development in Australian policy as the Australian-New Zealand agreement signed on January 21, 1944. Nevertheless, it provides a good deal of sound and valuable background information which helps to make the agreement understandable and generally illuminates the Australian international position. The Commonwealth in international affairs can best be understood by remembering that it is a small nation, member of the British Commonwealth, and a Pacific power. From these three facts, plus a knowledge of the national psychology, most of the particular policies proposed or followed can be deduced. It is the merit of these papers that they clarify understanding of each aspect of the Australian position. American readers will be particularly interested to note that it is as a Pacific power that Australia approaches the United States, but the other two facts about it deeply condition the attitudes taken up. They will also be interested in the difficulty the authors all have in defining the relative strength of the traditional close imperial ties and the rising sense of national destiny in policy formation. And, finally, they will be fascinated by the effort to measure the impact of the United States on Australia's destiny.

# FILMS

If AS a civilian, you feel the importance of experiencing what little you can about the war, you had better avoid practically every foot of fiction film which we have made about it, and you had of course better see all the newsreels and war-record films you can. At their weakest they have things to show which no non-record war films, not even the greatest that might be made, could ever hope to show. The latest and best of these films are "Attack!—the Invasion of New Britain," the first invasion newsreels, and, I am reliably told, the newsreels about the fall of Cassino. The

great things in such films are nearly always single shots. The good things, which sometimes approach and could attain greatness, are the cutting, the sound, the quality of the text and voice of the commentary. But even the weakest shots, and even some of the prepared or posed ones, seem to me to have great power and wonder. In "Attack!" there are morning shots, getting men and matériel ashore in the not quite misty. sober light, which overwhelmed me with their doubleness of beauty, almost sublimity, and their almost fragrant immediacy, which made me doubt my right to be aware of the beauty at all; and these were very intelligently, restrainedly enhanced by the rather quiet sounds of metal and motors-sounds which seemed as if stopped-down by the foliage and by the quality of the light and air.

The same petrifying immediacy turns up in the newsreel of a landing barge under fire off the Normandy coast, crowded with the crouched soldierstheir almost smiling officer standing -who soon leave its protection, the housetops of the French shore standing insanely near and distinct above the end of the barge, and abruptly disclosed full-length as by the rise (or fall) of a theater curtain, as the barge opens and the men begin their hip-deep wade ashore. But fully as moving and worthy of watching, over and over, were the shots of men receiving medical pellets and their last Communion before battle, in "Attack!"; or those of Eisenhower on the first day of invasion, grinning as uncontrollably and sympathetically as an eight-year-old; or of a disconsolate young German prisoner getting his wrist bandaged.

Such material could be used still more powerfully, I think, if we daredand knew how-to make the central intention that of communicating war to civilians and did not stop with recording it. Stop-shots, slow-motion repetitions, and blow-ups of especially significant faces or images or bits of action, with or without comment or sound, would be one device; unrehearsed interviews would be another; still more intrusive use of the camera in places where cameras are most unwelcome might, I uneasily believe, be a third; since the reaction of those who resent the prying would react in turn upon the consciousness and conscience of the audience. I regret tinges of slightly complacent "American" stuff in the "Attack!" commentary; this far from complacent film is well above the need for any such help. The newsreel commentary is more straightforward and less morally and psychologically appalling than it used to be but, as ought not to have to be expected, is still rather a mixture of parochial orotundity and sports-announcing. I regret still more the failure, in the invasion newsreels, to use at least one good long stretch of the extraordinary shots which were made from strafing planes; these were chopped down barely short of their most catastrophically effective few seconds. The principle is as misguided in films as it would be in music. I wish I might see a newsreel or longer film which first presented its images in the most powerful order and weaving possible, without word of explanation: then got down, with diagrams and with recapitulated shots, to explanation. I am interested in explanations, but a thousand times more interested that an image have its full power. On the whole, however, the invasion films are well organized, well cut, and free of the affectations into which the use of more adventurous cutting might dangerously lead.

We could be getting still better record films of war if, like the British, our men were supplied with Cunningham Combat cameras instead of Eyemoes (the standard-and dislikedequipment); if, like the Germans and Russians, we had a much larger supply of telescopic lenses and more men trained to use them; and if we and the British used, per day, more than an average of 500 feet of film and assigned, per division, more than two movie camera men, plus two still camera men and two drivers. The invasion of Europe is being covered more thoroughly, we are told, than any other military operation in history; I am glad of that. But after all, the inadequate coverage of the Second Punic War hardly justifies any present complacency. It would be hard to conceive how many good camera men, with how many good cameras and how much film, would begin to be enough. As for the recording of sound and speech, both calibrated with moving images and for its own sake, that seems still to be in the mere JAMES AGEB novelty stage.

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## MUSIC

HE attitude of the New Friends of Music seems to be that if I point out the discrepancies between its pretensions and its performances it doesn't want me at its concerts. That held for the three Schnabel recitals of Beethoven's music which the New Friends sponsored after the end of its chamber music series; and so I didn't hear the first recital, at which, I was reliably informed. Schnabel's playing betrayed the fact that he was very ill and should not have played at all, or the second, at which he was in his best form. But through someone's kindness I did hear the third.

I arrived at Carnegie Hall too late for the first work, one of the Sonatas Opus 2, but in time for Opus 81a ("Les Adieux"). As I listened with anticipation based on recollection I was struck, literally, by the unpleasantness of the sounds that came out of the piano. True, I was sitting on the right-center aisle, and on that side a piano is likely to sound hard and clangy in Carnegie Hall. But I had sat there before for Schnabel's performances; and though in the past there had been moments when fortissimos had been pushed beyond the capacity of the instrument, I had never before heard such consistent insensitive attack of the piano, and such consistent harsh, jangling sounds as this treatment of the instrument produced.

But at least the performance was one in which the outlines of the work were perceptible. Not so the performance of the "Diabelli" Variations that followed. I had heard Schnabel play them at least twice in Carnegie Hall; and his H.M.V. recording had made me intimately familiar with both the formidable work and his wonderfully clarifying performance. But this time variation after variation was hurled out as jumble after jumble of jangling sounds in which I was unable to discover any outline, any rhythm—which is to say, any musical sense.

Schnabel's playing always has been uneven: one moment the music has been marvelously inflected, integrated, shaped, and clarified; the next moment—it might be the next work, or even the next movement of the same work—it has been distorted, torn, confused. One moment, I would say, his musicality has been allowed to operate by mental and emotional equilibrium; the next moment it has been swamped by excessive emotional intensity or pomp-

ousness, with the result that he has taken a finale too fast for clarity, or has loaded the phrases of a slow movement with more significance than they could carry. When calm, moreover, he has produced ravishingly beautiful sounds from the piano; when excited he has driven fortissimos beyond the limits of agreeable sound. And in the playing I heard recently the bad tendencies were merely worse.

After the second recital Virgil Thomson wrote a general statement of what he thought was wrong with Schnabel's playing of Beethoven. It was the fact that Schnabel played as a late nineteenth-century romantic the music of "a child of the late eighteenth." Specifically, "Mr. Schnabel plays as if he did not admit any difference between the expressive functions of melody and of passage work. The neutral material of music-scales, arpeggiated basses, accompanying figures, ostinato chordal backgrounds, formal cadences-he plays as if they were an intense communication, as if they were saying something as important as the main thematic material," when they serve rather "as amplification, as underpinning, frequently as mere acoustical brilliance." This robs "the melodic material, the expressive phrases, of their singing power," and makes "Beethoven sound sometimes a little meretricious as a composer. His large-scale forms include, of necessity, a large amount of material that has structural rather than a directly expressive function. Emphasizing all this as if it were phrase by phrase of the deepest emotional portent . . . blows up the commonplaces of musical rhetoric into a form of bombast that"-and here note the two results-"makes Beethoven's early sonatas, which have many formal observances in them, sound empty of meaning, and the later ones, which sometimes skip formal transitions, sound like the improvisations of a talented youth.'

The criticism would have force if only the music and the playing were what Thomson describes. He makes Beethoven a child of the late eighteenth century so that the scales and arpeggiated basses and so on may have the purely structural function in his music that they have in Mozart's; but actually I can find even in the earliest of Beethoven's sonatas very little of this material that Beethoven does not give some expressive function. And listening to Schnabel's recordings of them I find that he plays this material with no more than the expressivity that is implicit in it—

not "as if it were phrase by phrase of the deepest emotional import."

Thomson evidently does not like Schnabel's playing; and I would suspect that a man who likes the French pianists' way of rattling off Mozart would not like the sharp contours and powerful tensions of Schnabel's way. I can only surmise; since Thomson himself has yet to state what he does not like in Schnabel's playing as it exists. What he has done has been to say what he does not like in Schnabel's playing of Beethoven's music as he imagines both. And in this speculation divorced from reality there is, in the end, not even logical coherence, but only arbitrary verbalization. Writing about Schnabel's playing of all Beethoven he must make his analysis apply to the performances of the late sonatas; and he does. But logically the tendency to blow up the purely formal material that he says exists in the early sonatas cannot produce any bad result in the late sonatas which, as he says, omit formal transitions; and what he says is the result of that tendency in those late sonatas has no relation to it that I can see, but is merely tacked on to it by arbitrary assertion-this in addition to its having no relation to fact, to the actual performances, which do not make the works "sound like the improvisations of a talented youth."

And further evidence of the remoteness and arbitrariness of this train of thought comes when Thomson gets down to writing about the actual performances of that second recital and tells us how good the performance of Opus 111 was. True, his way of putting it is that it "suffered least from the disproportionate emphasizing of secondary material." But then it appears that Schnabel "achieved a more convincing relation in the first movement than one currently hears between the declamatory and the lyrical subjects," and that "in the finale he produced for us that beatific tranquility that was a characteristic part of Beethoven's mature expression and that had been noticeably wanting, though there were plenty of occasions for it, in the earlier part of the evening." That is one way of dealing with one of the greatest interpretative achievements of our time.

B. H. HAGGIN

In Early Issues of The Nation
"Nippon: The Crime and Punishment of
Japan." By Willis Lamott.
Reviewed by T. A. Bisson
"Cross Section." Edited by Edwin Seaver.
Reviewed by Delmore Schwartz

# No Unity with Fascism

[We print here the replies of a group of political observers who were asked to comment on Alvarez del Vayo's article. No Unity with Fascists, which appeared in The Nation of June 3. Other comments will be printed next week.]

### Oppose All Compromise

Dear Sirs: Liberals can but admire the candor of our friend Del Vayo and praise him for it at a time when the political reasons for this universal war are being obscured, and the aims of victory systematically thrown on the scrap pile.

I was, alas, a good analyst when I wrote in your magazine of February 13, 1943, in an article on what I called the neo-legitimist policy, that this policy was based on the following tenet: all solutions, however they may vary to fit individual situations, must have one purpose—to forestall revolution in nations now dominated by fascism.

Events have proved that I was right. After the real social-appeasement contract drawn up, for reasons said to be of "military expediency," in North Africa with Giraud and Dubreuil, an attempt was made in Italy to save the House of Savoy and its associates, all second-ranking Fascists. British protection of the vacillating Spanish Catholic fascism brought further proof of the general plan. In the latter case, no military reason can be put forward. A flick of the wrist would suffice to liberate the Spanish people from the Caudillo without endangering the security of the Allied forces.

We are now in the midst of an unbelievably tragic imbroglio caused by Allied unwillingness to recognize the authority of the French National Committee of Liberation, presided over by General de Gaulle. This refusal of recognition is but a new expression of the grand strategy of social conservatism. The historic situation created by De Gaulle is a revolutionary situation, though the hero was certainly not conscious of this at first. The business international, however, has been fully aware of it.

We are now arriving at the most difficult stage in the struggle for a true victory of democracy—when convinced liberals will be made to collaborate with the life-saving operations of traditional society through fear of communism. This same fear is now being used in an astonishing manner by Soviet diplomacy.

What can, or should, disconcerted, perhaps even desperate, democrats do in such a situation? Oppose all compromises, as Del Vayo says, with all those who collaborated closely or even vaguely or only flirted with fascism, and let Soviet diplomacy play its own sometimes devilish game, of which the effective tactics are always to break up from within the resistances which it cannot put an end to by direct, classic diplomatic action.

Some of us, being deeply devoted to the cause of economic and political democracy, have always supported Soviet Russia's actions and are fearful of having to oppose certain of its latest maneuvers. We should lay aside our scruples. We need not be afraid of being violently attacked by the Communists, our allies in the common fight against fascism, when we are opposing a policy which the U. S. S. R. also disapproves but cannot modify, and of which it is consequently making Machiavellian use.

It is only by remaining firm on principles, and by making individuals responsible for their personal opportunistic actions, which are frequently so necessary in practical politics, that we can keep the esteem of our Soviet friends. Only this is important for the future.

LUCIEN VOCEL

New York, June 12

## Ambiguous Operation

Dear Sirs: In the military field we are soon going to witness, as Mr. Churchill puts it, "the greatest amphibious operation of all times." What we have been witnessing in the political arena is the greatest ambiguous operation of all times. Stripped of ideological trappings, World War II advances frankly toward the attainment of its goal: which is not to make the world safe for democracy as World War I so naively proposed, but to make the world safe for the democracies-at the expense of democracy. Stalin, at the other end, has not been remiss in learning and improving a lesson for which he was seemingly well prepared. Systematically, one after the other, he has been dismantling all the ideological and universal implications of the October Revolution. His agents and loud speakers the world over have been instructed to tune in accordingly—and to dub the tune United Front. If the circle of the Russian evolution were ever to be rounded we should witness finally—even though not the renewal of the pact between German National Socialism and Russian National Communism—at least a wholesale embrace pressing to the breast of Russia Demofascism as embodied in the whole Darlan-Badoglio brood.

It is a common mistake to identify the "people's revolution" with the nation or country where one of its phases happened to culminate. Castlereagh's England did not act as a trustee of England's seventeenth-century revolutions; Theodore Roosevelt's apostleship did not rhyme with Thomas Paine's; Bonaparte had forgotten Mirabeau. To what extent Stalin is still a revolutionist on the line of Lenin and to what extent he has become a Thermidorian and nationalist counter-revolutionist is a matter of speculation. The morrow only can give the answer. It is likely that he has not yet made his ultimate choice. It is possible that the next phase of the "people's revolution" after Hitler's fall will culminate not in Russia again but in Europe west of Russia.

Be it as it may, our critique of the "expediencies" in Downing Street and State Department would become disingenuous and factious if we chose at the same time conformism, even by silence only, to whatever expediency Stalin may contrive or indorse. Undisturbed by chorus scribblers and scarlet dervishes, while spurning any invitation to join any anti-Russian or red-baiting united front, we shall remember Mr. del Vayo's warning. Its gist, if we read him correctly, is that Stalin's Russia must be judged on its political performance, not on its revolutionary label. G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, June 8

### Not Alarmed

Dear Sirs: Throughout the war I have shared all of Del Vayo's beliefs and most of his anxieties, but in the case he now poses I am not alarmed. I believe that my friend's anxiety is due to excessive simplification of the problem, wrong and even forgetful formulation of tactics, and a mistaken opinion concerning the Communist Party's conduct. On the whole it has done a good job, as

has the U. S. S. R., in both the French and Italian problems, in which principles identical with those used in Yugoslavia have been applied.

First, concerning excessive simplification. The Darlan-Giraud history and the total failure of British and American liberalism to produce any real modification of Anglo-American policy are facts of prime importance. The Communists were quite right in taking our ineffectiveness into account. In that situation they counseled an "acceptance" that was in no sense "appeasement." Giraud is not yet finally removed, but the pro-fascists and defeatists and counter-revolutionaries who clustered around him have been in great measure dispersed and he himself reduced, perhaps only temporarily, in importance. I cannot believe that total refusal to "accept" the American candidate would have had better political results, while it certainly would have been disastrous for the rebuilding of a democratic French army.

Developments were quicker in Yugoslavia, but not dissimilar. At one time the Communists, principal leaders of the Partisans, were willing to work with Mihailovich. Even after the latter's disgraceful conduct, they still tried to patch up relations with the monarchy, in the hope of keeping the broadest possible political front in Yugoslavia. When overwhelming popular support was given them, the monarchy was dispensed with as far as possible. British foreign policy with regard to Yugoslavia is in striking contrast with London's attitude toward Spain. That is largely due to the correct policies worked out by the Yugoslav Communists and their allies. It is, that is to say, an oversimplification to suppose that the anti-fascist front can be built solely on the conditions which we old-time anti-fascists stipulate.

As to wrong tactics, what I mean can easily be extracted from the above. Since Britain and America were obdurate about Badoglio and the King, and since we were getting nowhere without music, there was no democratic profit in further delay. The Soviet recognition of Badoglio seems to me to have cut at least one Gordian knot. Once Badoglio was accepted, the French pattern was repeated, the ducisti were attacked.

It is therefore not a question of "appeasing the right at the cost of the left." There is no proof that the "pro-fascist" right has been appeased, and most of the effective left went in at once, with clarity, if with regrets.

To be sure there is danger. But Del Vayo does not seem to realize quite

where that danger lies. He says that in the resistance groups "the owner of a factory has united with the local labor leaders . . . the aristocratic landowner has united with his peasants. . . . But the resistance movement has not united anti-fascists with fascists." That factory owner and that landowner, taken as symbols and like as not as persons, were aiders and abettors of fascism. Their classes were supporters of fascism. Again, the danger for creative socialist democracy (and Del Vayo and I are both Socialists) of working with Churchill in the present setup is obvious, and colossal. It lies in the whole line we are bound to follow, and it cannot be exorcised, or our tactics simplified, to accord with criteria that passionately honest dissenters might propose.

Using for the first time a polemical word with Del Vayo, I said he was "forgetful." I mean this: Back in July or August, 1941, The Nation and the Daily Worker both published Negrin's first public speech during the war. I remember it well for I was the translator. There were many things in it that caused me much anxiety. I remember Dr. Negrin's national front invited people who were actually working in the present regime's administration. It invited, I seem to remember, repentant supporters of Franco. (Exactly as the Free Germany Committee in Moscow invites "renegade" Hitlerites to come over.) At that time I found that a hard saying. But I have always assumed Del Vayo to be in agreement with his former chief.

RALPH BATES

New York, June 8

## A Dangerous Line

Dear Sirs: Replying to your invitation for comment on the article by J. Alvarez del Vayo, I must say that the line of policy there presented seems to me very dangerous. What it amounts to is an ultimatum that until Churchill and Roosevelt force Badoglio out of the Italian government and Franco out of the Spanish government further support of the war will be withheld. Frankly I cannot agree that this is a course toward victory over fascism of any sort. In fact, I can think of nothing that would bring more joy to Hitler than for any considerable part of the American and British public to adopt such a policy. For this is a policy of halting the war against Hitler until every secondary problem has been solved to the satisfaction of the most advanced ideological currentsmost advanced, that is, in a sense from

which the necessity of war has been abstracted.

I hope and believe that Mr. del Vayo and his friends will not carry this line of thinking to its logical conclusion. But they must think fast, or they will soon find themselves in the position of withdrawing from the war effort under the slogan of "no unity with fascists."

It so happens that my record includes uncompromising struggle against Badoglio and Franco, including the most practical phases of that struggle. But when Churchill and Roosevelt agree that Badoglio must continue in the Italian government until the people of Italy have a chance to choose their own leaders, I absolutely refuse to allow a difference of opinion with them as to the wisdom of that decision to be made a stumbling-block to the further progress of the war. I find it just as easy to stomach a Badoglio who operates under British-American occupation troops and with a six-party Cabinet as to stomach the pro-fascist Lord Rennell of Rodd as head of AMG-and to be fully frank, I find it even a quite a bit easier. And to bring the discussion closer home, I am sure that Badoglio will do less harm in Italy than will our own ineffable Luigi Antonini, who hopes to arrive soon in Italy for the express purpose of splitting up the six-party democratic coalition.

If all this frankness is repugnant to your readers, I will understand it if you do not publish this solicited comment. EARL BROWDER

New York, June 6

TWe would urge our readers to read once more, as we have done, the article by Mr. del Vayo to see if they can discover any hint that under any consideration support should be withheld from the war effort. Mr. Browder's suggestion that criticism of national leadership on matters of important policy is tantamount to a threat of withdrawing support is preposterous and reveals a curiously distorted conception of the democratic process. For it implies that the national leader is, during war, in a position of absolute authority and does not derive his power from the mandate of the people. This may be true of Joseph Stalin; it is certainly not true of either Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt, despite the enormous prestige and executive authority each enjoys in his own country. It is safe to say that in England and the United States the mighty power of the democratic war effort would be appreciably weakened

### CONTRIBUTORS

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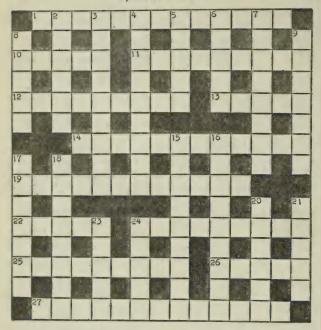
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BURLINGAM

# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 69

By JACK BARRETT



### ACROSS

- 1 Affection that is not a warmth in the heart (four words, 4, 2, 3
- 10 Primitive homes with no lack of ventilation
- 11 Drury Lane orange-seller of Charles II's day for whom the play later became the thing (two words, 4 and 5)
- 12 "No tea, ever!" might be an apt anagram for one who has this
- 18 Oh, lord! he's found in Edward's reign!
- 14 Before which appellants restate their cases (two words, 6 and 6)
- 19 A rider, of sorts, suggests when action should start
- M Old Testament character
- 24 An admirer of the new
- A sportsman who doesn't try to run before he can walk
- 26 No ghost writer, though he produced Ghosts
- 27 "O, I have passed miserable night, So full of ugly sights, of --(two words, 7 and 6)

### DOWN

- 2 Roland's companion-in-arms
- Is it what makes the weaker dog go to the wall?
- 4 The last of ninety
- 5 Possessor of the face which launched a thousand quips

- I The capital of Europe!
- 7 Might be any place, but there's bit of New York in it
- 8 Part that works with lubrication
- 9 Suitable uniform for a soldier about to go to bed?
- Washed and ironed with the under part in the center
- 16 White rose (anag.)
- 17 An office with no one in it
- 18 Might serve as a definition of Pisces 20 Being so slim would naturally be
- supple 21 Instance of uniformity of weight in nature?
- 23 A simpleton
- 24 "I weigh the man, not his title; 'tis not the king's stamp can make the ---- better" (Wycherley)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 45

ACROSS:-- MINISTER; | PLASMA; 10 RELIANT; 11 ESCALUS; 12 LOATH; 13 LAUNDRESS; 14 NIGHT; 16 ANATOLIA; 19 MARITIME; 22 THORN; 24 RED-INGOTE; 26 FLEET; 28 DELIBLE; I UTOPIAN; 80 SAMPLE; 31 HEARKENS.

DOWN:-1 MARYLAND; 2 NELLA; 3 SPAGHETTI; 4 ESTELLA; | LACED; 7 SOLFERINO; 8 ASSIST; 9 MEDUSA; 15 GRAND SLAM; 17 OUT-OF-DOOR; 18 IN-STANTS; 20 IMOGEN; 21 EXECUTE; 23 GRADUS; 25 NOBEL; 27 EXILE.

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